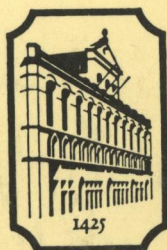


HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA

JOURNAL OF NEO-LATIN STUDIES

Vol. XL - 1991



LEUVEN UNIVERSITY PRESS

HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA
Journal of Neo-Latin Studies

Editorial Board

Editors:

Prof. Dr. Jozef IJsewijn (K. U. Leuven-Belgium); Prof. Dr. Gilbert Tournoy (K. U. Leuven); Prof. Dr. Constant Matheeußen (UFSAL Brussel); Prof. Dr. Dirk Sacré (UFSIA Antwerpen).

Associate Editors:

Prof. em. Dr. Leonard Forster (Cambridge); Prof. Dr. Charles Fantazzi (Windsor-Ontario); † Prof. Dr. Veljko Gortan (Zagreb); Prof. Dr. M. Miglio (Viterbo); Prof. Dr. Fred Nichols (New York); Prof. Dr. Jan Öberg (Stockholm); Mgr. Dr. José Ruyschaert (Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana); Prof. Dr. Lidia Winniczuk (Warszawa); Prof. Dr. D. Wuttke (Bamberg).

Editorial Assistants:

Drs. Marcus de Schepper; Mrs J. IJsewijn-Jacobs; Dr. Godelieve Tournoy-Thoen.

*

Volume 1 through 16 were edited by the late Mgr. Henry de Vocht from 1928 to 1961 as a series of monographs on the history of humanism at Louvain, especially in the *Collegium Trilingue*. These volumes are obtainable in a reprint edition.

Beginning with volume 17 (1968) HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA appears annually as a *Journal of Neo-Latin Studies*.

Orders for separate volumes and standing orders should be sent to the publisher: *Leuven University Press*, Krakenstraat 3, B-3000 Leuven (Belgium)

Librarians who wish for an exchange with *Humanistica Lovaniensia* should apply to the Librarian of the University Library of Leuven (K.U.L.): Dr. J. Roegiers, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ladeuzeplein 22, B-3000 Leuven (Belgium).

Manuscripts for publication should be submitted (2 ex.) to a member of the editorial board. They should follow the prescriptions of the MHRA Style Book, published by W.S. Maney, Hudson Road, Leeds LS9 7DL, England. After the final acceptance of the contribution a disk (preferably Word on Apple McIntosh) will be most welcome.

Contributors will receive twenty offprints of their articles free of charge.

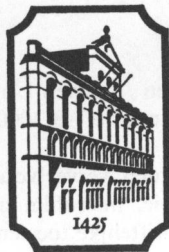
Address of the Editors: Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Erasmushuis, Blijde-Inkomststraat 21, B-3000 Leuven (Belgium). Fax: 016/28 50 25.

HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA

HUMANISTICA
LOVANIENSIA

JOURNAL OF NEO-LATIN STUDIES

Vol. XL - 1991



LEUVEN UNIVERSITY PRESS

*Gepubliceerd met de steun
van de Universitaire Stichting van België,
van de Vlaamse Gemeenschap — Ministerie van Onderwijs
en van de Fakulteit der Letteren K. U. Leuven.*

© 1991 Universitaire Pers Leuven / Leuven University Press / Presses Universitaires de Louvain, Krakenstraat, 3 - B 3000 Leuven/Louvain, Belgium

Niets uit deze uitgave mag worden verveelvoudigd en/of openbaar gemaakt door middel van druk, fotokopie, microfilm of op welke andere wijze ook zonder voorafgaande schriftelijke toestemming van de uitgever.

No part of this book may be reproduced in any form, by print, photoprint, microfilm of any other means without written permission from the publisher.

ISBN 91 6186 338 4
D/1991/1869/37

CONSPECTUS RERUM

1. Textus et Studia.

Giuseppe Papponetti, <i>Bartholomaeus Sulmonensis Philalites contra Philelphum</i>	1
Gilbert Tournoy, <i>Francesco Florio's Novella Revisited</i>	30
Karin Tilmans, <i>The Origin of the Empire and the Tasks of the Prince: Neglected Renaissance Mirrors-of-Princes in the Netherlands</i>	43
Ann Moss, <i>Latin Liturgical Hymns of the Reformation Crisis (1520-1568)</i>	73
Andrew Breeze - Jacqueline Glonski, <i>An Early British Treatise Upon Education: Leonard Cox's De erudienda iuventute (1526)</i>	112
Istvan P. Bejczy, <i>Gerard Geldenhouwer of Nijmegen: Epistola de officio principis christiani (1538); Enchiridion principis ac magistratus christiani (1539)</i>	168
Dirk Sacré, <i>Quaestiones Palearianae</i>	206
Jozef IJsewijn, <i>Joachim Du Bellay's Patriae Desiderium</i>	244
David Halsted, <i>Distance, Dissolution and Neo-Stoic Ideals: History and Self-Definition in Lipsius</i>	262
Dana Sutton, <i>Justus Lipsius to Thomas Legge, January 1, 1585</i>	275
Georgius Korzeniewski, <i>De Simonis Simonidae Ἀντιλαβῶν usu</i>	282
Lore Wirth-Poelchau, <i>Gelegenheitsgedichte eines Kronstädters um 1700: Magister Marcus Fronius (1659-1713)</i>	312
Sigurdur Pétursson, <i>Nuptiae Holanae, 1696</i>	336
Arnold L. Kerson, <i>Diego José Abad, Dissertatio ludicro-seria. Introduction, Latin Text, Translation and Notes</i>	357
2. Richard J.Schoeck With Martina Rütt and H.-W. Bartz, <i>A Step Towards a Neo-Latin Lexicon: A First Word-List Drawn From Humanistica Lovaniensia 1973-1984. Part II: M-Z</i>	423
3. Miscellanea.	
Nicolaas van der Blom, <i>Erasmus' Horse and the Ears of the Smith. On Epist. 867, 28- 30</i>	446

4. Instrumentum criticum	448
5. Instrumentum bibliographicum Neolatinum	452
6. Instrumentum lexicographicum	497
7. Nuntii	499
8. Indices	500
– Index codicum manuscriptorum	500
– Index nominum	501

Giuseppe PAPPONETTI

BARTHOLOMAEUS SULMONENSIS PHILALITES
CONTRA PHILELPHUM*

«L'Historia si può veramente definire una guerra illustre contro il tempo, perchè togliendoli di mano gl'anni suoi prigionieri, anzi già fatti cadaueri, li richiama in vita, li passa in rassegna, e li schiera di nuovo in battaglia»; così il celebre attacco dell'introduzione ai *Promessi sposi*, in cui il Manzoni, nell'invenzione del manoscritto ritrovato, riandava in punta di penna a cogliere nello stile e nel metodo d'indagine la patina ed i sapori smarriti della storiografia secentesca: infatti, prescindendo dal suo modello (le *Historiae patriae* del canonico milanese Giuseppe Ripamonti¹), proliferavano in tutta Italia cronache e memorie che, adottando il volgare, si proponevano ad un pubblico medio, avido di assumere, fra le pieghe della ricostruzione generale dei casi umani, elementi accattivanti di mitica fabulosità o di prodigiose epifanie.

Anche Sulmona ebbe quindi erudito e minuzioso cronista in Emilio de Mattheis, indagatore solerte e attento dei fatti cittadini; il suo progressivo imporsi come fonte primaria e insostituibile lo avrebbe paradossalmente condannato a restare inedito, destinandolo ad autorevole archetipo di un filone annalistico presto incardinatosi sul referente obbligatorio delle vicende diocesane e della cronologia dei vescovi valvensi². Chi spigoli fra le carte autografe dell'abbozzo preparatorio

* Dei molti debiti contratti in questo lavoro, non posso tacere quelli con Rino Avesani, Giuseppe Billanovich e, soprattutto, Jozef IJsewijn; mi sia però consentito esprimere un pensiero se possibile più affettuoso per d. Antonino Chiaverini, cui è dedicato.

¹ Mediolani: J.B. et I.C. Malatesta, 1641-43.

² Sul de Mattheis resta fondamentale G. Pansa, «Emilio De Matteis, l'opera sua e i cronisti sulmonesi», *Rassegna abruzzese di storia ed arte* I, 2 (1897), 137-155. Dalle *Memorie storiche de' Peligni...* (copie mss nella Biblioteca Comunale «P. Ovidio Nasone» e nella Biblioteca Diocesana di Sulmona, allestite da N.F. Faraglia) dipendono I. Di Pietro, *Memorie storiche della città di Sulmona* (Napoli, 1804), G. Celidonio, *La Diocesi di Valva e Sulmona*, I-III (Casalbordino, 1909-11), IV (Sulmona, 1912), A. Chiaverini, *La Diocesi di Valva e Sulmona*, V-VII (Sulmona, 1977-79).

delle *Memorie storiche de' Peligni*, s'imbatte sovente in schegge diffuse di abbandono compiaciuto all'agiografia e al meraviglioso, cadute del tutto o comunque attenuatesi sensibilmente nella finale stesura dell'opera; una di esse, fra le più vivide, riguarda il vescovo Bartolomeo de Scalis:

Fu quel Vescovo molto affettionato alli Padri Osservanti di S. Francesco, e particolarmente al Beato Vincenzo. Essendo giunto agl'estremi periodi della vita fu l'anima sua disciolta dal corpo condotta sopra un ponte molto alto, sotto del quale era un immenso torrente di fuoco. Mentre in tal luogo stava aspettando l'ultima sentenza dell'eterno Giudice s'udì una voce, che disse: Per intercessione del servo di Dio Frate Vincenzo ritorni quest'anima ad informare il suo corpo, e subito ritornò in vita il Vescovo, che era già morto per lo spatio di un'hora. Nell'agonia del Vescovo il Beato Vincenzo, e tutti li frati del Convento mandarono ferventi preghiere a Dio per lui, e seguita la sua morte il Beato andò a ritrovare il cadavere, e chiamato tre volte per il proprio nome, s'udì il defunto alla terza chiamata rispondere. Visse poi il Vescovo con maggiore perfettione di vita³.

L'episodio, certo scaturito da interpretazione miracolistica del decorso finale della malattia che portò il prelado alla morte, non deve sorprendere, trattandosi di un vescovo che resse a lungo la diocesi, dal 1463 al 1491⁴, in anni di particolare drammaticità ed intenso fervore della vita politica in Sulmona, fin quasi alle soglie della caduta del dominio aragonese. In verità, facendo le proporzioni con la durata del suo magistero pastorale, le fonti d'archivio non si rivelano prodighe: ci danno soltanto qualche possibilità di seguirne la presenza decisa ed interessata nelle sentenze a favore del Capitolo in merito a rendite feudali e a cause matrimoniali, l'azione costante ed accorta, tesa ad ottenere esenzioni fiscali per sé e per i canonici dalla municipalità facendo leva sulle buone aderenze col potere centrale⁵, oppure la

³ *Primo Borro delle Memorie storiche delli Peligni...* 1639 cc. 192^v-193 (copia fotostatica del ms originale presso di me; v. G. Papponetti, «De Matthaeis ritrovato», *Rivista abruzzese* XL, 2-3 [1987], 113-18); l'evento è registrato da Di Pietro, *Memorie storiche degli uomini illustri della città di Sulmona* (Aquila, 1806), p. 116, e lo riprende dalle *Memorie storiche de' Peligni...*; Chiaverini, *La Diocesi...* V, p. 381 a sua volta lo desume da G. Ciavattoni, *Il Convento di S. Nicola di Sulmona. Dalle origini ai giorni nostri* (Lanciano, 1909), p. 173, che utilizza una fonte sconosciuta e molto dettagliata senza citarla.

⁴ Di Pietro, *Memorie storiche della città di Sulmona*, pp. 278-290. Fu seppellito nella cripta della cattedrale di S. Panfilo, ove esiste ancora la sua lastra tombale: v. fotografia in Chiaverini, *Ovidiade di Pietro Odi di Montopoli (1425-1463)* (Sulmona, 1974), a fronte di p. 40.

⁵ Docc. in Chiaverini, *La Diocesi...* V, p. 396, p. 400, p. 404, pp. 412-413, p. 423.

disinvolta intraprendenza in permuta di terreni o in concessioni di privilegi ed investiture ecclesiastiche⁶.

Molto poco sappiamo invece della sua famiglia: le scarse testimonianze non ci consentono di stabilire con sicurezza i reali nessi di parentela, benché evidenziano sempre ruoli di spicco, che erano prerogativa delle casate nobili. Un abate Cola di Marino de Scalas è teste in un atto del 29 luglio 1431; qui pure compare, come maestro d'opera e procuratore della chiesa ed ospedale della SS. Annunziata, «dompno Silvestro de Scalas»⁷; forse è lo stesso Silvestro Ludovico de Scalas, insigne giureconsulto, che sposò Caterina nipote del vescovo Bartolomeo de Petrinis: nel 1454 è giudice delegato e commissario del Commissario Generale per i due Abruzzi, e compare in varie stipule private in posizione di rilievo⁸; il 16 febbraio 1462, un Petruccio de Scalas è fra «li Magnifici Sengiuri del Regimento dela Cita de Sulmone»⁹; infine Tancredi, forse fratello del nostro vescovo, è inviato nel 1480 presso Cosma Meliorati Orsini, nipote di papa Innocenzo VII, per portare ufficialmente le felicitazioni dell'università sulmonese riguardo al recente cardinalato¹⁰. Ancora nel 1572, il ceppo de Scalas (Scala) è registrato fra gli aristocratici, ma se ne perdono le tracce a partire dal secolo XVII¹¹.

⁶ Celidonio, *La Diocesi...* III, p. 114 e pp. 132-133.

⁷ Celidonio, *La Diocesi...* II, p. 214.

⁸ Chiaverini, *La Diocesi...* V, p. 378, ma ne fa erroneamente il regio Giustiziere delle due Province d'Abruzzo; Di Pietro, *Memorie storiche degli uomini illustri...*, p. 98 lo dice «Regio giudice di appellazione»; T. Leccisotti, *Abbazia di Montecassino. I registi dell'Archivio* III (Roma, 1966), p. 343 n° 829, registra correttamente il documento originale del 14 marzo 1454.

⁹ N.F. Faraglia, *Codice diplomatico sulmonese* (Lanciano, 1888; ried. G. Papponetti: Sulmona, 1988), pp. 354-56 n° 270, del 16 febbraio 1462, relativo a «Capitoli e patti per la locazione della Zecca di Sulmona».

¹⁰ Di Pietro, *Memorie storiche degli uomini illustri...*, p. 111, *Memorie storiche della città di Solmona*, p. 282; la notizia è nel passaggio di una responsiva di Bartolomeo da Verino, segretario della regina Giovanna, del 16 giugno 1480, ai Sindaci e all'Università di Sulmona: «Etiam avete scripto che volete mandare ambasciatore per parte de questa comunità misser Tancredo de Scalas allo novo Cardinale citadino de questa cita et per questo domandate licenza per dece dì per causa del officio de Tocco; alla qual cosa ve rispondo che lo dicto misser Tancredo porrà liberamente andare et fare la dicta vostra ambasciata però che torne quanto più presto porrà» (Archivio di Stato — Sez. di Sulmona, ACS, Sez. II, 2, b. 2, n° 26). Tancredi sarebbe morto entro breve tempo: infatti, il 28 maggio 1484 i suoi eredi vendevano un orto e un casale col consenso del vescovo (Chiaverini, *La Diocesi...* V, p. 429); la vedova Diana risposò in Aquila Jacopo di Notar Nanni che ne adottò il figlio Silvestro: questi, ricco banchiere, testò nel 1528 (M. Chini, *Silvestro Aquilano e l'arte in Aquila nella II metà del sec. XV* [Aquila, 1954], pp. 329-330, pp. 347-348, p. 360 n. 32); secondo la stessa fonte, da utilizzare con cautela, padre di Tancredi sarebbe stato Francesco, barone e segretario nella corte aragonese (p. 331).

¹¹ Chiaverini, *La Diocesi...* VII, p. 250, dove compaiono Silvestro, Antonio e Fran-

Per quanto interessante ai fini della storia locale, non metterebbe conto indugiare sul vescovo sulmonese se da tempo non si fosse posto un problema d'identità ben più implicante con altro personaggio abbastanza noto nel panorama quattrocentesco; perché non sono mancati, nella galassia di quelle speciali corti dei miracoli dalle aggregazioni sempre mobili e precarie degli uomini di penna, al servizio di signorie grandi o piccole, curia pontificia compresa, scampoli di ribalta a Bartolomeo Sulmonese detto il Filalite. I nuovi studi della Bloch, dell'Avesani, della Ferrari e del Bottari, i censimenti del Kristeller, soprattutto le recenti indagini del Percival ci hanno via via fornito molti elementi preziosi ai fini della sua definizione quale umanista e poeta¹²: lo sappiamo dunque allievo di Lorenzo Valla a Roma, amico e discepolo di Pier Candido Decembrio ma anche del Panormita, entrato al servizio di Francesco Sforza e legato alla cerchia di Pio II rimanendo fieramente avverso al Filelfo — come appunto vedremo dai suoi inediti componimenti —, e più tardi maestro di Tommaso Schifaldo. Per una miscela coerente delle varie, a volte singole risultanze, occorrono ormai precisazioni e aggiustamenti dai quali possano emergere linee meglio nitide e armonizzate, se non di irrecuperabile ritratto, almeno di compiuto profilo.

Riguardo alla sua formazione letteraria, essa è da non disgiungere dall'ingresso nell'ordine dei Domenicani, ove appunto trovò, presumibilmente, alimento la vocazione erudita e letteraria; nell'irreggimentazione della scuola conventuale, il rigoroso apprendistato mirava alla

cesco de Scalisi; buon poeta in volgare (Di Pietro, *Memorie storiche degli uomini illustri...*, p. 153), Silvestro fu sindaco di Sulmona nel 1599 e nel 1605 (Archivio di Stato — Sez. di Sulmona, ACSA, XVII, 2, 80 e XVII, 3, 95).

¹² D. Bloch, «Quelques manuscrits de Pietro de Celano à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris», *Studi di bibliografia e di storia in onore di Tammaro de Marinis* I (Firenze, 1964), pp. 143-161; R. Avesani, «Epaeneticorum ad Pium II Pont. Max. libri V», *Enea Silvio Piccolomini Papa Pio II*, Atti del Convegno... a c. D. Maffei (Siena, 1968), p. 19, p. 25, pp. 27-28, p. 34, p. 95; M. Ferrari, «Fra i 'latini scriptores' di Pier Candido Decembrio e biblioteche umanistiche milanesi: codici di Vitruvio e Quintiliano», *Vestigia. Studi in onore di Giuseppe Billanovich*, a c. R. Avesani et alii, I (Roma, 1984), pp. 278-279; G. Bottari, «Tommaso Schifaldo e il suo commento all'«Arte poetica» di Orazio, *Umanità e storia. Scritti in onore di Adelchi Attisani* I, Letteratura e storia (Messina, 1971), pp. 234-236; P.O. Kristeller, *Iter italicum...* I (London-Leiden, 1963), p. 57, p. 245, p. 277, p. 321, p. 327, p. 424, II (ivi, 1967), p. 27, p. 200, p. 485, III (ivi, 1983), p. 224; W.K. Percival, «The *Artis Grammaticae Opusculum* of Bartolomeo Sulmonese: A Newly Discovered Latin Grammar of the Quattrocento», *Renaissance Quarterly* 31 (1978), 39-47; W.K. Percival - P. Pascal, «The Latin Poems of Bartolomeo Sulmonese», *Humanistica Lovaniensia* XXXIVA (1985), 150-77.

creazione dello specialista, del predicatore che fosse al contempo poeta e teologo, erudito e politico, sì da trarne un completo «intellettuale organico» a misura dei tempi¹³: e nulla osta all'ipotesi di una prima educazione tutta sulmonese, vista l'importanza del locale complesso di S. Domenico, con annesso insegnamento di filosofia e teologia¹⁴. C'è poi da considerare un evento estremamente significativo, al quale non si è posta attenzione in quest'ottica, e concerne l'importante fase della campagna militare con cui Alfonso V d'Aragona mirò inizialmente ad assicurarsi il controllo delle città e dei punti chiave lungo la «Via degli Abruzzi»¹⁵. Mi riferisco alla presa di Sulmona del 3 luglio 1438 che, nella sintassi del resoconto di Lorenzo Valla all'Olzina per l'opportuna diffusione propagandistica, si trasformò in un vero e proprio *Triumphus*; si dovette certo a studiata scelta, a ricerca di consenso da parte di Alfonso, tramite gli abili banditori del seguito, se l'assedio minaccioso si trasformò in festoso tripudio della città. Mentre al Valla toccò il compito di far apparire, all'esterno, la resa forzata uno sbocco naturale ed entusiasta, libera scelta della popolazione che spalancava le porte al salvatore¹⁶, fu il re in persona a farsi vistoso interprete di atti e presenze tese a confermare platealmente il profondo legame coi Sulmonesi nel nome di Ovidio; e ne avrebbe dato evidente sottolineatura il Panormita in una lettera «campana», dicendosi testimone delle pubbliche lodi del sovrano per l'adozione della sigla SMPE (*Sulmo mihi patria est*) nello stemma cittadino, nonché della sua abitudine, in quei frangenti, di condurre ogni giorno qualcuno a visitare i resti della casa del poeta latino¹⁷.

¹³ R. Antonelli, «L'Ordine domenicano e la letteratura nell'Italia pretridentina», *Letteratura italiana*, I, *Il letterato e le istituzioni* (Torino, 1982), pp. 681-728.

¹⁴ Di formazione «in patria» parlavano già il Quetif e l'Echard (cit. in Percival-Pascal, «The Latin Poems...», p. 151 n. 2); de Mattheis, *Memorie storiche de' Peligni...*, III, p. 11: «Nel Convento annesso a questa chiesa habitano i PP. dell'Ordine de' Predicatori; i quali officiano con molta attenzione la Chiesa, e tengono aperti Studii di Filosofia e Teologia non solo per gli loro religiosi, ma anco per gli secolari».

¹⁵ Da ultimo, v. H. Hoshino, *I rapporti economici tra l'Abruzzo aquilano e Firenze nel Basso Medioevo* (L'Aquila, 1988), pp. 7-14, pp. 71-72.

¹⁶ La riconoscenza dell'Aragonese ebbe modo di manifestarsi tangibilmente con la concessione di privilegi e di esenzioni fiscali; v. Faraglia, *Codice diplomatico sulmonese*, pp. 329-338, pp. 343-347, n° 251-52, 254-56, 263-65.

¹⁷ Edizione ed inquadramento storico dell'epistola valliana «de honore habito a Sulmontinis domino regi Alfonso», e la citazione del passo del Panormita, in M. Regoliosi, «Due nuove lettere di Lorenzo Valla», *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 25 (1982), 153-64, cui va aggiunto O. Besomi-M. Regoliosi, «'Laurenti Valle Epistole'. Addendum», *Lorenzo Valla e l'Umanesimo italiano*, Atti del Convegno... a c. Besomi e Regoliosi (Padova, 1986), pp. 88-90; sul Panormita a Sulmona anche G. Resta, «Beccadelli,

Ciò che qui interessa è solo la prova della contemporanea presenza in Sulmona del Valla e del Panormita, e quindi la fondata possibilità che il giovane Bartolomeo, già indirizzato agli studi letterari, trovasse nei festeggiamenti ovidiani di cui furono attori i due famosi umanisti lo slancio che l'avrebbe portato a scegliere la carriera di poeta e cortigiano. Piacerebbe saperne di più, ma non è troppo azzardato supporre la nascita, in tale circostanza, di una conoscenza diretta, e di una devozione di allievo a maestri di cui ritroveremo in avanti forme consistenti e diversamente orientate nell'ambito delle relazioni che Bartolomeo avrebbe intrecciato, fra sudditanze, sintonie e conflittualità all'ordine del giorno nella repubblica delle lettere.

Esaminando l'*Artis grammaticae opusculum*, il Percival ne ha evinto alcuni punti fermi per la biografia del Filalite¹⁸: scritto fra il 1457 e il 1463, nel periodo in cui era al servizio di Francesco Sforza (per altro non particolarmente remunerativo: «Servio Francisco Sforziae, principi gratissimo», «Loculus meus vacat pecuniis», *Vaticano Palat. lat.* 1760, ff. 45 e 46), apre squarci interessanti su precedenti trascorsi nella curia romana in cui, gratificato di un canonicato da papa Niccolò V, fu poi privato dei benefici da Callisto III («Indui me vestem coccinam», «Cothurni quos [...] calciatus fui sunt rubri», ff. 41^v e 68; «Summus pontifex privavit multos canonicos beneficiis», «Pontifex privavit me beneficiis», ff. 43^v e 44); e questo in un arco cronologico che aderisce quasi esattamente agli anni romani del Valla, cioè dal 1448 al 1457, che

Antonio», *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 7 (Roma, 1965), p. 402. Che Alfonso non rinunciasse a pubbliche dichiarazioni del suo culto ovidiano per ingraziarsi di nuovo i Sulmonesi nella più nota spedizione del 1442 è confermato da Giovanni Pontano, *De principe*, in Regoliosi, «Due nuove lettere...», p. 160. Per la tradizione locale riguardante la casa del poeta v. E. Mattiocco, «Dal Santuario alle 'poteche'», *Dalla Villa di Ovidio al Santuario di Ercole* (Sulmona, 1989), pp. 30-33; ma non mi riesce di pensare al sovrano che si arrampica quotidianamente sulle aspre pendici del monte Morrone («quotidie aliquos ducere ad visendum ipsius poetae domus ruinas»); ritengo invece che si recasse alle rovine superstiti nella chiesa di S. Maria della Tomba, all'interno della città, di cui parlano Pietro Odi (*Ovidiadis*, vv. 301-302: «Hoc tua sors melior quod adhuc monumenta supersunt, Quae media in divae Virginis aede colis», in M.T. Grazioso Acquaro, «Petri Odi Montopolitani Carmina nunc primum a libris manu scriptis edita», *Humanistica Lovaniensia* XIX [1970], p. 106) e il de Mattheis (*Memorie storiche de' Peligni...*, III, p. 8): «La prima Chiesa Parrocchiale è Santa Maria della Tomba, La quale have questa denominazione da un antico edificio, che era nel mezzo della Chiesa, e fu poi disfatto [1619] per ridurlo in più bella forma. In tempo della Gentilità era quivi un tempio di Giove, e parte dell'habitatione del Poeta Ovidio».

¹⁸ Per quanto concerne le edizioni a stampa dell'*Opusculum*, a quanto segnalano Percival-Pascal, «The Latin Poems...», pp. 151-152 n. 4, c'è da aggiungere il censimento di M. Santoro, *La stampa a Napoli nel Quattrocento* (Napoli, 1984), pp. 139-40.

ne dovette tutelare la condizione da maestro e protettore. Infatti, vi sono nell'operetta puntuali riscontri di attuato magistero di cui Bartolomeo conservò memorabile ricordo: «praeceptor meus Laurentius Valla», «linguae latinae nostra tempestate princeps», «in lingua latina exquisitissimus, et qui dicendi oratione nostris temporibus aliorum pace dixerim princeps fuit» (ff. 71^v, 64 e 61); se dunque è al Valla, e alla lezione delle *Elegantiae*, che va legato l'impegno grammaticale del sulmonese¹⁹, è ancora a lui e al suo insegnamento che bisogna ricondurre l'interesse per Quintiliano, giusta una nota sul foglio di guardia di Ambrosiano E 153 sup. individuata dalla Ferrari²⁰.

Inoltre, pensando appunto agli anni del soggiorno romano e alla caduta in disgrazia subito dopo la morte del maestro, si può intravedere per quale strada Bartolomeo arrivasse a Milano: poiché, se forse val poco la presenza lì del Panormita nel 1458, quale ambasciatore di Alfonso d'Aragona²¹, ben più decisiva dovrebbe essere quella di Pier Candido Decembrio che vi era di casa e qualcosa contava; anch'egli al tempo segretario di Alfonso, dal 1450 al 1456 era pure stato «Magister brevium» nella curia papale²². Credo che fu proprio il Decembrio, conosciuto certo a Roma negli anni belli, e inoltre buon amico del Valla, che portò con sé, arrivando da Napoli, o comunque sistemò Bartolomeo presso lo Sforza; specialmente se si guarda ad obiettivi elementi di amicizia e riconoscenza contenuti nell'unica lettera superstite del carteggio fra i due, senza dire di quanto ne risultino rafforzati

¹⁹ Percival, «The Artis...», pp. 43-45 rimanda opportunamente al Valla e aggiunge l'esempio di Gasparino Veronese, in quanto scrive sotto Niccolò V; non trascurerei il modello del *Grammaticon* di Pier Candido Decembrio (v. P. Viti, «Decembrio, Pier Candido», *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 33 [Roma, 1987], p. 492), altro personaggio particolarmente legato a Bartolomeo.

²⁰ Ferrari, «Fra i 'latini scriptores'...», p. 278; le pregnanti pagine di questa studiosa suscitano comunque qualche interrogativo: l'attenzione di Bartolomeo a Quintiliano andrebbe collegata all'apprendistato col Valla (su Valla e Quintiliano v. E. Garin, «Lorenzo Valla e l'Umanesimo» e L. Cesarini Martinelli, «Le postille di Lorenzo Valla all'Institutio oratoria' di Quintiliano», *Lorenzo Valla e l'Umanesimo italiano...*, p. 12 e pp. 21-50); non vedo poi ragione del rimprovero a Percival, «The Artis...» di errori biografici già corretti da Avesani, «Epaeneticorum...», pp. 27-28, cui semmai sarebbero da ascrivere fraintendimenti; a parte ciò, mi sembra eccessivo qualificare l'autore dei *poemata* uno dei molti *semidotti centro-italiani* piombati alla corte di Francesco Sforza (p. 279; il corsivo è mio).

²¹ Resta, «Beccadelli...», p. 404.

²² Viti, «Decembrio...», p. 489. Sulle cause dell'esodo da Roma e su alcune peripezie del Decembrio durante il viaggio a Milano, v. B. Figliuolo, *Il terremoto del 1456 I* (Altavilla Silentina, 1988), pp. 12-14.

da una collocazione cronologica meno irragionevole di quella finora proposta.

Conservata da una coppia di esemplari apocrifi, la lettera è tradizionalmente datata al 22 febbraio 1465, e riferita al pontificato di Paolo II²³; vi si parla con cautela di un affare che stava a cuore al Decembrio a Roma e che Bartolomeo andava trattando per lui con prudenza e diplomazia. Mi sembra, in tal caso, che non si sia portata la debita attenzione alla serie di incongruenze che l'accettazione del 1465 comporta in riferimento al tessuto epistolare, giacché, a quella data, noi avremmo Bartolomeo già vescovo di Sulmona e professore a Napoli che, non si sa come e perché, partiva in viaggio da Milano facendo capo al marchese di Ferrara e al conte di Urbino prima di approdare a Roma. Invece, se il «*Bartholomaeus quantuluscunque est tuus est non aliter quam filius*» quale si dichiara al Decembrio, e quale poco si addice ad un vescovo, lo si riporta all'indietro, agli anni del servizio sforzesco pieno di insicurezze e sudditanze, oltretutto di scoperte difficoltà economiche, il quadro va subito a fuoco: il 22 febbraio del 1460 il Decembrio era a Milano, giuntovi da poco tempo con l'intento di trasferire la famiglia a Napoli; preoccupato della instabile situazione del Regno aveva preferito fermarsi e attendere (vi sarebbe restato fino al 1466²⁴), cercando diversa e sicura sistemazione. Se pensiamo alle angustie del sulmonese, alle sue identiche brigue per migliorare la propria condizione con l'occhio all'avvento di Pio II, tutto può diventare più chiaro: Bartolomeo si spostò da Milano a Roma per sé e per il Decembrio, fece tappe diplomatiche a Ferrara e Urbino, e, una volta giunto a destinazione, avvicinò tramite gli uffici di Lampugnino Biraghi («*Lampugnanus*») il potente cardinale Bartolomeo Roverella («*Ravenatem*»)²⁵; sappiamo pure dagli eventi successivi che non si crearono le condizioni favorevoli per un ritorno romano del Decembrio, e che solo

²³ La datazione risale a M. Borsa, «Pier Candido Decembrio e l'Umanesimo in Lombardia», *Archivio storico lombardo* II, 10, 2 (1893), 408-409 ed è accettata da Percival-Pascal, «The Latin Poems...», p. 153 e n. 10, Avesani, «Epaeneticorum...», p. 28, Ferrari, «Fra i 'latini scriptores'...», p. 279; edizione in Percival, «The *Artis*...», p. 46.

²⁴ Viti, «Decembrio...», p. 490.

²⁵ Diversamente da Avesani, «Epaeneticorum...», p. 28, il testo della lettera parla di raccomandazione di Bartolomeo al Roverella in favore del Decembrio. Sul Roverella v. C. Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica Medii Aevi* 2 (Münster, 1914), p. 13, p. 73; su Lampugnino M. Miglio, «Birago, Lampugnino», *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 10 (1968), pp. 595-597.

anni dopo la situazione si sarebbe evoluta favorevolmente per lo stesso Bartolomeo.

È comunque al medesimo difficile periodo milanese (se non addirittura agli inizi di esso, 1458/59), e alla stretta colleganza col Decembrio, che ritengo di poter ascrivere l'epigramma indirizzato al Panormita²⁶, indice di una sistemazione precaria e avara di riconoscimenti, perfino stentata nella quotidianità, com'è chiara denuncia nella lettera in volgare a Francesco Sforza firmata «Servitor Bartholomeus Sulmonensis», dove la condizione di miseria, forse esagerata, appare certo fondata sulla realtà di forte disagio economico («Mi so creditore dello salario per uno anno integro»²⁷). Nel medesimo contesto di sodalizio col Decembrio e di problematici rapporti nella scelta di campo è da ricondurre l'origine della polemica col Filelfo che, maturata come attacco alla *Sphortias*, e affiorando per noi appena in un luogo dell'*Opusculum*²⁸, sarebbe scoppiata virulenta alla morte di Pio II.

Per quanto risulti difficile, e pericoloso, ricavare precisi riferimenti biografici dalla produzione poetica di quegli anni, essa ci mostra però senza veli il protagonismo di Bartolomeo che, schierato con la sua musa dalla parte del papa, ne esaltava l'illuminato avvento e ne auspicava pertanto il necessario riscatto della poesia e dei suoi interpreti in toni enfaticamente queruli:

Romulidae peccant cives, qui praemia numquam
vatis exsolvunt, quae meruere, sacris.
Mendicant Romae vates, sanctissime praesul;
occurras ni tu, iam periere, pater.

.....

Unica spes vatum terris, sanctissime praesul,
despectas Musas tu miserere tuas!²⁹

Le preghiere trovarono infine ascolto, e gli effetti benefici dell'inter-

²⁶ Percival-Pascal, «The Latin Poems...», p. 156. All'assegnazione immediatamente a ridosso del 1438, anno del *Triumphus* alfonso in Sulmona e del probabile sodalizio di Bartolomeo col Valla, già dal 1432 in polemica col Panormita (v. Regoliosi, «Due nuove lettere...», p. 166 e n. 39), per quanto seducente, osta l'appellativo «magne senex»; piuttosto disomogenee, le proposte di datazione di Percival-Pascal, «The Latin Poems...», p. 153 e p. 156, non danno rilievo al tono troppo umile per un vescovo nel caso si andasse oltre il 1463; intorno al 1458 il Panormita, nato nel 1394, poteva ben essere un «senex» e Bartolomeo, nato ca. il 1420, ancora professarsi al suo cospetto «iuvenis» e «filius».

²⁷ Edizione in Percival, «The Artis...», p. 47 e Papponetti, *La provincia dell'Umanesimo. Saggi e note sulmonesi* (Sulmona, 1986), pp. 31-32.

²⁸ Percival, «The Artis...», p. 41 e n. 13.

²⁹ Percival-Pascal, «The Latin Poems...», pp. 162-163, vv. 11-14 e 33-34.

vento papale e della sua alleanza con Francesco Sforza portarono dapprima alla richiesta ufficiale dei rettori dell'Università di Pavia di avere Bartolomeo quale professore stabile di retorica e poesia³⁰, «sua doctrina et exquisito dicendi genere» — richiesta cui presumo non fu estraneo un intervento diretto del cardinale Roverella; ma, una volta riavviatasi per il giusto verso, la ruota della fortuna compì il suo giro fino in fondo. Non è questo il luogo per indugiare a valutazioni complessive della distribuzione dei benefici canonici ed episcopali elargiti da Pio II all'ampia congrega di umanisti a lui vicini e affidabili; basti rilevare come la scelta di sedi ed incarichi non fosse lasciata al caso o alla disponibilità del momento, rientrando invece nel preciso disegno di uno scacchiere politico. L'elevazione di un nobile sulmonese all'episcopato della sua città d'origine non fu soltanto il massimo del riconoscimento che gli si potesse concedere, ma rientrò nell'ordine di ponderate manovre, dell'urgente collocazione di un uomo fidato, conoscitore dei luoghi e delle persone, ben accetto ai notabili del luogo e ai suoi parenti che partecipavano al governo della comunità, la quale si vedeva oltretutto gratificata nelle richieste o nelle aspettative piuttosto che costretta a far buon viso nell'accettare di mal grado la solita designazione imposta dal pontefice di turno. Dimenticare nel bel mezzo di quali eventi storici cadesse tale investitura, essendo la lotta fra Angioini e Aragonesi ancora aperta, e trascurare il ruolo chiave di cerniera fra Stato pontificio e Regno di Napoli che ricopriva la Sulmona fedelissima alla corona e a Ferrante, significherebbe far grave torto all'intelligenza politica e alla strategia diplomatica di Pio II³¹.

E qui s'impone la necessità di sgombrare il campo da equivoci: si deve infatti all'Avesani l'aver rimesso in qualche modo in dubbio, pur in misura estremamente corretta dal punto di vista metodologico, l'identificazione dell'umanista Bartolomeo Sulmonese con il vescovo

³⁰ Percival, «The Artis...», pp. 46-47.

³¹ Di Pietro, *Memorie storiche della città di Solmona*, pp. 267-278. Non sarà inutile rilevare, stante le difficoltà che si crearono in Abruzzo per Ferrante a causa dell'Aquila — dove, nell'epifania del 1460, era stato proprio il vescovo Amico Agnifili a benedire in piazza le bandiere di Renato d'Angiò —, che nello stesso 1463 in cui Bartolomeo diventò vescovo di Sulmona veniva trasferito nella diocesi di Teramo Giovannantonio Campano, che degli Aquilani aveva dato un ritratto di semibarbari nel *Bracci Perusini vita et gesta*: v. E. Pontieri, *Il comune dell'Aquila nel declino del Medioevo* (L'Aquila, 1978), pp. 98-102 e R. Colapietra, *Spiritualità, coscienza civile e mentalità collettiva nella storia dell'Aquila* (L'Aquila, 1984), pp. 217-218.

Bartolomeo de Scalas³². Ora, a parte il fatto che basterebbe riconsiderare quanto siamo venuti dicendo per convincerci dell'impossibilità che si tratti di distinte persone, è sufficiente aggiungere ovvie sottolineature: l'autore dell'*Opusculum* si firma «Bartholomaeus Philalites Sulmonensis»³³; il maestro degli anni napoletani cui Tommaso Schifaldo fa riferimento è detto «doctore nostro domino Bartholomaeo Sulmonensi Filalite praesule»³⁴; e il ms Parigino lat. 8372 che, fra gli altri, contiene i poemetti di Bartolomeo in difesa di Pio II contro il Filelfo, e la lode in proposito del Decembrio, appartenne a quel Pietro da Celano per cui scrisse l'elogio funebre Bartolomeo vescovo di Valva e Sulmona³⁵.

Il 3 ottobre del 1463, a Roma, il domenicano Bartolomeo de Scalas, in arte Filalite, venne dunque eletto vescovo³⁶; una coppia di lettere scambiate con i canonici del Capitolo di S. Panfilo in Sulmona consente altresì di sincerarci che si trattava effettivamente dell'umanista e cortigiano, del professore di retorica e poesia a Milano; se ne mettono infatti in rilievo le doti oratorie e la facondia ciceroniana³⁷, e vi spicca singolarmente la citazione boeziana da Platone secondo cui sono felici gli stati retti dai filosofi³⁸:

Venerabiles viri salutem. Vellem profecto cum opis nostre nuntio satis digne satisque luculenter gratiam referre ciceronianam facunditatem in dicendo mihi vendicavisse; ut vobis de me bene merentibus abunde satisfaceret et ad Summum Pontificem scripsistis et pro me, ut debuit, summopere cum civibus semper invigilastis, itaque in versibus pergratulastis cum non externum, non natione peregrinum aliquem sed conterraneum et, ut ausim dicere, consortem et qui episcopatum sicut in familiarem superiorem recepit. Estis igitur certiores non meis meritis sed divino consensu tum Summi nostri Pontificis tum universi

³² Avesani, «Epaeneticorum...», p. 28 n. 55, seguito da Ferrari, «Fra i 'latini scriptores'...», p. 279 (che non menziona il vescovo sulmonese ma accetta Avesani) e Bottari, «Tommaso Schifaldo...», p. 235 e n. 32.

³³ Percival-Pascal, «The Latin Poems...», p. 151 n. 4.

³⁴ Bottari, «Tommaso Schifaldo...», p. 234.

³⁵ Bloch, «Quelques manuscrits...», pp. 143-146, pp. 159-161, J. Delz, «Ein unbekannter brief von Pomponius Laetus», *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 9 (1966), 418-21; Kristeller, *Iter...* I, p. 424 («In morte Petri de Celano per Barth. episc. Valven.»).

³⁶ Percival-Pascal, «The Latin Poems...», pp. 150-51 n. 2.

³⁷ Ferrari, «Fra i 'latini scriptores'...», p. 279 ci informa che a Milano Bartolomeo fu possessore di un codice di opere filosofiche ed orazioni di Cicerone.

³⁸ Boet., *de cons. phil.* 4, 4 = Plat., *res publ.* 5, 18. Ripropongo i testi secondo Chiaverini, *La Diocesi...* V, pp. 376-77, correggendo tacitamente qualche evidente svista ed alcuni refusi, poiché la situazione delle carte nell'Archivio di S. Panfilo non mi ha consentito il riscontro sugli originali.

Cardinalium Collegii voluntate et non sine litteris Universitatis atque universo favore me ad episcopalem dignitatem cum summo honore ascendisse. Quam ob rem, si nostri oblivia animis vestris non ita citius subvenere, oro ut ecclesia vestra gubernetur.

Ex Urbe Roma 3 octobr. 1463.

Bartholomeus Sulmonensis

Episcopus Valvensis atque Sulmonensis

Reverende in Christo Pater et Domine noster. Singulari summo letamur honore qui novissime V.R. delatus est. Non enim fieri potuerit ut vestra gloria et nostra non sit. Gratias R.V. ingentes habemus cum gratias nobis magnas egisti, ut nobis satisfacere opus eis non fuerit cum teneamur tuo nomine honorate virtutis, tum inclite nostre civitatis, tum propterea amoris erga te nostrum bene merito tuam Reverentiam dignis laudibus honorare. Certior sit V.R. multis ex causis gaudemus vestra dignitate cum primo honore et non ex nostra virtute, sed ex tua humanitate in gentes tam nobiscum quam versus familiaritatem. Certiores sumus vestris bene meritis, divino auxilio et voluntate Summi Pontificis te ascendisse ad presulatus gradum iuxta illud Boetii, discipuli Platonis: Atqui hanc sententiam Platonis ore sanxisti beatas fore res publicas si eas vel studiosi sapientie regerent, vel earum rectores studentes sapientie attigissent. Quam ob rem nos pariter ac devoti ad V.R. nostrum ipsorum recordationem mandamus cum multitudine sincera cordis et cum puritate.

R.V. Devotissimi filii Capitulum et Canonici
Ecclesie Sancti Pamphili de Sulmone.

L'insediamento ufficiale di Bartolomeo avvenne verso la fine di novembre³⁹; e in Sulmona, fra le more dell'impegno episcopale, non gli mancavano stimoli a continuare nella pratica dell'*otium* studioso e della versificazione dagli attivi fermenti culturali di una secolare tradizione⁴⁰: vi trovò Pietro Odi di Montopoli, già conosciuto negli anni romani, venuto nella patria di Ovidio a cercare gli ultimi momenti di pace accanto a Marino Turanense e a quel Niccolò Rainaldi di cui aveva grande stima⁴¹. Ma, trascorso appena un anno, e riaprendosi lo

³⁹ Una lettera autografa ai canonici di S. Panfilo e al Capitolo, del 20 novembre 1463, a firma «Bartholomaeus Sulmonensis» in calce e «B. de Scalis episcopus» nel rovescio del piego, è data da Cocullo, paesino arroccato fra i monti in cui non ha senso un soggiorno nei mesi freddi: fu quindi solo tappa nel viaggio da Roma a Sulmona.

⁴⁰ Papponetti, «Intellettuali e circolazione libraria in Sulmona fra Medioevo e Rinascimento», *Cultura umanistica nel Meridione e la Stampa in Abruzzo*, Atti del Convegno... (L'Aquila, 1984), pp. 259-91.

⁴¹ Graziosi Acquaro, «Petri Odi Montopolitani Carmina...», pp. 7-113, registra epigrammi fra Pietro e Tancredi de Scalis e indica dubitativamente Bartolomeo quale

Studium napoletano, il vescovo non seppe resistere dal rientrare nei panni abituali del professore; giovandosi forse dell'autorità del Rainaldi, certamente delle proprie credenziali letterarie e politiche, vi ottenne incarichi di insegnamento e di rettorato dal 1465 al 1471⁴²: le fonti superstiti ci attestano inoltre i nomi dei colleghi, che, se da una parte rimandano alla cerchia piccolominiana (il Porcelio⁴³ e il Lasca-
ris), dall'altra mostrano pure una prevalenza di elementi sulmonesi

protagonista con Pietro di una botta e risposta (pp. 111-113); nel caso, avremmo una vivida scheggia di pungente schermaglia fra componenti della cerchia di Pio II approdati a diversa sorte: quantomeno singolare mi sembra il fatto che l'epigramma attribuito a Bartolomeo («Desine quod numeris numeros sperare, poeta, Musarum et [est?] animus carmina non emere.») orecchi con pochi mutamenti il famoso distico con cui Pio II aveva risposto alle petizioni di alcuni poeti («Discite pro numeris numeros sperare, poetae! Mutare est animus carmina, non emere»; v. Avesani, «Epaeneticorum...», p. 95). A p. 19, la Graziosi Acquaro pubblica parte della lettera a Marino Turanense in cui, ospite a Popoli (non nel Napoletano!) dei Cantelmo, Pietro annuncia il suo imminente arrivo a Sulmona; la lettera (ediz. Delz, «Ein unbekannter...», pp. 438-440) esprime fervida aspettativa di conoscere il Rainaldi: «Habent ipsi natum, habent non insitum civem, civem Nicolaum [...]. Isti tu viro excellentissimo, quem tuis litteris ad me Galenum dixisti, me conciliabis, dum venero, suavissime Marine, et commendabis» (p. 440). Sull'attività universitaria di quest'ultimo v. «Nicolai Scevolae Spoletani Epistola...», *M. Probi Sulmonensis Parthenias liber in Divae Mariae Historiam* (Neapoli: Ant. de Frizis, 1524), f. 3^r; Di Pietro, *Memorie storiche degli uomini illustri...*, pp. 98-99; V. Balzano, *I legisti ed artisti abruzzesi lettori nello Studio di Bologna* (Castel di Sangro, 1892), pp. 115-129, «Legisti e artisti abruzzesi lettori nelle celebri università d'Italia», *Bullettino della Deputazione abruzzese di Storia Patria* LI-LIII (1961-63), 24-25, 87, 101-102; G. Zonta-I. Broto, *Acta graduum academicorum Gymnasii Patavini...* (Padova, 1970), I-III, *ad indices*. L'incontro sulmonese fra l'Odi e il Rainaldi in «Nicolai Scevolae Spoletani Epistola...», f. 3^r; le poesie dell'Odi a Pio II e l'epistola metrica al Decembrio in Graziosi Acquaro, «Petri Odi Montopolitani Carmina...», pp. 69-83 e pp. 67-68; carmi di Pietro Odi e Bartolomeo per Pio II compaiono negli *Epaenetica* (Avesani, «Epaeneticorum...», pp. 25-27, p. 32, p. 37) e nei mss della Biblioteca Nazionale di Parigi appartenuti a Pietro da Celano (Bloch, «Quelques manuscrits...», pp. 150-152, da cui si ricava notizia di un magistero di Marino sul celanese che, visto l'orizzonte degli autori campionati — non escluso Tancredi, pp. 151 e 153 —, farebbe pensare ad un epicentro sulmonese per la genesi delle raccolte parigine). Un epigramma di Tancredi a Marino suo precettore è in Vaticano Borg. P.F. 362, f. 46^r (Kristeller, *Iter...* II, p. 440; per la provenienza sulmonese del ms v. G. Morelli, *Manoscritti d'interesse abruzzese nelle biblioteche romane* [L'Aquila, 1982], p. 179).

⁴² È riconducibile a questo periodo la dedica di copia dell'*Opusculum* a Giovanni d'Aragona, che resterà poi nelle edizioni a stampa; v. Percival-Pascal, «The Latin Poems...», p. 151 n. 4; Giovanni Brancati, bibliotecario di re Ferrante, che lo conobbe in questo periodo, lo chiama dottissimo; v. B. Croce, *Poeti e scrittori del pieno e del tardo Rinascimento* III (Bari, 1952), p. 9 e nn. 1-2.

⁴³ Il Porcelio lo avrebbe ricordato con un distico altamente elogiativo della sua vena poetica, aggiunto al *De poetis et oratoribus* nel Vaticano lat. 1670, f. 11^r (Avesani, «Epaeneticorum...», p. 28).

(oltre al citato Rainaldi, Niccolò Capograssi e Matteo dell'Aquila, priore dell'Abbazia di S. Spirito al Morrone⁴⁴).

Ritornato definitivamente in patria, gli restavano da vivere ancora due decenni: abbastanza per assumere seriamente il ruolo di pastore di anime e dare vera impronta di sé alla diocesi, senza perciò tradire il detto di Boezio; e pure per incoraggiare e sostenere la splendida rinascita artistica della città sotto il capitanato di Polidoro Tiberti, per conoscervi il Cantalicio ed accogliervi, o chiamarvi, per la seconda volta Giovanni Pontano⁴⁵, per seguire e proteggere la carriera poetica, anch'essa nel segno di Ovidio, di Marco Probo Mariano nipote del Rainaldi e canonico in S. Panfilo⁴⁶, presto destinato a ripercorrere le sue stesse orme quale professore, e uomo di curia a Roma. Quando infine presenti la morte, volle sancire con un estremo atto di lucida coerenza la simbiosi fra dignità ecclesiastica e carriera di umanista e poeta; sia o no resuscitato prima dell'esito definitivo, il 28 giugno dettò personalmente il proprio epitafio⁴⁷, dopo che, il 22 maggio, aveva disposto nel testamento, col lascito dei suoi libri di meditazione e preghiera, la fondazione della biblioteca capitolare: faceva pertanto donazione irreversibile di tutti i volumi in elenco a condizione che stessero nella sacrestia della cattedrale, incatenati con catene di ferro, senza possibilità di essere rimossi, e questo per nessun motivo o qualsivoglia causa se non in caso di incendi, di guerra, di pericolo incombente quando fosse assediata la città. Atto di devota generosità, quindi, ma rigorosissimo e quasi maniacale nel cancelleresco dettato

⁴⁴ Santoro, «La cultura umanistica», *Storia di Napoli* IV, 2 (Napoli, 1974), p. 351; N. Barone, «Le cedole di tesoreria dell'Archivio di Stato di Napoli dall'anno 1460 al 1504», *Archivio storico per le province napoletane* IX, 2 (1884), p. 205. Mancano notizie su Nicola Capograssi, non sulla sua potente e nobile famiglia (Di Pietro, *Memorie storiche degli uomini illustri...*, ad indices; G. Lombardi, «Introduzione» a G. Capograssi, *Pensieri a Giulia I* [Roma, 1978], p. xxiii-xxiv); su Matteo dell'Aquila v. Balzano, «Legisti e artisti...», pp. 50-51; Matteo dell'Aquila, *Tractatus de Cometa atque Terraemotu* (Cod. Vat. Barb. lat. 268). A cura di B. Figliuolo (Salerno 1990), pp. 1-30.

⁴⁵ A. Campana, «Le statue quattrocentesche di Ovidio e il capitanato sulmonese di Polidoro Tiberti», *Atti del Convegno internazionale ovidiano...* 1958, I (Roma, 1959), pp. 269-288 (p. 282 ss.); G. Papponetti - A. Ghisetti Giavarina, «Un' effigie quattrocentesca di Ovidio», *Italia medioevale e uman.* 29 (1986), 293.

⁴⁶ A. Chiaverini, *Marco Probo Mariano umanista sulmonese (1455-1499)* (Sulmona, 1972); Papponetti, *La provincia...*, pp. 34-37. Gioverà ricordare che il giureconsulto Antonio Mariano, padre di Probo, fu il copista del codice contenente i *Carmina* di Giovanni Quatrario; v. Papponetti, *La provincia...*, pp. 20-24, 58-62, D. Dutschke, *Census of Petrarch Manuscripts in the United States* (Padova, 1986), pp. 159-65.

⁴⁷ A. Chiaverini, *La Cattedrale Basilica di S. Panfilo in Sulmona* (Sulmona, 1976), p. 39.

notarile delle procedure da applicare, in cui coesistono l'attaccamento morboso dell'umanista per il bene-libro e il giustificato timore del vescovo che, per furti o incuria, la sua istituzione risultasse presto vanificata o improduttiva.

In Dei nomine amen. Anno a nativitate eiusdem millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo primo, die vicesimo secundo mensis mai, none indictionis, Sulmone, in camera domus ubi residentiam habebat infrascriptus Reverendus dominus Episcopus iuxta rem heredum Ioannis de Amore et iuxta stradam publicam, regnante serenissimo domino nostro domino Ferdinando Dei gratia Sicilie Hyerusalem et Ungarie inclito ac invictissimo rege, regnorum vero eius anno tricesimo tertio feliciter amen. Nos Paulus de Fatiis de Sulmona reginali auctoritate ad contractus Iudex, Amicus de Mancinis de Sulmona publicus ubilibet per totum predictum regnum Sicilie regia auctoritate Notarius, et subscripti testes liciterati videlicet dominus Cristoforus de Arculo, dominus Ioannes Nicolai Pauli de Pesculo, dominus Dominicus Masii de Cucullo, Antonius Lisii Antonelli et Silvester Iacobi Silvestri de Sulmona, ad hoc vocati habiti specialiter et rogati, presenti scripto publico declaramus, notum facimus et testamur quod in nostri quorum supra Iudicis, Notarii et testium presentia personaliter constitutus Reverendus dominus Bartholomeus de Sulmona, Dei et Apostolice Sedis gratia Valvensis Episcopus, asserens temporibus retro actis pluries et pluries habuisse colloquium cum venerabilibus Canonicis et Capitulo maioris ecclesie Sancti Panphili de Sulmona de condenda et construenda biblioteca in sacristia prefate ecclesie Sancti Panphili sistente in perpetuum pro usu Canonicorum et Capituli prefati. Et quia nunc videtur quod sint in expeditione construendi dictam bibliotecam, ideo prefatus Reverendus dominus Episcopus actento quod pluries promisit donare eisdem Capitulo et Canonicis pro dicta biblioteca construenda hos libros videlicet unam bibliam in papiro, descriptam, unum decretum, unum decretale et abbatem siculum super omnes libros decretalium in quinque voluminibus, quatuor cohoptis rubris et uno cohopto albo, Augustinum de Civitate Dei, Margaritam super decretum, Angelicam, Hyeronimum Bononium Tarvisanum super biblia, Gesta sanctorum, omnes in licteris stampis et in cartis de papiro; item unum pontificale pulcherimum in pergamenio descriptum cum dorsis in auro missis et appositis, unum manuale sacerdotale in pergamenio et unum libellum in pergamenio, parvulum, ad † induendo † Episcopum quando cantat missam, cum imagine ipsius Episcopi, unum breviare magnum caducum in aliquibus locis solfatum. Qua propter, ad perficiendam suam intentionem et voluntatem sue promissionis, nostri quorum supra presentia donat et donationem facit inrevocabiliter inter vivos prefate ecclesie et Capitulo Sancti Panphili de omnibus suprascriptis libris tam in papiro descriptis quam in pergamenio, hac quidem conditione

et lege apposita quod dicta biblioteca sit in sacrastia prefate ecclesie et quod catenentur catenis ferreis et quod nunquam debeant seu quilibet ipsorum librorum debeat amoveri et abstrahi a dicta biblioteca prefate sacrastie aliquo modo vel causa quacumque, nisi in casu incendii et guerrarum propter periculum iminentem (!) quando esset oppressa predicta Civitas Sulmone. Et casu quo amoverentur, seu quilibet ipsorum amoveretur extra dicta pericula, quod pleno iure revertantur libri amoti, seu revertatur liber amotus ad ecclesiam Annuntiate; et hoc intelligitur de predictis libris in papiro descriptis. Et quod pontificale, liber in pergamenio descriptus prefatus non posset extrahi neque amoveri extra Civitatem Sulmone nisi unus ex Canonicis prefate ecclesie sancti Panphili, nomine Capituli prefati et ipsius ecclesie, portaret ad usum Episcopi qui pro tempore fuerit, et postea reconsignare et remittere teneatur in dicta biblioteca et loco amoto in dicta sacrastia. Et sic prefatus dominus Episcopus promisit dictam donationem inrevocabiliter inter vivos factam non revocare, neque aliquo modo contradicere nec contravenire per se vel alium de iure vel de facto et conditionem et legem appositam ac omnia et singula supra et infrascripta que presens continet instrumentum, semper et omni tempore rata grata accepta et firma perpetuo habere tenere obervare et adimplere; et contra ea vel ipsorum aliquod non facere dicere opponere vel venire sub pena unciarum auri quinquaginta medietate, videlicet dicte pene Camere Apostolice applicanda vel alteri cuicumque Curie ubi proinde fuerit reclamatum, me notario prefato vice nomine et pro parte ipsius Curie sollempniter et legitime stipulante, reliqua medietate pene predictae ipsi Capitulo et Canonicis sollemni stipulatione premissa, cum integra refectione omnium et singulorum damnorum interesse et expensarum litis et extra que fierent propterea quoquo modo pro reali observatione premissorum. Qua pena soluta vel non soluta, seu etiam gratiose remissa, presens contractus et quicquid in se continet in sua semper nihilominus firmitate perduret. Renunciens prefatus dominus Episcopus beneficio alicuius ingratitudinis non revocare, et prius et ante omnia per me Notarium prefatum plene informatum de subscriptis renunciationibus et earum effectibus antequam renunciaret eisdem exceptioni doli mali vis metus actioni conditio, sive causa et ob causam rei aliter geste et predictae modo non geste [...]⁴⁸.

*
* * *

Nell'ambito del censimento e dell'edizione citata dei poemetti latini di Bartolomeo de Scalis, il Percival e il Pascal hanno utilizzato il ms

⁴⁸ Faraglia, *Codice diplomatico sulmonese*, pp. 395-397, n° 298; sul funzionamento delle biblioteche domenicane v. Antonelli, «L'ordine domenicano e la letteratura...», pp. 691-694.

Parigino latino 8372, derivandone tre componimenti dai ff. 1-9^v⁴⁹; ma hanno stranamente ignorato i ff. 12-20, contenenti i testi inediti di risposta ed attacco al Filelfo che, invisito al sulmonese dal tempo dell'*Opusculum* e del sodalizio col Decembrio in Milano, aveva dissacrato la memoria di Pio II, suscitando la reazione del Sacro Collegio e il provvedimento restrittivo dello Sforza⁵⁰.

Come già accennato, il ms appartenne a Pietro da Celano e proviene dalla biblioteca napoletana dei re aragonesi; è stato studiato dalla Bloch⁵¹, che, fornendo notizie imprecise sulla sequenza che ci interessa, ha condizionato altri studiosi: in effetti, il codice non contiene un solo componimento cui starebbero in appendice l'epitafio del Filelfo e una ulteriore risposta a lui, bensì due poemetti autonomi ai quali fanno da *pendant* altrettanti epigrammi, l'uno del Filelfo e l'altro del Decembrio. Considerandone i contenuti, la disposizione esatta va così ricostruita: f. 12, epigramma del Filelfo contro Pio II; ff 18^v-20, componimento di Bartolomeo che rinfaccia al Filelfo la sua venale petulanza e annuncia un'invettiva più ampia; ff. 12-18^v, genesi infernale, vita e morte del Filelfo (e l'epitafio ne è parte integrante); f. 20^v, epigramma di Pier Candido Decembrio in lode di Bartolomeo per l'attacco al Filelfo in difesa della memoria del pontefice.

La scrittura è un'umanistica larga e chiara, che si sforza di essere ordinata e sobriamente elegante, con qualche sporadico utilizzo di lettera iniziale colorata o scrittura in maiuscola capitale della prima parola; pure in maiuscola sono tutte le lettere d'inizio verso, con separazione netta dal resto della parola a distinguere l'attacco esametrico del distico. Ricorrono con frequenza i segni d'interpunzione, mentre piuttosto modesti e rari sono quelli di abbreviatura; l'uso delle maiuscole nei nomi propri è molto oscillante. Ogni pagina contiene regolarmente 19 linee, tranne che a f. 20, di 16 ll., ove si conclude il poemetto, e a f. 20^v, occupato dal solo epigramma del Decembrio; interventi correttorii sono di altra mano poco elegante (forse la stessa che ha numerato i fogli): di essi, e delle mie restituzioni grafiche, si dà conto in apparato.

Rispetto ai testi conosciuti, nulla aggiungono i nuovi sotto il profilo dello stile, della prosodia e della versificazione. In quello di maggior

⁴⁹ Rispettivamente «Mea, Calliope...», «Sulmo licet...», «Proelia terribili...» («The Latin Poems...»), pp. 164-167, pp. 168-173, pp. 173-174).

⁵⁰ F. Vismara, *L'invettiva nel Quattrocento* (Milano, 1900), pp. 82-83.

⁵¹ «Quelques manuscrits...», pp. 144-149.

respiro, le metafore sembrano prendere il sopravvento: si avverte perciò una caduta del dettato espressivo, altrove più terso ed elegante, in una miscela enfatica di quattrocentesca bottega letteraria in cui non è troppo difficile orecchiare o evincere prestiti ricorrenti da Virgilio e Lucano, insieme all'immane Ovidio.

Via Silvestro di Giacomo 10
I-67039 Sulmona (Aq.)

TESTI

1.

- f. 12 *Epitaphium Antithei Anguigenae Philelphi in Pium Pontificem summum invecti*⁵²

Quo magis ingratus nemo fuit alter et idem,
 Qui dici voluit impietate Pius,
 Hac sibi quam vivus construxit clauditur arca
 Corpore; nam Stygios mens habet atra lacus.
 5 Hic, vatem quia se doctumque volebat haberi,
 Vatibus et doctis omnibus hostis erat.
 Eloquio insignes Musisque dicata iuventus,
 Solvite vota deis, quod rapuere Pium.

2.

- f. 18^v *Responsio in Philelphum*

Saepe, Philelphe, tuae numos petiere tabellae;
 Abnuit is fetido chremata ferre viro.
 f. 19 Nam donare nefas duxit sextertia lustris,
 Et gravis ipse Pius turpibus hostis erat;
 5 Insignis miro semper pietatis honore,
 A pietate Pius nobile nomen habet.
 Fortis et in Turcos cum iam properaret iniquos,
 Et cuperet Christi sustinuisse fidem,
 Stamine succiso, superas remeavit in oras,
 10 Quosque tenet meruit vita beata polos.
 Rhetoras et vates qui non ratione vacarent,
 Nec poterant brutis moribus esse pares,

⁵² Editò già in C. Rosmini, *Vita di Francesco Filelfo da Tolentino II* (Milano, 1808), p. 321; oltre ai tre volumi di questa fondamentale biografia, sul Filelfo v. V. Rossi, *Il Quattrocento* (Milano 1933³), pp. 38-43; *Francesco Filelfo nel quinto centenario della morte. Atti del XVII Convegno di Studi Maceratesi (Tolentino... 1981)*. Medioevo e Umanesimo 58 (Padova, 1986); S. Carrai, «Filelfo, Francesco», *Letteratura italiana. Gli Autori. Dizionario bio-bibliografico e Indici I* (Torino, 1990), pp. 784-785. Su Pio II e la sua cerchia di amici basterà rinviare a R. Avesani, «Epaeneticorum...», pp. 15-97, V. De Caprio, «Roma», *Letteratura italiana. Storia e geografia II*, 1 (Torino, 1988), pp. 392-397, nonché le edizioni dei *Commentarii* curate da A. van Heck (Città del Vaticano, 1984) e L. Totaro (Milano, 1984).

- Extulit hos placide magnoque affecit honore,
 Utque forent voluit relligione patres.
- 15 Quem ruber excelsis pileus virtutibus ornat,
 Testis eris causae, Bartholomaeae, tuae⁵³.
 Angele⁵⁴ vere pater, quem res cum nomine monstrat,
 Quem Pius optavit fratris habere locum,
 Impia Tartarei confutes crimina monstri:
- 20 Est pia, non cesses, causa; patronus eas.
 Testis erit Lucae praesignis laude Iacobus⁵⁵,
 f. 19^v Cui caput et merito rubra tiara tegit.
 Testis Alexander⁵⁶, divina praeditus arte,
 Ordine cui primo contigit esse locum.
- 25 Tu quoque, Ciciliae titulis decoratus honore,
 Nicoleus⁵⁷ nostro carmine testis eris.
 Tuque tuo fulgens tam claro sanguine natus,
 Tu scelus hoc poteris invidiamque pati?
 Turpe nihil credit virtus, Consage⁵⁸, ferendum!
- 30 Crimina non igitur tam scelerosa feres.

⁵³ La serie dei testimoni, cioè amici e collaboratori di Pio II, comincia con alcuni cardinali (cf. v. 15 'ruber ... pileus'), il primo dei quali è Bartolomeo Roverella (1406-1476), arcivescovo di Ravenna, creato Cardinale nel 1461; per cui v. *supra*, n. 25, P. Partner, *The Pope's Men* (Oxford, 1990), p. 248 e *Commentarii* VII 9 (ed. Van Heck, p. 449, 15-17; Totaro, p. 1442).

⁵⁴ Angelo Capranica († 1478), vescovo di Rieti, creato cardinale da Pio II nel primo Conclave (5 marzo 1460): «Angelus episcopus Reatinus primo loco nominatus est, cardinalis quondam Firmani frater» (*Comm.* IV 9, ed. Van Heck, p. 253, 19-20; Totaro, p. 676).

⁵⁵ Iacopo Ammannati Piccolomini († 1479), vescovo di Pavia, creato Cardinale nel 1461 (*Comm.* VII 9, ed. Van Heck, p. 449, 17-19; Totaro, p. 1442); v. E. Pásztor, «Ammannati, Iacopo», *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 2 (Roma 1960), pp. 802-803; Rosella Bianchi, *L'Eversana deiectio di Iacopo Ammannati Piccolomini* (Roma 1984).

⁵⁶ Alessandro Oliva da Sassoferrato (1407-1463), teologo, generale dell'Ordine degli Agostiniani, creato Cardinale da Pio II nel 1460 (*Comm.* IV 9, ed. Van Heck, p. 253, 14-18; Totaro, p. 676).

⁵⁷ Nicoleus (così *metri causa* per Nicolaus) è Niccolò Forteguerra († 1473), Cardinale di Santa Cecilia ('Cicilia' nel testo), creato anche lui da Pio II nel 1460 (*Comm.* IV 9, ed. Van Heck, p. 253, 24-26; Totaro, p. 676).

⁵⁸ Francesco Gonzaga di Mantova († 1483), «nobilissimis Italie atque Germanie familiis sanguine iunctus» (*Comm.* VIII 2, ed. Van Heck, p. 479, 13-14; Totaro, p. 1530), creato cardinale da Pio II nel 1461 all'età di diciassette anni (*Comm.* VII 9, ed. Van Heck, p. 449, 19-21; Totaro, p. 1442).

- Et Mediolani praesul⁵⁹ dignissimus esto
 Testis, ut es Livii gloria summa Fori.
 Clare Perotte⁶⁰, veni Latiae praestantia linguae,
 Fac scelus infandum te quoque teste cadat.
 35 Romulides Agapetus⁶¹ et alto sanguine natus,
 Ingenio mitis, clarus et eloquio,
 Iusque utrunque tenens, verus quoque testis adest.
 Cui niger egregio tempora cingit apex,
 Fulgini praesul⁶², faveas pater optime nobis,
 40 Nec pigeat testem partibus esse tuis.
 f. 20r Sanguine priscorum et nigro redimite galero,
 Tu, Corrade⁶³, tuis artibus adde fidem.
 Patritius⁶⁴ testis, Vulpes⁶⁵, Campanus⁶⁶ et omnes,

⁵⁹ Seguono, d'ora in avanti, alcuni vescovi. Il primo è Stefano Nardini (†1484) da Forlì (Forum Livii), notaio (notarius) della Camera Apostolica, nominato vescovo di Milano da Pio II nel novembre 1461 (*Comm.* II 34, ed. Van Heck, p. 159, 23-24; Totaro, p. 384); v. P. Partner, *The Pope's Men* (Oxford, 1990), p. 242.

⁶⁰ Su Niccolò Perotti (1429-1480), arcivescovo di Siponto e noto umanista, v. Avesani, «Epaeneticorum...», pp. 54-55; *Res Publica Litterarum* IV (Lawrence, Kansas 1981) contenente gli *Atti del Convegno Perotti, Sassoferrato 1980* (la stessa rivista pubblica studi sul Perotti quasi ogni anno); M. Davies, «Lettere inedite tra Valla e Perotti», *Lorenzo Valla e l'Umanesimo italiano...*, pp. 94-106; S. Boldrini, *Fedro e Perotti. Ricerche di storia della tradizione* (Urbino, 1988).

⁶¹ Agapito Cencio dei Rustici (ca. 1415 - Ottobre 1464), Romano, giurista, collaboratore di Pio II, che lo nominò vescovo di Ancona nel 1460 e di Camerino nel 1463; v. Avesani, «Epaeneticorum...», p. 17, pp. 45-47, pp. 70-71 e pp. 73-74.

⁶² Antonio Bettini (e non Bertini, come si legge in Gams e Eubel!) da Siena (1396-1487), vescovo di Foligno dal 1461 al 1486. Apparteneva all'Ordine dei Gesuati sotto la regola di S. Agostino (cf. v. 38: «niger ... apex»); v. G. Prunai, «Bettini, Antonio», *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 9, pp. 746-747.

⁶³ Conradus Astensis, vir doctus (Corrado da Asti), nominato generale dell'Ordine dei Domenicani («nigro redimitus galero», v. 41) da Pio II (*Comm.* X 19, ed. Van Heck, p. 611, 11-12; Totaro, p. 1492).

⁶⁴ Francesco Patrizi da Siena (1413-1492), vescovo di Gaeta e governatore di Foligno, umanista e poeta, che scrisse una *Ecloga de Natali Christi* (1460) e altri carmi per Pio II; v. Avesani, «Epaeneticorum...», pp. 28-30, pp. 62-63 e p. 97. Oppure Agostino Patrizi (†1496), altro senese della cerchia di Pio II: amanuense del papa dal 1460, scrisse gran parte del codice originale (Vat. lat. 1995) dei *Commentarii*; vescovo di Pienza dal 1482 alla sua morte; autore del *De legatione Germanica Francisci Piccolominei Cardinalis*.

⁶⁵ Nicolò Volpe da Vicenza, professore di retorica a Bologna, 1440-1460; v. Avesani, «Epaeneticorum...», pp. 49-50; M. Regoliosi, «Nuove ricerche intorno a Giovanni Tortelli», *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 12 (1969), pp. 165-172, pp. 176-178, p. 180, pp. 183-184.

⁶⁶ Giovannantonio Campano, vescovo di Crotone e di Teramo (*supra*, n. 31); v. Avesani, «Epaeneticorum...», p. 18, pp. 64-68, pp. 71-73, p. 97; F.R. Hausmann, «Campano, Giovanni Antonio», *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 17, pp. 424-429; Fl. Di

- Tunc quicumque sacrum commeruere decus.
 45 Sunt alii, fateor, docti, quos vita probavit,
 Nec fuit iis animo relligione capi.
 Non potuit parvo cunctis accurrere lustro,
 Christicolam Turco sollicitante fidem.
 Hactenus haec nostrae referuntur carmina Musae;
 50 Sint monitus stolido paucula dicta viro.
 Si pergat spurcus rursusque is rancida tentet
 Hiscere, nec soliti muneris absit opus,
 Laxabo fontes millena per ora fluentis;
 Tam fetidi capitis copia tanta mihi est;
 55 Et si Musa fugit memoratu turpe referre,
 Aequa tamen Musam sanctaque causa movet.

3.

- f. 12 *De origine et moribus Antithei Anguigenae Philelphi in Pium pontificem
 summum inveci. Bartholomaei Sulmonensis opusculum incipit*

- Vertice Parnasi Phoebus Pythona sagittis
 Perculit, et pestem sustulit Aoniae.
 Foedus erat serpens Stygiis evulsus ab undis,
 Quem loca non poterant inferiora pati;
 5 Nubila nanque vomens tetrice perfusa veneno,
 Manibus is paedor intolerandus erat:
 f. 12^v Hoc igitur Furiis inferna sede repulsus,
 Missus et ad superos pestis acerba fuit.
 Inde iacens multo confectum vulnere corpus
 10 Vertitur in saniem delicuitque solo;
 Proxima vallis erat tunc per declivia montis,
 Huc lachrymae putris mille liquoris eunt,

52 *Dicere* correct. in *Hiscere*

1 *phythona* 3 *Fedus* 6 *pedor* 10 *insaniam*

Bernardo, *Un vescovo umanista alla Corte Pontificia: Giannantonio Campano (1429-1477)* (Roma 1975). Per la sua amicizia col sulmonese Niccolò Rainaldi v. Balzano, *I legisti ed artisti...*, pp. 125-127.

- Inque lacum crescunt liquentes corpore guttae
Fertur et hoc vallis illa nocere viris.
- 15 Nuncia Tartarei Plutonis fertur ad aures
Fama, nec ignoto congemit ille sono;
Congemit et frendet: toto reboante baratro,
Dira deûm regi caetera turba coit.
«Quidve iubet — clamant omnes — quae causa furoris,
20 Quod facinus tantum regia tecta movet?»
«Eumenides adsint — inquit - mea magna potestas,
Cerberus huc adeat tuque Chimaera veni!
Ite citi Manes aliqui et vos ite sorores,
Ite furor terris omnibus, ite furor!
- 25 Cerbere tu laceres, exuras cuncta Chimaera,
f. 13 Quandoquidem coeli numina tuta manent.
Noster in Aonias Python concesserat oras,
Iussa sequens superis invidiosa deis;
En Phoebus superum plena venit arce faretra,
30 Conficit hunc, celso stat tamen ille loco.
Quam melius Phoebos plastrum ductare per altum
Aethera, et incensus tergora pungat equis,
Quam mea tam stolidus tentet praevertere telis
Regna, nec aspiciat cui nocet ille furens.
- 35 Stirps ea Titanum quondam propellere fratrem
Ausa polo; vires concitat illa meas:
Ite citae ultrices totumque invertite mundum,
Hocque datum Phoebos muneris orbis habe».
Dixerat haec Ditis; porta se proripit illud
40 Agmen, et immenso turbine cuncta trahit,
Non aliter quam si tellus concussa tridente
Mulciberi et tumido flamine ventre ruat;
Hincque furens Zephyrus pertundat turbine terras,
Illinc vi multa flaminis Eurus eat;
f. 13* 45 Hinc veniens Boreas gelida bacchetur ab Arcto,
Imbrifer e mediis partibus Auster eat.
Fit fragor, insolito crebrescit fulgure caelum,
Omnibus est finis creditus ille dies.

- Inde ruunt alto furiis de vertice turres,
 50 Hinc sita sublimi culmine tecta cadunt;
 Murmure terribili franguntur robora sylvis,
 Montibus excisis saxa fragosa ruunt.
 Iuppiter hic rursus titania bella parari
 Credidit, et subiti fulminis arma petit.
 55 Aonios demum ut quassato turbine mundo
 Turba profanatos attigit illa locos,
 Quisque suas nares tetro percussus odore
 Astringit, nocuus tam fuit ille liquor.
 Mox etiam mixtis ululatibus aera complent
 60 Et circumsepi funera triste gemunt.
 Inde Megaera suos, ut erat, demissa capillos:
 «Lugubris o fletus siste parumper — ait —,
 Ille deum urina satus est nimbosus Orion,
 f. 14 Qui laribus meruit stella sedere poli;
 65 Simia resperso Titanum nata cruore
 Spernit adhuc superos, nec timet illa deos.
 Ergo favete omnes, mecumque hic solvite ventrem,
 Mingite, quod petimus stercora nostra dabunt;
 Stipitibus sumptis cuncta haec involvite cuncti
 70 Et miscete simul; hinc patris ultor erit.
 Cerbere, tu spumas, tu flammas adde Chimaera,
 Ossibus ut vestri muneris ardor eat».
 Dicta deae subito reliquorum facta sequuntur,
 Stercore commixtus crevit et ipse liquor;
 75 Finitimas paedor tantus properavit ad urbes,
 Quae necuit multos pestis et atra fuit.
 Hinc nova progenies ex tali nata mephiti est,
 Putris odoratu nec toleranda viro.
- Megaera*
- Mox dea: «Quae dicam, Manes, attendite cuncti,
 80 Carminibusque meis reddite carmen — ait;
 Manibus nunc exi Stygiis repetita propago,
 f. 14* Inter mortales noxia pestis eas:
 Decipias, fallas, omnes frustreris amicos;
 Sisque Iovi summo stirps inimica deo,

- 85 Sisque procax leno, nullos patiaris honores,
 Inque omnes lingua pernitiōsa veni,
 Sisque pater pullis, castos detrude puēllos,
 Inque tuos natos te citet ipse furor.
 Quumque leges vastum peregrinis navibus aequor,
 90 Et meretrix solita non erit ulla comes,
 Simia pro scorto subeat vexanda Tritesti⁶⁷,
 Ganniat Antithei sanguine vincta sui.
 Illa meretricum maneat tibi summa voluptas,
 Quoque furas summus sit tibi Bacchus amor.
 95 Sisque gulae cultor, divina tomacula quaeras,
 Perdices, turdos, pingua farta vores,
 Suina sollicite cupido demerge palato,
 Ambrosiasque vores ardalionis opes.
 Haec bona sola putes, quibus est immixta voluptas
 100 Corporis, ast animi cura severa vacet.
 f. 15 Iura deūm spernas, nec sanctis crede ministris,
 Atque neges superis numen adesse polis;
 Templā deum nunquam vises nisi forte sequaris
 Scorta, lupanares sint tibi templā domus».

Manes

- 105 «Turba putet vatem, sed vates iste procuret
 Dulcia pro Musis scorta tenere suis;
 Idque ferant omnes meretrices esse Tritestem
 Quod toties madidus iste lupanar eat».

Megaera

- «Vade peregrinus, Graias te transfer in oras:
 110 Sis latro sacrilegus tutaque nulla sinas,
 Aedibus e sacris pretiosos eripe libros,
 Et fuge, ne calidos experiare focos.
 Protinus Italiam redeas, patriamque revise,
 Grammata Graecorum te didicisse feras;
 115 Illic te ostentes, iuvenes iis fallere tenta,
 Turba rudis facias te putet esse deum.

85 *laeno* 95 *Sisquae ... tomacula* infra 100-101 *Megaera* repetitur

⁶⁷ La parola *tritesti* coniata su modelli classici come *trilinguis* e *trimembris*, è una latinizzazione del greco τριόρχης. Vedi anche v. 225, *Philorchis*.

- f. 15^r More feras graeco propexam ad pectora barbam,
 Quoque cares animum proferat illa gravem.
 Sis tamen ingratus, petulans, sis noxius illis,
 120 Perversumque feras omnibus esse genus;
 Nullis parce bonis, sapientem carpe Cleanthem,
 Sicque Chirona bonum, sicque Bianta neges».

Manes

- «Turba putet vatem, sed vates iste procuret
 Dulcia pro Musis scorta tenere suis;
 125 Idque ferant cunctae meretrices esse Tritestem,
 Quod toties madidus iste lupanar eat».

Megaera

- «Publica, si possis, dicendo vertere pugnes,
 Haecque sit officii regula prima tui;
 Rhetoras et vates, dominos regesque ducesque
 130 Omnes te pariter insimulare iuvet;
 Pontifices mordax iaculis incessere linguae
 Aude, sis sacris lingua proterva choris.
 Sit tibi livor edax, sint semina mille malorum,
 f. 16 Exurasque oculis prospera cuncta tuis.
 135 Lumine vipereas maculas insignia portes
 Stirpis, et Anguigena sic fateare patre;
 Multa quidem tecum tacita fac mente volutes,
 Sint tamen illa bonis pernitiōsa viris.
 Prodigus esto tibi, veneremque gulamque foveto,
 140 Omnibus at reliquis semper avarus eas;
 Ingens ira tuo tacite sub pectore flagret,
 Flagret et ut tectus extuet illa focus».

Manes

- «Turba putet vatem, sed vates iste procuret
 Dulcia pro Musis scorta tenere suis;
 145 Hocque ferant omnes meretrices esse Tritestem,
 Quod toties madidus iste lupanar eat».

Sic dea, sic Manes: sed plurima dixit Erinnyes,
 Paucula de multis iste libellus habet.

121 *cleanthem*122 *chiona*142 *extuet* = *aestuet*

- Inde ruunt et massam agitato stipite condunt,
 150 Linquitur iniecto mox ea massa solo;
 Extemplo coeunt nubes, tonat aethere nimbus,
 f. 16^v Crebrescit nigro flamma corusca polo.
 Fit fragor, et rursus perturbant cuncta furore;
 Hinc repetunt Stygias agmina saeva domos.
 155 Massa diu iacuit, demumque adiuta calore
 Concipit, et foetus edere tempus erat.
 Descendunt subito celsa de sede Sorores,
 Quae statuunt filo tempora nostra suo;
 Utque sepulchrales tenuerunt numina terras,
 160 Hic ubi tam putris obrutus anguis erat,
 Sic Lachesis primum reliquis cedentibus inquit,
 Omnia nec Stygiis annuit illa deis:
 «Hinc oriare puer, trucior quoque Manibus esto,
 Cedoque, sint animo pessima quaeque tuo:
 165 Tu scelus atque nefas, tu sis elementa malorum,
 Materia putri putrior esto tua;
 Viribus ista tamen careat scelerata cupido,
 Audeat, ex ausis tristior ausa cadat;
 In Venerem atque gulam totas laxamus habenas,
 f. 17 170 Quo te cunque vocat, perditte, curre, furor.
 Furta quidem facias, iubeo, incolumisque revertte,
 Praeda peregrinis te iuvet acta locis;
 Si tamen ut doctus cum docto turgidus ausis
 Dicere, et in barba sit tibi magna fides,
 175 Sis iocus ipse duci, stolidus vincaris, et ista
 Quam fueris pactus barba recisa cadat.
 Si quoque privatus malesanus publica tentes,
 Naribus incisus vulnera turpe feras.
 Nil magis efficias linguae quam rodere morsu,
 180 Sed noceat nulli lingua proterva viro;
 Lingua quidem patrio rigeat perfusa veneno,
 Illius cito tamen in tua damna sonus.
 Sis Satyrus mordax, sed sanctos corripe mores,
 Quosque probas noscat caetera turba malos.

- 185 Magnanimos si forte duces tua fistula cantet,
 Laudatosque ausit commemorare viros,
 Versibus insulsus tales ingesseris offas,
 Ut pueri mendas in tua scripta notent.
- f. 17^v Vade per ignaros famae quaesitor inanis,
 190 Doctorum coetus arbitriumque fuge;
 Sed fugias quanvis, nil te fugisse iuvabit.
 Te tandem noscet credula turba rudem.
 Ast ubi te norunt pueri iuvenesque senesque,
 Et tua mens fetidi nescia cuique patet;
- 195 Turba puellaris rigido te fuste sequatur,
 Te lapidis iacti turbine quisque petat.
 Oderis id vitam tristis, mortemque reposcas,
 Et doleas sortis saecula longa tuae.
 Fata tamen fugias, currasque ad fornicis umbram:
- 200 Praestoque sit meretrix quae tibi tradat opem.
 Haec tibi vita diu, demum moriaris in illis
 Deflendus lustris in quibus altus eras.
 Tumque meretrices, sparsis de more capillis,
 Concurrant omnes et tua fata gemant:
- 205 «Proh miseras — clament — amisimus ergo Tritestem,
 Qui toties nobis oscula dulce dedit.
 Proh miseras, quicquid fortuna paraverat illi,
 f. 18 Grator huic nostro contulit ille choro;
 Ambrosiasque dapes semper nectarque ferebat,
 Unicus hic noster Sardanapalus erat,
- 210 Is tuceta, is aves, et quicquid suave macello
 Captatur, nobis detulit usque miser.
 Proh miseras — repetant — amisimus ergo Tritestem,
 Qui pater heu nobis, quique maritus erat».
- 215 Sic te deplorent omnes faciantque sepulchrum,
 Et quaerant tymbo marmora digna tuo;
 Inque lupanari medio statuaris in altum,
 His titulis maneat celsior urna tuis:
 HIC IACEO PUTRIDA ET STYGIA DE FECE DEORUM
- 220 VIPERAEQUE SATUS, STIRPS INIMICA IOVI;

- VIRTUTES CUNCTAS FUGI, VITIUMQUE SECUTUS
 ATQUE VOLUPTATES, LAUDIBUS HOSTIS ERAM.
 QUODQUE DOLOS PRAVUS, TESTES VULVASQUE COLEBAM,
 PRO RE ME VARIO NOMINE TURBA VOCAT:
 225 HICQUE PHILELPHE SEMEL, RURSUS VOCAT ILLE PHILORCHIS,
 f. 18^v GRATIOR ILLE MIHI SAEPE PHILELCUS AIT;
 ANTITHEUM PROPRIO GRAI ME NOMINE DICUNT,
 NANQUE DEI SEMPER INSIMULATOR ERAM.
 FLETE MERETRICES, LASCIVAE FLETE PUELLAE,
 230 MELLE QUIDEM VOBIS DULCIOR IPSE FUI;
 SCORTA MEUM DOLEANT FUNUS, MEA MAGNA VOLUPTAS,
 SCORTA VOLUPTATIS SUMMA FUERE MEAE.
 Sic volumus, reliquis ne queas implere quod optes:
 Mens mala pro voto manca sit ista tuo.
 235 Protulit haec Lachesis, reliquae assensere Sorores,
 Inde sua carpunt stamina longa colo.
 Non igitur quisquam stupeat, si garrulus ausit
 Aeneam sanctum carpere pontificem.
 Hoc quicumque legis responso crede Sybillae
 Verius, hoc nequii fedius esse caput.

4.

f. 20^v*Dominus P. Candidus*⁶⁸

Hic novus Alcides, felix Sulmonis alumnus,
 Qui monstrum domuit quod nullus terruit ensis;
 Nanque Pium solvit scelerati ex ore draconis,
 Nec rabiem sordesque truci timuit nebulonis.

233 *nequeas* 235 *relique* 239 *quincunque*

⁶⁸ Editio già in Bloch, «Quelques manuscrits...», p. 147. Sul Decembrio, oltre a Viti, «Decembrio...», pp. 488-498, Kristeller, «Pier Candido Decembrio and His Unpublished Treatise on the Immortality of the Soul», *Studies...*, II, pp. 281-300, e Avesani, «Epaeneticorum...», pp. 33-34, v. Gabriella Mezzanotte, «Pier Candido Decembrio e la 'Vita' del Petrarca attribuita ad Antonio da Tempo», *Studi petrarcheschi*, n.s. I (1984), 211-223, D. Bottoni, «I Decembrio e la traduzione della *Repubblica* di Platone...», *Vestigia...* I, pp. 75-91, M. Ferrari, «Fra i 'latini scriptores'...», pp. 247-296; per l'orizzonte lombardo, compreso il Filelfo, v. Borsa, «Pier Candido Decembrio...», pp. 5-75, pp. 358-441.

G. TOURNOY

FRANCESCO FLORIO'S *NOVELLA* REVISITED.

I have for some years been preparing an edition of Francesco Florio's novella¹. It was therefore with some amazement that I read, not so long ago, the introduction to an edition of Francesco Florio's *De laudibus rethorice*, published by Evencio Beltran in the *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*. In it Beltran tries to make us believe that the Italian humanist Florio (ca. 1428-ca. 1485) bore the dedicatee of his novella *De amore Camilli et Emilie*, Guillaume Tardif, a grudge, and that he took his revenge by disclosing to the world the frivolous past of his former friend, and by suggesting that Tardif had several illegitimate children. Beltran even put forward the hypothesis that the hatred between Tardif and Hieronymus Balbus, some twenty years later, could be rooted in this circumstance².

It is easy to understand how such amazing theories can originate by looking at the published text of the *De laudibus rethorice*. From its first sentence it is clear that the editor has not presented an intelligible text. I quote: "Inter cetera... beneficia illud maxime admiramur laudamusque ... tenui fragilique massa carnis animam vigere rationalem, perpetuam, immortalem, *intelligitur Dei* capacem, angelis paulisper *numeratam* ...". The passive form "*intelligitur*" makes no sense, and neither does "*numeratam*". One should read: "...*intellectu Dei* capacem, angelis paulisper *minoratam*". The whole text is full of errors of the same kind. Here are just two more examples (p. 106):

¹ See my 'Francesco Florio, nouvelliste italien', in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Sanctandreami* ..., ed. I. D. McFarlane (Binghamton, 1986), pp. 193-202.

² E. Beltran, 'Un discours inconnu de Francesco Florio sur la rhétorique', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 50 (1988), 101-9. His other publications suffer from similar shortcomings, e.g. 'Un traité inconnu de Guillaume Fichet sur la ponctuation', *Scriptorium* 39(1985), 284-291; or his *Humanistes français du milieu du XV^e siècle. Textes inédits de P. de la Hazaïdière, Jean Serra, Guillaume Fichet*, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 235 (Genève, 1989).

- (1) "Hanc (sc. eloquentiam) vos amare ... vellem ..., cum inter ceteras sciencias *philosophiam naturalem* et plus quam credi possit homines magnificare cognoscat".
Read: "...plurimum valere" instead of "*philosophiam naturalem*", which makes no sense.
- (2) (p. 108) "Eloquentia bella dirimit, pacem consolidat, *misericordiam* iungit". Instead of "*misericordiam*" read "*matrimonia*".

Of course, everybody in these days of "publish or perish" suffers from a *furor edendi*, but no one should allow himself to publish a text he himself does not understand and, secondly, a better scrutiny of the literature at hand could have been of some help.

On the relationship between Tardif and Florio for instance, Lionello Sozzi wrote in 1971³:

"Il prologo dell'opera è appunto indirizzato a Guillaume Tardif ... e rivela, da parte del poco noto scrittore italiano, un'ammirazione assai viva ed una grata amicizia nei confronti dell'umanista francese. Scherzosamente l'autore italiano dedica a Tardif la sua opera "quia et in Veneris Martisque palestra iam diu te exercitatum et in rhetorica facultate peritissimum esse novi".

As for Florio's *De laudibus rethorice*, Beltran knew only of one manuscript, that at the Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart. The second manuscript, the very existence of which Beltran doubted⁴, is the one written by Hieronymus Münzer (†1508) in 1470, when he was a student at Leipzig University. This manuscript was sold at Lucerne in 1933 as lot 375 in the sale of the library of Alexander Fürst Dietrichstein of Schloss Nikolsburg (old press mark: I, 52 on the spine). It was presented on 22 December 1933 to Cambridge University Library by John Charrington, M.A., Trinity College. Its presence in this library for more than 50 years now, with the shelf-mark Add. 6676, was indicated for instance in the edition of the collected essays of Ludwig Bertalot by Paul Oskar Kristeller in 1975⁵.

³ L. Sozzi, 'Petarca, Tardif e Denys de Harsy (con una nota su Francesco Florio)', *Studi francesi*, 43 (1971), 78-82 (p. 81, n. 2).

⁴ Beltran, 'Un discours', p. 104, n. 10: "je ne saurais ni confirmer ni infirmer l'existence d'une telle copie".

⁵ L. Bertalot, *Studien zum italienischen und deutschen Humanismus*. Herausgegeben von P.O. Kristeller, Storia e letteratura, 129-30, 2 vols (Rome, 1975), I, 220, 248-9 and II, 461.

But not being able to trace a manuscript is more easily to forgive than presenting a text which one has not fully understood. And that was one of the reasons why I myself did not publish the provisional edition of Florio's novella *De amore Camilli et Emilie*, which I have had ready for years.

Although two manuscripts (Prague, U. L., III.E.27 and Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, cod. poet. et philol. 4° 47) and six early editions (GW 10087-10091, and an edition after 1500, printed by J. Lambert at Paris) were available, some problems and some unanswered questions remained, and only in a few cases could the deteriorated text be restored by conjectural emendation. I was not confident that I had fully understood the text.

Fortunately, some years ago, I was able to attend the Oxford Conference on Renaissance in England. As often happens, unofficial meetings before and after the lectures were extremely fruitful. During a conversation I had with Professor de la Mare, at that time still attached to the Bodleian, she kindly informed me that the Cambridge University Library had recently acquired a manuscript of Florio's *novella*. The microfilm the Library readily sent to me confirmed that the manuscript contained almost the entire text of the *novella*. But I had to go to Cambridge in order to study it more thoroughly. I found a nice small manuscript, unmistakably written in the upright, slightly gothicized humanistic hand of Florio we already knew from several other manuscripts:

- (1) a Virgil manuscript at Edinburgh University Library, 195, written at Paris, but without date;
- (2) a Seneca manuscript at Oxford, Merton College A.3.1, without date;
- (3) a manuscript of Thomas Aquinas at Toulouse, Bibliothèque Municipale, 214, written between 22 May and 28 August 1465 at Paris;
- (4) a manuscript containing the *Ad Herennium* and the satires of Juvenal and Persius, at Florence, Bibl. Mediceo-Laurenziana, Med. Pal. 109, finished at Paris on 17 and 28 August 1467 respectively;
- (5) a manuscript of Valerius Maximus, finished at Bruges, 8 December 1469, at the Escorial, S.III.4; Florio's name appears in Greek characters;
- (6) the autograph manuscript of his *Visio mira super archana Francie*, written late 1469 or early 1470 (Roma, Biblioteca Nazionale, ms. V.E. 428); Florio wrote his name again in Greek characters;

- (7) a manuscript with the *Decretum Gratiani*, at Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 1183; Florio wrote it whilst in the service of Tristan de Salazar, archbishop of Sens, between 9 July 1478 and 12 March 1480;
- (8) another manuscript written for Tristan de Salazar, containing the *Decretalium libri quinque*, finished the first of September, 1483 (Vat. Lat. 6054). At the very end he added a few days later: "Quinta luce post fata Ludovici Regis Francorum", but strangely enough he wrote the words "Ludovici Regis Francorum" back to front⁶: "Murocnarf Siger Iciuodul", so that these words at first sight make no sense.
- (9) in MS. Vat. Lat. 6055 (without elaborate colophon) Florio is nearly at the end of his tether, and prays for strength to finish the *Liber sextus* and the *Clementinae*. Did he die shortly after?

Let us now concentrate upon the autograph manuscript of his *novella*, which is Ms. Add. 8446 in the Cambridge University Library. It is a carefully written, neat copy, clearly intended as a dedication copy for Guillaume Tardif, whose coat-of-arms probably was painted at the bottom of the first leaf, but has been cut away.

Physical description

Parchment of fine quality; 1 vellum flyleaf + 52 ff. (numbered 1-53; f. 4 missing); 5 quires of 6 leaves each⁷, with some irregularities: in the first quire the right and lower margin (with coat-of-arms?) of fol. 1 have been cut off, and replaced with later parchment of inferior quality; fol. 4, decorated, is missing; in the fourth quire a leaf is missing between f. 43 and f. 44; the last six leaves of the last quire have been cut away.

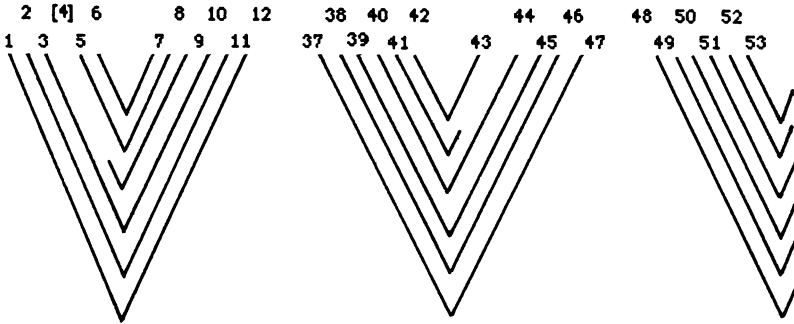
⁶ I am grateful to drs. M. Oosterbosch for deciphering this for me. This primitive cryptographic method has been in use since Antiquity. See B. Bischoff, 'Übersicht über die nichtdiplomatischen Geheimschriften des Mittelalters', in his *Mittelalterliche Studien. Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, 3 vols (Stuttgart, 1966-1981), III, 120-48. Another copyist writing backwards or using another device of concealing was the Milanese Antonio Crivelli (fl. 1433-1458). See Bénédictins du Bouvet, *Colophons de manuscrits occidentaux des origines au XVI^e siècle*, 4 vols (Fribourg, 1965-76), I, 130.

⁷ This kind of quire was introduced in the 13th century and was nearly always used for very fine parchment manuscripts. See now A. Derolez, *Codicologie des manuscrits en écriture humanistique sur parchemin*, *Bibliologia* 5-6, 2 vols (Turnhout, 1984), I, 39.

STRUCTURE I

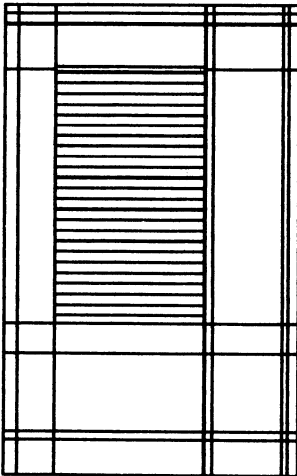
IV

V

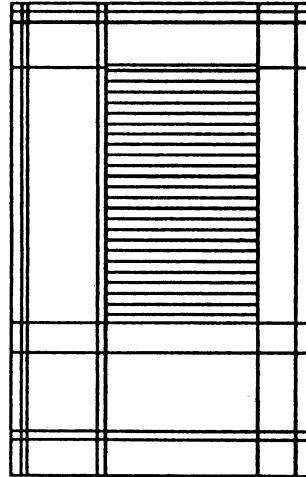


164 x 103 (89 x 52) mm.; 24 long lines, ruled in red ink; double outer and single inner horizontal bounding lines; an extra single line in the lower margin; on the recto-side two pairs of vertical lines at the right, and two single at the left; on the verso-side, two pairs of vertical bounding lines at the left and two single at the right.

SCHEME recto



verso



Inhabited floral border decoration in French style (Fouquet?) on fol. 1 and fol. 4 (missing, but traces on fol. 3^v); decorative blue initial, 5-line; marginal notes in red and gold ink.

Catchwords, perpendicular to text, between inner bounding lines, on ff. 12^v, 24^v, 36^v and 47^v ; paragraph marks, mostly in red, some in blue; headings in red.

Late 18th century (French?) binding in vellum; gilt border; gilt-tooling on spine, bound to 4 cords; brown label lettered "RO/MAN" between first and second cord.

Date, ownership and provenance

Florio finished the composition of his *novella* on the very last day of 1467. This dedication copy must have been written shortly afterwards. Nothing is sure about its whereabouts previous to this century. It probably remained in French possession until the end of the 18th century, as can be deduced from the binding and the label. On the verso of the flyleaf appears "N. 32", and on f. 1^r, above the text, is written in red ink "N° 34", both numbers still open to interpretation. On the inside of the first cover the bookplate of a Carolus Ricardus Ward⁸, with the motto "sub cruce salus"; given by Cosmo Alexander Gordon († 1967) to the famous surgeon and bibliographer Sir Geoffrey Keynes (1887-1982)⁹, in 1942, and bequeathed to the Cambridge University Library in 1984.

The contents of this manuscript, however, is the part I was most interested in, and I compared it with the other existing manuscripts and with the printed editions. Fortunately all the other texts derive, directly or indirectly, from the editio princeps, published at Paris by Petrus Caesaris and Johannes Stoll about 1473 (GW 10087). So I could confine myself to a complete collation of the Cambridge manuscript with the editio princeps, or rather with the provisional edition I prepared some years ago. I must say I was not unhappy to see that almost all the conjectures I made when I first presented the text¹⁰ were

⁸ I have traced two Charles Richard Wards in the *Alumni Oxonienses*; the first, living from 1800 till 1858, at Magdalen Hall; the second, born in 1852, at St. John's College; the same motto was adopted by several other members of the family; see B. Burke, *The General Armory of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales; Comprising a Register of Armorial Bearings from the Earliest to the Present Time* (London, 1884), p. 1074.

⁹ See the catalogue of his library: *Bibliotheca Bibliographici*. A Catalogue of the Library Formed by Geoffrey Keynes (London, 1964), p. 3, nr. 14 for a description of the Florio manuscript. Keynes wrote also his autobiography: *The Gates of Memory* (Oxford 1981, reprt 1982).

¹⁰ See the Latin text of Florio's *novella* on pp. 194-247 of my unpublished doctoral

confirmed. There were nearly 20 of them, such as “quia” instead of “qua” (VI, 3; f. 6^v)¹¹, “vana fides” instead of “una fides” (XI, 3; f. 13^v); “exanimatur” for “examinatur” (XIV, 4; f. 19^r), or “Dine” (daughter of Jacob) instead of “divine” (XXIV, 7; f. 37^r).

But of course the manuscript enabled me to improve some passages in the printed editions which had seemed awkward or odd, or even wrong. A few examples:

- (1) In the prologue to the printed editions one reads (I, 2; f. 1^r):
 “ni et in omnes homines absentis amici memoriam quantumvis amore *accusari* et longa dissuetudine paulatim extingui abolerique considerare”.
 The sense is restored in the manuscript, which reads: “... amici memoriam quantumvis amore *accensam* longa ...”
- (2) At the end of the prologue (III.4; f. 3^{r+v}), Florio states:
 “Credunt nonnulli Italos minime amare mulieres, etsi eos zelo ipsarum affectos esse concedant, ac si zelus *ab alio* nasceretur et non potius amoris esset effectus”.
 A possible explanation was the omission of a word meaning “feeling” after “alio”. The manuscript provides a simpler solution: the word “alio” is a misreading for “odio”, a very common paleographical error.
- (3) At the beginning of the *novella* (V. 5; f. 5^v), the father of Emilia was very happy “dum ex illis sibi cerneret paratam sua *in se virtute* voluptatem”. This makes some sense, but the manuscript gives a better one: “dum ex illis paratam sibi cerneret sua *in senectute* voluptatem”: the two children were to be his joy in his old age.
- (4) A last, but again a paleographically interesting example, occurs in a letter by Emilia (XI. 3; f. 13^v): “ad astra pervolans debiles ortus intra tua brachia *in tali* aura destitutos dimittet”; the MS. reads: “ad astra artus ... brachia *vitali* aura ...”

As one can see from these few examples, most of the deteriorations in the printed edition are the result of misreading. How can this be explained? It is not unlikely that the very same original draft first served as exemplar or master-copy for this dedication copy. It was thoroughly re-worked thereafter, or partly even during the copying, and

dissertation: *De Latijnse prozanovelle in de Italiaanse Renaissance* (Leuven, 1974; copy at the University Library, Leuven).

¹¹ With these and the following numbers I refer to my own provisional division of the text and to the foliation of the Cambridge MS.

the draft was handed over to the printer, who was not always able to read distinctly what was written. And perhaps the printer himself took some initiative, especially in matters orthographical. Very probably the systematic change of *t* into *c* (as in "diucius" for instance, f. 1^r) and the reduction of diphthongs into simple vowels are to be imputed to him.

But more radical changes in the wording, in the syntax or in the construction are almost certainly due to corrections made in the draft by the author himself. On nearly every page the order of some words has been inverted, so as to make a more fluent sentence. One can catch a glimpse of Florio's constant intervening on a couple of occasions. In the edition we read (XVII.3): "Vitam huiusmodi solum noctu solum felicem duxerunt amantes". And on f. 24^r of the autograph: "Vitam huiusmodi noctu solum felicem duxerunt amantes." This could be considered a quite common dittography, but another explanation is more likely. Probably Florio originally wrote: "Vitam huiusmodi solum noctu felicem ...". On second thoughts Florio decided to put the adverb "solum" after "noctu", but he forgot to delete the "solum" before "noctu", or the printer did not notice its deletion, and so it entered the edition twice¹².

An even more striking example is to be found on f. 48^r, in the last letter by Emilia to her lover: "...quid aliud agere te debere putabis [quam *deleted*], cum mihi omnia in ipsa temporis oportunitate contigerint". And here the sentence stops. The second term of the comparison after "aliud", to be introduced by "quam", is missing, which makes the sentence unintelligible. We have an indication, however, that it was present in the draft: after "putabis" the word "quam" has been deleted in the dedication copy. What does this mean? It means that in the draft the second term had originally its place after "putabis". The author transferred this second term to the very end of his sentence, after "contigerint", by using some sign, but he forgot to add this second term in his dedication copy. It was however present in the draft he gave to the printer, as we can see from the printed edition, where we find indeed the second term inserted after "contigerint", viz. "quam gratias summo Tonanti referre".

It was not only the order of words that was inverted. More important still is the clearly discernible tendency towards a more classical

¹² Another, less probable, possibility, is that draft and autograph had the same text "noctu solum", and that the change was made just before the MS. went to the printer.

style. So the pronoun "me" is added as a subject, because a subject clause is necessary after "ignoro" (IX.3; f. 11^r), and the accusative "beneficia" is changed into an ablative because it is dependent upon "potiri" (XIV.2; f. 18^v). Medievalisms and italianisms are eliminated, such as "cordetenus" (V.4; f. 5^v); "acutiori" is replaced by "acutiore" (VII.3; f. 8^r); "panno" by "habitu" (V.3; f. 5^r); "lira" by the more frequently used "cithara" (I.1; f. 1^r and elsewhere); "aliquaqualiter" by "aliquantulum" (I.3 and II.1; f. 1^v); the not elsewhere recorded active form of a verb "prolabare", viz. "prolabarent" is replaced by "prolaberentur" (VI.2; f. 6^r); "supervivere" by "vivere" (II.4; f. 2^v).

One could wonder if some of these corrections were suggested by Guillaume Tardif, who perhaps also preferred the form "mihi" to "michi". In the prologue Tardif was indeed asked to be the judge of this story and to correct wherever needed (II.3; f. 2^v):

"Te igitur in eorum amore elegi iudicem ac in meo opere correctorem ut, si quid emendandum corrigendumve duxeris, priusquam dulcis aurae vitales spiritus carpat, emendatoriam (*sic pro emendatiorem*) formam abs te liber iste suscipiat".

And at the very end Florio addresses his booklet in this way (XXXIII.7; f. 53^r):

"Te igitur corrigit ut lubebit; humiles preces porrigere ne verere Guilielmo, cui milies etiam Florium suum recommissum face".

Whilst the autograph manuscript proved to be very important in the constitution of the text, the editio princeps was of no less importance for the diffusion of the story. As I mentioned before, the two other manuscripts and the five other editions were all, directly or indirectly, dependent upon the editio princeps.

The same is true for the translations, a French one and a German one, which were both made in the second half of the sixteenth century.

The German translation is anonymous. According to Goedeke¹³, there were two folio editions, one of 1578 and another of 1587, both printed by Sigmund Feyerabend at Frankfurt am Main; in these editions Florio's *novella* appears as the fifth in a series of 13 tales, put together under the title *Buch der Liebe*.

Goedeke mentions yet another edition, one of 1580, printed at

¹³ K. Goedeke, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung*. I. (Dresden, 1884²), p. 340.

Frankfurt with a slightly different title¹⁴. Of these three editions only that of 1587 could be traced¹⁵. This same edition was published again, two centuries later, at Riga in 1780 as part of the fifth volume in H.A.O. Reichard's *Bibliothek der Romane*¹⁶.

Finally O.L.B. Wolff took it into his series of *Volksromane*, vol. 9 (Leipzig, 1849)¹⁷, but the character of these late editions is not quite the same as in the first German edition¹⁸.

The German translator omitted Florio's letter to Tardif, and the eulogy of the city of Arezzo at the beginning of the *novella*, but for the rest he tried to be as faithful as possible. He divided the text into 24 chapters, each of them preceded by a summary; now and then he left out something, or added an explanation, or doubled a verb or an adjective in his translation, but generally speaking he changed nothing essential.

Not so in the French translation, which appeared in Paris in a collection with other stories, viz. in the seventh volume of the *Histoires tragiques* by François de Belleforest (1530-1583). This volume was published for the first time five years before the *Buch der Liebe*, and went through at least two other editions before the end of the century¹⁹.

It contains French translations by Belleforest of some tales by the Italian novelist Matteo Bandello. But Belleforest also included other tales, some of which he invented himself and some he took from other

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, II (Dresden, 1886²), p. 479. Goedeke goes back to J. Clessius, *Unius saeculi eiusque virorum literatorum monumentis tum florentissimi, tum fertilissimi: ab anno 1502 ad 1602, nundinarum autumnalium inclusive, Elenchus consummatissimus librorum hebraei, graeci, latini, germani aliorumque Europae idiomatum: typorum aeternitati consecratorum*, II (Francofurti, 1602), p. 214. The same source is used by F. Bobertag, *Geschichte des Romans*, I (Breslau, 1876), p. 91, whilst P. Heitz -F. Ritter only refer to Goedeke in their *Versuch einer Zusammenstellung der deutschen Volksbücher des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts, nebst deren späteren Ausgaben und Literatur* (Strassburg, 1924), p. 17.

¹⁵ Copies at London, British Library (1874.d.18); Bonn, Universitätsbibliothek (2° Fa.15 R); Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek.

¹⁶ Copy at Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Nr. P.O. German 120/5.

¹⁷ Copy at London, British Library (12430.ccc.4): "Geschichte von Camillo und Emilie, von ihrer beiderseitigen herzlichen und unbrünstigen Liebe".

¹⁸ As has been noticed by Anneliese Schmitt, 'Camillus und Emilia. Zur Entstehung und Tradition einer Renaissancenovelle in Deutschland', in *Studien zur Buch- und Bibliotheksgeschichte. Hans Löffing zum 70. Geburtstag* (Berlin, 1976), pp. 109-120 (p. 113, n. 16).

¹⁹ Paris, E. Richard, 1582 (copy at Munich, BSB, P.O.it.104.m.7); Paris, E. Richard, 1583 (copy at Paris, BN, Y² 15967); Lyon, B. Rigaud, 1595 (copies at Munich, BSB, P.O.it.1040.o.7; Paris, BN, Y² 2308, etc.). My quotations are taken from the first edition.

sources²⁰, such as the fourth one, which he explicitly stated to be a true and even a contemporary tale in the *Argument* (p. 112^v):

“Au reste ie ne vous allegueray rien qui ne soit vray, ny fait qui ne soit aduenue de nostre temps, ou aumoins de la memoire de nos peres, ainsi que l’atteste François *Elori* Florentin, qui proteste avoir cogneu ceux desquels est dressee l’histoire qui s’ensuit.”

The peculiar spelling of the name *Elori* proves that Belleforest’s translation is based upon the editio princeps, where indeed the capital letter F strongly resembles an E. On the other hand, one could wonder if Belleforest directly translated from Latin. He usually preferred to translate from Italian, and of course it is not quite impossible that it was an Italian translator who first wrote *Elori* instead of Florio. He also could be responsible for some other alterations in the text. The insertion of some hitherto unidentified Italian verses (followed by their translation in French) could point in that direction. Their transcription seems to be quite inaccurate. Several words have been misprinted, as for instance “atto stil” instead of “alto stil” (p. 118^r), “l’alma mio” instead of “l’alma mia” (p. 120^r), “l’attro mondo” instead of “l’altro mondo” (p. 120^r), “poro” instead of “però” (p. 120^r), and so on. The discovery of the text of the first song in a MS at the Biblioteca Comunale of Udine²¹ shows considerable differences between the version in the MS (1) and the one printed in Belleforest’s translation (2):

(1) Qualunche per amar gia mai suspire
Sfrenato de sequir cosa mortale:
In me si specchi, e pensi se al mio male
Sal mondo vidi mai simil martyre.

(2) Qualunque per amor giamai iospire
Fermato di fegnir cosa mortale:
In me si specchi, è pensi palmio male
Si vide al mondo mai simil martyre.

²⁰ See U. Beidatsch, *François de Belleforest "Histoires tragiques". Eine Untersuchung der Geschichten "de l'invention de l'auteur"*. Inauguraldissertation Marburg/Lahn, 1973, esp. p. 85.

²¹ G. Mazzatinti, *Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia*. Vol. 46: Udine (Florence, 1930, reprt 1968), p. 22: Fondo Principale, MS 10, f. 132^v.

In that same *Argument* Belleforest discloses further his purpose for telling the "Plaisantes et Loyalles amours de Camille et Emilie Aretins": he wants to give a warning against mixed education — in which he clearly follows the ideological program of the Counter Reformation — because, he says, the familiarity between two youngsters can easily lead to a persistent juvenile love, which can bring all kinds of dishonour and disgrace to the families involved. And strangely enough Belleforest supports his case adducing the story of Achilles brought up in the household of king Lycomedes. He stayed there among the girls, and had an affair with the king's daughter Deidamia, who eventually bore Pyrrhus, "qui causa depuis la destruction de Troye". The tale of Camillus and Emilia of course served his purpose better.

Just as the German translator did, Belleforest left out Florio's introductory letter to Tardif. But from the very beginning of the story itself no doubt is possible concerning his method. Unlike the German version, which was quite faithful, Belleforest already started to display his own preferences in the eulogy of the city of Arezzo. The Latin text mentioned as famous citizens of Arezzo Petrarch, Boccaccio, Leonardo Bruni, Carlo Marsuppini and Francesco and Benedetto Accolti. Belleforest goes back to antiquity, and mentions Maecenas; turning to modern times, instead of Carlo Marsuppini and the brothers Accolti, he introduces the famous story-teller Pietro Aretino.

In the Latin text it is said that Camillus and Emilia were expert in music, and both played and sang extremely well. Belleforest inserts at least four Italian songs, with French translation, in his text, only one of which recalls a verse of Petrarch's *Rime* (p. 120^r: "Fortuna chal mio mal sempre, sei presta" = *Rime*, 253, 14). Emilie's young and rich husband, who remained nameless in the Latin text, is given the name of Cornille (p. 118^v), and some unpleasant qualities of character are attributed to him.

Belleforest continually interrupts the story to introduce some personal reflection, mostly of the moralizing kind. For instance where the wedding of Emilie is discussed (p. 118^v), he adds:

"Aussi semble il que ce soit chose fatale qu'on voit ordinairement accoupler par le saint lien de mariage ensemble, ceux là plustost qui sont dissemblables en moeurs, que ceux qui s'entreatment, pour la correspondance de leurs volonteiz, & rapport uny de mesmes humeurs, & façons de viure. *Ce qui me faict louer* la sentence de celui qui exhorte les filles de se ioinde à leur pareil: lequel ne considere pas

ceste esgalité aux biens, ny au sang, & degrez d'honneur, ains la rapporte aux moeurs, à fin que la dissimilitude d'icelles ne soit cause d'un mauuais mesnagement en mariage, ainsi qu'en aduint à ce Cornille, & à plusieurs autres qui ont esté, & qui sont encor de sa confrairie."

In this way Belleforest proved himself to be not an accurate translator, but an adept of the art of paraphrase, a flowery story-teller who consistently incorporated his own ideas²².

So far for the reception in German and French literature of Florio's novella. A definite judgment on the qualities and deficiencies of both versions must be reserved for the publication of the critical edition of the Latin text, which has now reached its final stage.

Moreover, the discovery of new manuscripts copied by Florio, such as those kept at the Vatican or the Escorial, offers new possibilities for lifting a corner of the veil which rests on Florio's biography as a whole and on the second part of his life in particular. But that is another story.

Katholieke Universiteit Leuven
Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae

²² Some months after I wrote this, M. Magnien kindly sent me his comparative study — in which he reached nearly the same conclusions: 'François de Belleforest traducteur de Francesco Florio dans *Le septiesme tome des Histoires tragiques* (1582)', *Queste*, 5 (1990), 61-81.

Karin TILMANS

THE ORIGIN OF THE EMPIRE
AND THE TASKS OF THE PRINCE:
NEGLECTED RENAISSANCE MIRRORS-OF-PRINCES
IN THE NETHERLANDS*

This article is concerned with first, the origin and character of four Early-Renaissance mirrors-of-princes written in the Hapsburg Netherlands in the first decades of the sixteenth century; and second, with the intentions of their authors. I will deal primarily with the largely neglected *Diadema imperatorum* of 1519 and the *Opus Palmarium* of 1520, both written by Cornelius Aurelius, as well as with the more familiar *Institutio principis christiani* of Erasmus (1515), and *De officio Christiani principis* written 1538 by Gerardus Geldenhouwer Noviomagus. These four treatises, of which three are dedicated to emperor Charles V and one to duke William of Guelders, are mirrors-of-princes in the sense identified by Singer, that is, they are writings in which norms and rules are given for the conduct of the prince, often illustrated with lavish historical examples¹. In order to discover the intentions of the three authors I will try to analyse their writings in historical context, following the method suggested by Quentin Skinner in his essay "Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas"². But before going on to that, it is useful first to stress some specific characteristics of early-renaissance mirrors-of-princes.

If we accept Singer's definition of a mirror-of-princes, then there are three different ways in which the ideal of a prince and princely conduct can be delineated. In the first place famous princes may be described

* This publication was made possible through financial support of the Netherlands America Community Association, New York.

¹ Bruno Singer, *Die Fürstenspiegel in Deutschland im Zeitalter des Humanismus und der Reformation* (München 1981), p. 15.

² Edited in: James Tully, *Meaning and Context. Quentin Skinner and His Critics*. (Cambridge U.P. 1988), pp 29-67. Originally in *History and Theory* 8 (1969), 3-53.

biographically in terms of their thinking, ruling and conduct, as was done by Suetonius in his *Vitae Caesarum*. In addition, there are also the free, poetical and idealised descriptions of historical figures, such as in Einhard's *Vita Caroli Magni*, although the influence of Suetonius is also a point of discussion in this case³. A third form exists in which maxims, norms and rules are advanced for the behaviour of the prince, and when these are illustrated by historical examples. This third category dominates in the late Middle Ages, and we can classify the writings of Erasmus, Aurelius and Geldenhouwer as this type.

The word 'mirror-of-princes' does not occur until 1400, as for example in the Austrian chronicle of that time where we find a direct link between the words 'mirror' and 'prince' in the wish "May the devout king David be a mirror for all Christian princes"⁴. During the Renaissance humanists do not refer to their treatises as mirrors-of-princes, but rather speak of *institutio*, *educatio*, *de perfecto principe*, or *de dignitate principum*. Until the sixteenth century the term is mainly used in a personal sense: a certain prince who may serve as a mirror for all Christian princes. From the middle of the sixteenth century on, however, it becomes more a general and abstract type of work with didactic content. The genre does not contain constitutional matter; even in the case of a mainly juridical work like Filips of Leiden's *De Cura reipublicae et sorte principantis* the ground rule is moral philosophy. Indeed, constitutional or public law is only marginally practised before the seventeenth century, the main preoccupation being political ethics, and even when princes take more jurists into service, the mirror-of-princes tends to retain its political-ethical character.

The late Middle Ages were a flourishing period for moral philosophy, as is illustrated by the "boom" in instructive literature. Next to the popularity of the fable, the anecdote and the satire, there is a growing interest in writings such as the *Disticha Catonis*, the so-called proverbs of Cato the Wise, or in those of Valerius Maximus, the rhetorician/moralist of the first century A.D. Apart from the quantitative aspect, however, it is not easy to indicate in which ways a medieval theory of virtues differed from one of the early Renaissance. One important difference concerns the changing vision on medieval kingship, or rather

³ See on this: *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought, c.350 - c.1450*. ed. J. H. Burns (Cambridge U.P. 1988), p. 210, 242, 666-667.

⁴ Singer, *Fürstenspiegel*, p. 23.

the crumbling away of the “sacred rulers” theology. “Morality is looked for in all things,” writes Johan Huizinga in the *Waning of the Middle Ages*, and the search for political rules of conduct increases in the late Middle Ages⁵. One reason for this is that the conditions under which a real political theory might develop were lacking, and that, on the other hand, medieval sacred kingship had declined in influence. Medieval men knew a natural law tradition, that is to say they believed in a kingship established by God. The medieval king was a priest-king, a worldly substitute for Christ on earth, elevated above lay people through unction and described in terms such as *sacerdos*, *episcopus*, or *vicarius Christi*⁶.

The king acted as a representative of God in order to establish justice and peace on earth for the Christian community. “Authors of *Mirrors-of-princes*”, states Janet Nelson in her treatment of Carolingian kingship, “concentrated not on the gap between incumbent and office, between merely human ruler and God, but on the bridging of that gap through divine grace”⁷. But the humanists had a different perspective: while still using the word *divinus* for the emperor, they saw the prince as a human being, like all others.

Thus, in the Renaissance, the phenomenon of the tyrant was no longer considered to be a problem of the state, as Thomas Aquinas had seen it, relating to the right of resistance — people might revolt against a tyranny in last instance if the *respublica* was served by that —;⁸ now tyranny is seen somewhat apolitically: as the failure of *clementia* (gentleness) and *mansuetudo* (friendliness) of the prince. This growing importance of the doctrine of virtues was partly inspired by classical Stoic thinking, based on Epistle 47 of Seneca, in which the equality of masters and slaves is stressed. According to this vision every individual, rich or poor, is ruled by *fortuna*, which means that in the Renaissance, with the reduction of the sacred-state theory, with the diminishing importance of the rulers-theology, and with digressions on virtues, the mirrors-of-princes could offer a morality useful for every citizen.

⁵ Johan Huizinga, *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen. Studie over levens- en gedachtenvormen der veertiende en vijftiende eeuw in Frankrijk en de Nederlanden* (Groningen 1919; reprint 1984), p. 404.

⁶ Singer, *Fürstenspiegel*, p. 31.

⁷ Janet Nelson, “Kingship and empire” in: *Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought*, p. 217.

⁸ John Dunbabin, “Government” in: *Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought*, pp. 494-495.

Text in Context: Quentin Skinner and the Works of Aurelius, Erasmus and Geldenhouwer

Possibly under the influence of literary theories there is now also within political theory a growing tendency to interpret texts in their historical, political, cultural and linguistic context. The great leader in this school of thought is Skinner, who had adopted this approach in his two-volume standard work, the *Foundations of Modern Political Thought*⁹. Skinner has criticised a political theory which looked for and studied in the so-called classical texts ideas of timeless and universal value. The greatest danger in this approach is that we ascribe to the historical *actor* (the text or its author) an intention which would be unacceptable or even incomprehensible to "him" at the time. The second possible approach, the contextual approach, is also not without drawbacks. But for any author, on whatever subject, knowledge of the social context is of great importance, because it is only in this way that we can get insight in the meaning of their vocabulary. Skinner states:

A knowledge of the social context of a given text seems at least to offer considerable help in avoiding the anachronistic mythologies ... Thus if it is true that an understanding of any idea requires an understanding of all the occasions and activities in which a given agent might have used the relevant form of words, it seems clear that at least a part of such understanding must lie in grasping what sort of society the given author was writing for and trying to persuade. And if it is true that the understanding of a text presupposes the capacity to grasp any oblique strategies it may contain, it is again clear that the relevant information ... must at least in part be concerned with the constraints of the given social situation¹⁰.

With this in mind let us try to analyse the four mirrors-of-princes written by Dutch humanists at the beginning of the sixteenth century: in which context and with what purpose were they written? And why and how did these texts function in their intellectual environment? It can be stated immediately that the connection of Erasmus with the court is clear — he wrote the *Institutio* as a councillor of Charles V — whereas Aurelius and Geldenhouwer did not have a direct relationship with the Hapsburg court. At the same time these four mirrors-of-

⁹ Quentin Skinner, *Foundations of Modern Political Thought*. 2 vols. (Cambridge U.P. 1978).

¹⁰ Skinner, "Meaning and understanding", p. 34.

princes written in the Netherlands do form part of a more extensive corpus, and Singer gives an overview of those written in Germany in the Middle Ages and Renaissance. The fourteenth century brought forth four mirrors-of-princes, of which *De cura reipublicae et sorte principantis* by the Dutchman Filips of Leyden was one; in the fifteenth century he counted seventeen, while in the sixteenth there were a total of thirty-nine, of which, according to Singer, only two were written in the Netherlands. In fact, he overlooked, among others¹¹, the two much-neglected treatises of Aurelius which would raise the total to at least forty-one, far surpassing the volume produced in any earlier period. Let us now concentrate on the historical context of these writings.

The Vision of the Emperor

Since 1508 Holland had had a count who was at the same time Holy Roman emperor, and therefore the tasks and conduct of the emperor were significant for Holland. Small wonder, then, that Dutch humanists intervened in a discussion about the question of who possessed the sovereignty, and about the relationship between the German emperor and the French king¹². In 1502, in his capacity as vicar-general of Hendrik of Bergen, bishop of Cambrai, the Dutch lawyer Jacob Anthonszn of Middelburg published the *De praecellentia potestatis imperatorie*, printed by Dirk Martens in Antwerp¹³. In this work he defended the ideal of an undivided empire governed by pope and emperor. The work was written as a polemic using the ideas of Leonardo Bruni, and in the same Antwerp edition of 1502 we find a letter of Bruni in which, citing the classical meaning of the words *imperator*, commander of the army, and *imperium*, the commandership, he argues that an emperor belongs to a lower rank than does a *rex* or king. Prompted by this argument, a new polemic began among Northern humanists, in which one side cited Bruni in order to legitimate the claims of the French king in relation to imperial sovereignty, while the other sought to defend the

¹¹ Singer forgot others, e.g. one of the Flemish writer Franciscus Modius: see J. IJsewijn, 'Un poème inédit de François Modius sur l'éducation du prince humaniste', *Latomus* 25 (1966) pp. 570-83.

¹² Werner Goetz, *Translatio imperii. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Geschichtsdenkens und der politischen Theorien in Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit* (Tübingen 1958), p. 237. Piet Leupen, "Jacobus de Middelburg and his treatise *De praecellentia potestatis imperatoriae* (1500)", *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* XLVIII (1980), p. 227.

¹³ Leupen, "Jacobus de Middelburg", p. 227.

Hapsburg emperor using historical reasoning. Three themes persistently recur in this discussion. First Northern humanists contested the meaning of the word *imperator*; secondly they looked for the historical roots of the Holy Roman Empire in connection with the *translatio-imperii* theory; and finally they discussed the tasks of the emperor. The most unknown and neglected contributions to this discussion are the badly published or unpublished treatises of the *praeceptor Erasmi*, Cornelius Aurelius, originally from the small Dutch town of Gouda: his *Diadema imperatorum* and the *Opus Palmarium* are found in manuscripts at the University Library of Leiden¹⁴. I will concentrate on these two works and then pass on to a short comparison with the treatises of Erasmus and Geldenhouwer.

The *Diadema imperatorum*

The *Diadema imperatorum* or *Crown of Emperors* was written after the death of Emperor Maximilian on 12 January 1519. The enduring wars in Italy between France and the emperor were seen by scholars as a fight for the empire, and in this treatise Aurelius tried to clarify his own position. Due to an inaccurate edition of Bonaventura Vulcanius of 1586 there has been some confusion on the dating and intention of this work. Vulcanius called the work: *Diadema imperatorum, sive de coronatione Maximiliani imperatoris deque boni imperatoris officio*, but his supposition that the work was intended for Emperor Maximilian is incorrect¹⁵. In the first place, the work is not specifically intended for one prince. Rather, its central theme is the rivalry between the Hapsburg empire and France, and two princes play a major part in it: the French king Charles I and the Roman king Charles V. In the Vulcanius edition the references to the French king have disappeared; moreover, the poems on the French monarchy, with which the *Diadema* begins in the manuscript version, have been left out by Vulcanius, as has the long poem at the end dealing with the consequences of the death of king Louis XII of France and of emperor Maximilian. In a censored form Vulcanius edited only the part in between, which was called *Oratio per eundem Cornelium Aurelium composita in persona summi pontificis*,

¹⁴ MSS Leiden University Library, Vulcanius 98 B and 99 B.

¹⁵ The Leiden professor Bonaventura Vulcanius edited the *Diadema* together with Aurelius's writings on Batavia in: *Batavia sive de antiquo veroque eius insulae quam Rhenus in Hollandia facit situ, descriptione et laudibus, adversus Gerardum Noviomagum. Libri duo auctore Corn. Aurelio*. (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus, 1586).

quando imperatorem coronat (Oration composed by Cornelius Aurelius himself in the person of the pope, when he crowns the emperor). This part of the text concerns the future emperor Charles V who answers Pope Leo X and speaks about his father Philip the Fair of Spain and about his forefathers Frederick III and Philip the Good.

Aurelius made use of different literary forms in the *Diadema*. He started and ended his work with *carmina* in elegiac distichs, while he called the prose passage in between an *oratio*, which he apparently intended as argument, because it not only entails the speech of the pope, but also the answers of the Roman king. It is precisely this combination of prose and poetry which gives the work a humanist rhetorical character. By the theme of the *Diadema*, the crisis of the empire caused by the wars between the French king and the emperor, Aurelius joined in an actual ongoing debate. The solutions he presented were inspired by his historical work, written in the vernacular and published in Leiden in 1517 under the title *Cronycke van Hollandt Zeelandt ende Vrieslant*¹⁶. He propagated the traditional medieval ideal of the undivided *universitas christiana* under the brotherly leadership of pope and emperor. By historical examples taken from the *Cronycke of Hollandt* Aurelius showed that in some respects the Hapsburg emperors had neglected their imperial task. They had, for example, failed to organise a crusade against the Turks, an omission which was all the worse because it gave the French monarch arguments in hand to claim the *imperium*. Besides, according to the *translatio-imperii* theory, it could not be denied that the French had a certain right to the *imperium*.

This last thought is elaborated in the first poem of the *Diadema imperatorum*, called *Famosum cuiusdam et execrabile carmen in Christianissimum Gallorum regem* ("A defaming and detestable poem of a certain person against the most Christian king of the French"). Aurelius got the anonymous poet to cast doubts on the imperial aspirations of the French monarch, but in two following poems the Dutchman outlined the merits of the French during the history of the empire, especially under Charlemagne who had fought against the Turks, conquered Jerusalem, Christianised the Spanish, Saxons, Frisians and

¹⁶ See on this my thesis: *Aurelius en de Divisiekronek van 1517. Historiografie en humanisme in Holland in de tijd van Erasmus* (Hilversum Verloren 1988) and Tilmans, "Holländisches Nationalbewusstsein in der frühhumanistischen Historiographie: Cornelius Aurelius (ca.1460-1531) und seine Zeitgenossen", *Wolfenbütteler Renaissance Mitteilungen* XIII.2 (August 1989), 61-68.

Batavians and built a cathedral in Aachen. The tenor of these poems is clear. The French monarch could claim the *imperium* on historical grounds, and this was something which the German emperor would have to take into account. From the *oratio* that follows we can also sense some criticism of the Hapsburg emperor reflected in the words of the pope, who seems to expect a great deal from a crusade against the Turks. In his answer the emperor claims to expect more from a *princeps optimus* on the throne who is more loved than feared, a prudent prince who refrains from useless warfare, a fellow-citizen of his citizens, a patron for the learned, and a philosopher on the throne who surrounds himself with a circle of wise advisers.

After Aurelius had outlined how Charles V could only accept the imperial crown on these grounds, we come finally, in the *Apocalipsis et narratio facetissima super obitu Lodowici regis Gallorum et morte Maximiliani imperatoris Rhomanorum* (A very funny vision and story about the death of King Louis of France and of the Roman Emperor Maximilian), to the question of how the struggle for the *imperium* between France and Hapsburg should be resolved¹⁷. Because of its odd mixture of classical and Christian elements, this poem deserves greater attention. It describes a nightly vision of Aurelius in which the classical god Apollo appears. Together they go on a trip and, like Dante and Vergil, travel first through hell and then to purgatory. There in the so-called valley of negligent rulers they meet the French king Louis XII, who, punished for the continuous warfare in Italy, tells both travellers that, according to the Fates, only Maximilian can free him from this punishment. Apollo reacts to Louis's plea by sending Mercury in great haste to king François I with this message.

This king is of course deeply grieved by the fate of his predecessor and orders Mercury to search for Maximilian. Mercury looks first in Northern Italy, but the Venetians don't know where the emperor is and suggest that he might possibly be among the Batavians, i.e. the Dutch. But Mercury can't find him neither in Holland nor elsewhere: this is hardly surprising, for the emperor is dead. So Mercury goes to purgatory and heaven and finally finds the emperor there, peacefully sleeping under a cover decorated with French lilies and English crowns. According to Maximilian the solution to Mercury's problem is simple: only if

¹⁷ MS Leiden University Library, Vulcanius 99B, folios 26-29. See text hereafter, in Appendix.

the French king resigns any claims to the empire and makes peace with Charles V, can Louis XII be released from purgatory. François I takes this message to heart and Louis is thereupon united with Maximilian in heaven.

With slight pedantry, and in the margins of the poem, Aurelius mentioned the different epithets for Mercury and Apollo. The staging of the trip of Apollo and Aurelius through hell, purgatory and heaven seems to be a rather wilful variation of the trip of Vergil and Dante in the *Divina Commedia*. The dialogue between Mercury and Saint Peter at the gate of heaven recalls *Julius exclusus e coelis* of 1517, supposedly written by Erasmus. The political message of the strange fantasy is clear: the *imperium* was in the hands of the Hapsburgs, the most powerful dynasty in Europe, and should stay there; the French and English monarchs would therefore be wisest to give up any aspirations in this direction and should instead be obedient to and supportive of the emperor.

It is debatable whether the *Diadema imperatorum* is a mirror-of-princes in the sense outlined above. But since the genre is not limited in any literary form, we might consider this political allegory on the value, content and future of the imperial task a very original species of early Renaissance mirrors-of-princes from the Netherlands.

The Opus Palmarium

The *Opus Palmarium*, written in 1520 for Charles V, begins with a *salutatio* to him in distichs from Louvain university¹⁸. Mainly this greeting was an appeal to the emperor to organise a crusade against the Turks, a theme which is not dwelt upon in the treatise itself. The *Opus Palmarium* is a mirror-of-princes in the third sense identified by Singer: a text in which norms and rules are given for the conduct of the prince, often illustrated with historical examples. Here it is the apostle Andreas who appears to the sleeping Charles V in a nightly vision to explain to him the significance of a field with twelve fountains and seventy palms. Small letters were attached to the palms with important political questions of the time. However, since Aurelius only finished the first book, Andreas could answer only those questions hanging on the first ten palms.

¹⁸ MS Leiden University Library, Vulcanius 98B. The autograph bears the title: *Opus Palmarium septuaginta questionum. Primus liber illarum questionum completus est.*

Inspired by the *Institutio principis christiani*, which Erasmus wrote in 1515 as councillor of Charles V, Aurelius laid particular stress in the *Opus Palmarium* on his humanist ideals concerning education and the virtues of the prince. Given that Aurelius chose Andreas, patron of the Burgundians, we might conclude that to a large extent he saw Charles V as heir to the Burgundian and not to the Hapsburg house; in another context he called him 'pius Burgundus', the pious Burgundian¹⁹. The palm was the classic symbol for princely glory and victory and for the strength of the empire, but signified at the same time the orthodox belief of the prince. The work began with a call to Charles V, intended for all princes on earth, to persist in *sapientia*. Here the author not only reflected biblical wisdom, but also defined the concept as learned wisdom, which was the result of education and schooling. What this wisdom meant was further elaborated according to the questions written on the notes attached to the palms.

The *Opus Palmarium* also raised the then current problem concerning the relationship between the French monarchy and the empire. Aurelius used the image of the twelve fountains, which were symbols of the twelve *pares* or equals of the French king, as stated by Charlemagne and consisting of six secular rulers - the bishops of Reims, Laon, Lyon, Beauvais, Noyon and Chartres - and six worldly rulers, that is the dukes of Burgundy, Normandy and Aquitaine and the counts of Flanders, Toulouse and Champagne. As duke of Burgundy and as count of Flanders, Charles V was part of the *pares* of the French king. This meant that the latter could in no way have more authority than Charles V — an opinion which is already familiar from both the *Divisiechroniek* and the *Diadema imperatorum*; here Aurelius stresses the fact that Charles V, in the capacity of double 'par' of the French king, also had the duty to assist him by any means possible. As in the *Divisiechroniek* and the *Diadema imperatorum*, Aurelius opts for the Hapsburg cause in the conflict between emperor and French king, but in the *Opus Palmarium*, with the *primus-inter-pares* conception of the French monarchy, he also formulates a new thesis to sustain this viewpoint.

The meaning of the twelve fountains was explained to Charles V in the first dream. The next night, in a dream, Charles and Andreas walked together on the palmfield, during which Charles collected the

¹⁹ MS Leiden University Library, Vulcanius 66, f. 127^v.

notes with questions from the first ten palms, and Andreas answered these questions. They were general and we can discern four themes: first, questions concerning the virtues of the prince; second, those regarding the practical organisation of the government by civil servants and laws; third, those concerning the necessary and useful knowledge of the prince, and finally the questions relating to the best form of government.

Aurelius had also dwelt on these themes in the *Divisiechroniek*. The question of the best form of government, treated at the ninth palm, had been answered in Aurelius' historical work with identical arguments, and in both texts we find references to the Bible and to classical authors. But it is only in the *Opus Palmarium* that the problem of a selected or a hereditary prince is raised. It was superfluous to raise such a question in the *Divisiechroniek* because this chronicle deals only with a hereditary dynasty. And while the *Opus Palmarium* adopts a general approach in which the point is only formally raised, the conclusion here is of course also in favour of a hereditary dynasty. The argument is that the danger of tyranny is greater with a chosen than with a hereditary prince, because the former in contrast with the latter was not limited by respect for his forefathers and did not feel any moral obligations towards his own offspring. In this sense Aurelius took a different approach from Erasmus, who in the first chapter of the *Institutio principis christiani* did not choose between the two forms, but saw the success of the prince as being determined only by the correct education²⁰.

In the humanist view the *virtus* and *bene vivere* of the prince were closely linked with education in the *litterae*. Aurelius also held this view in the *Opus Palmarium*, with the understanding that in this text he dealt with history as a discipline essential and indispensable for the prince. The comparison with the *Institutio principis christiani* is again interesting in this regard. Erasmus shows himself rather sceptical about the usefulness of reading historians, especially non-Christian ones. Classical historians had to be read with some prudence, according to Erasmus, as these writers justified acts which were unacceptable and unjustifiable for a Christian prince. Sharp judgement and a strict

²⁰ Erasmus, *Institutio principis christiani* in: Erasmus, *Ausgewählte Schriften* V (Darmstadt, 1968), pp. 242-245 and in: *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi* IV.1 (Amsterdam 1974) pp. 136-138.

selection were necessary, even with such excellent historians as Sallust and Livy. In the *Opus Palmarium*, however, we look in vain for scepticism in relation to classical historiography. On the contrary: in a long monologue Andreas tries to convince Charles V of the usefulness of historical studies and of the necessity of gaining insight into the complexity of divine and human behaviour throughout history. There was no better guideline for political action and no more useful *facultas* and *disciplina* than history. Knowledge of the past was a *magistra bene vivendi*, a statement for which Aurelius cited Cicero's *De oratore*: 'History is the witness of times, the light of truth, the life of memory, the teacher of life, the messenger of old age'²¹.

In comparison with some of the earlier statements of Aurelius on history, its importance in the *Opus Palmarium* was defended more pragmatically. Of the three components regarded by Aurelius as essential to historiography, truth, use, and rhetoric, the second element received by far the most emphasis. Insight into historical examples was by definition useful for the prince, and Andreas advised Charles V to have a broad collection of historical works:

Well, if you have learned to like the reading of history ... and you will spend time on that as often as possible, then this will make your life very agreeable (...) and it will give you the biggest comfort in every difficulty. But not only, o prince, would I like to encourage you to read daily, but also to collect books from everywhere and to buy them. Because I think that there is no more civilised equipment in a royal household and treasury than a collection of books²².

After this Andreas mentioned some of the most famous classical libraries, like those in Alexandria, of Demetrius Phalerius and of Emperor Gordianus, and he justified this praise of the book with: 'These things, o emperor, we discuss with you, so that not only with weapons, but also with books collected in every language you will govern and help the church. Both suit the emperor very much ...'²³.

²¹ MS Leiden University Library, Vulcanius 98B, f. 26^r, after Cicero, *De Oratore* II.36.

²² MS Leiden University Library, Vulcanius 98B, f. 27^r: 'Quineciam si familiariter aut rerum gestarum aut doctrinarum lectionem amare didiceris, et ei sepius vacare volueris, iucundam valde (...) tibi reddet vitam et maximum in omni angustia solacium. Nec te solum, o cesar, admonitum esse velim, ut quotidie quippiam legas, verum etiam ut libros undique tibi colligere et comparare non negligas. Nullamque in regio cultu et thesauro politiorum haberi posse existimo suppellectilem quam librorum copiam'.

²³ MS Leiden University Library, Vulcanius 98B, f. 29^r: 'Hec ad te, o Cesar, referimus

Knowledge in the service of the church, especially knowledge of the past, was only one aspect which emerges from Andreas's answer. He emphasizes much more the practical use of history for taking political decisions and promulgating laws. Legislation has to suit the morals and uses of a people, and the knowledge necessary for this could be achieved through the study of the 'narratio rerum gestarum'. Contemporary events could better be judged by the prince if he had knowledge of the past; without this knowledge the prince was a crowned donkey and he would therefore find it very sensible to surround himself with learned historians. Apart from some classical examples, Aurelius mentioned Emperor Maximilian as a prince who had recognised the importance of historical studies. It was this emperor who had commissioned Johannes Trithemius, the famous abbot of Sponheim, to write a history of Germany from the time of Tuisco, the first founder of the German tribe.

It is clear that Aurelius, at the time of writing the *Opus Palmarium*, was inspired by some of the themes of the *Divisiechroniek*. In both texts the high wages and the conduct of civil servants provide an occasion for uttering grievances and annoyances. In the *Opus Palmarium* Aurelius warned the prince not to tax his citizens too severely, and he gave two reasons for this: one was that such a policy would obviously damage the reputation of his own dynasty; but the main objection against it was that this form of display of power was completely contrary to the ideal which he propagated of the 'princeps optimus et litteratus', the best prince as a man of letters. Aurelius criticized the policy of centralization and bureaucracy, and he characterized the new civil servants as 'grass-hoppers ... who don't shrink to ask taxes from a dead person and who grab away the harvest before someone's nose with their scythe'²⁴.

In both form and content the *Opus Palmarium* fits very well within the German tradition of humanist mirrors-of-princes, and the dialogue form in particular recalls the 1508 *Philippica* of Jacob Wimpheling. Remarkably enough, despite its interest and originality, the work has not been widely disseminated, neither in the Netherlands nor elsewhere.

ut non solum armis, sed et libris ex omni lingua collectis ecclesiam iuvare constituas. Utrumque enim imperatorem decet...

²⁴ MS Leiden University Library, Vulcanius 98B, f. 21^{r/v}: 'multitudo quanta fere locustarum ... a mortuo tributum petere messemque alterius, falce sua prescindere non vereantur'.

Charles V never heard the fervent plea of Andreas; only Vulcanius read the work and thought it interesting enough to provide it with comments.

Aurelius versus Erasmus and Geldenhouwer

In the Dutch literary tradition of the first quarter of the sixteenth century the *Diadema imperatorum* and the *Opus Palmarium* of Aurelius are rather unique, especially if we compare them with the only other two mirrors-of-princes which originated in the Netherlands. Erasmus wrote his work as councillor of Charles V, a job which he obtained through the chancellor of Brabant and for which he earned 200 guilders a year. His *Institutio* was immediately published by two different printers, one in Louvain and one in Venice. We are also reasonably well informed about its reception in court circles and we must assume that it was widely read. It certainly belonged among the favourite books of Emperor Ferdinand I. The *Institutio*, arranged in eleven chapters on different themes such as education, war and peace, legislation, government and marriage, sketches the ideal of the ruler-philosopher on the throne, a classical concept given a Christian form, as appears from the following:

Don't think that Plato said without reason ... that the state can only be happy then, when either the rulers philosophize or the philosophers rule. And a philosopher is not someone who understands dialectics or natural sciences, but someone who despises outer appearances and who, with determination, looks for the really true things²⁵.

In its emphasis on the *Christian* prince Erasmus's work shows great similarity with that of Geldenhouwer. Gerardus Geldenhouwer wrote his *De officio Christiani principis* in 1538 as professor of History and Reformation Theology at the University of Marburg²⁶. Printed in 1541

²⁵ Erasmus, *Institutio*, p. 134; *Opera Omnia* IV.1, pp 144-145: 'Ne putaris temere dictum a Platone ... ita demum beatam fore rempublicam, si aut philosophentur principes, aut philosophi capessant principatum. Porro philosophus is est, non qui Dialecticem aut Physicem calleat: sed qui contemptis falsis rerum simulacris, infractopectore, vera bona et perspicit et sequitur'.

²⁶ Gerardus Geldenhouwer, *De officio Christiani principis* in: *Historia Batavica* (Cologne 1541), f. 7. On him see M.E.H.N. Mout, "De humanist Gerard Geldenhouwer als raadgever van vorsten", in: D.E.H. de Boer and J.W. Marsilje (eds.), *De Nederlanden in de late Middeleeuwen* (Utrecht 1987), pp 142-154.

and dedicated to William V, the new duke of Guelders and Zutphen, the work has a mainly religious message and propagates the ideal of religious tolerance, a view which Geldenhouwer shared with the prince to whom he dedicated his work. Duke William educated his daughters in the Lutheran religion whereas the sons were raised as Catholics. Geldenhouwer's text is more or less an application for their tutorship, recommending mainly the study of the Bible as being invaluable for their education²⁷.

Alongside the pedagogue Erasmus and the theologian Geldenhouwer we can now place the historian Aurelius, who tried to counsel the emperor from a politically rather isolated position. This value also underlines the fact that both the *Diadema* and the *Opus Palmarium* are at the same time both ambitious and naive. But it is precisely this combination which makes the works original and interesting. Despite all his criticism of the central government, Aurelius does offer the emperor an important suggestion as to how to strengthen his position in the peripheries of the empire with means other than mere policy of power and intimidation. He should support historians in the provinces by giving them the commission to write their own 'national' histories intended for their own local audiences. Aurelius pleads for not only administrative, but also intellectual decentralisation. If a prince wants to have a successful policy in government and legislation, then he must understand the manners and morals of his citizens. In order to acquire this knowledge he will need the help and advice of local and regional historians and he will need to give historical commissions to the local centres of learning. The conviction that any prince needs the advice of learned humanists in his government is shared by all three writers discussed here. But Aurelius, in his use of historical examples and in his emphasis on the importance of history for political behaviour, in both his mirrors-of-princes, made an important and original contribution to the humanist tradition of political thought.

University of Amsterdam

²⁷ See the new edition of the text by P. Bejczy in *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 40 (1991), 168-205.

APPENDIX

Cornelius Aurelius, *Apocalipsis*.

- 1. Facsimile of Ms. Leiden U.L., Vulcanius 99 B, ff. 26-29**
- 2. Transcription**

Et q^{uod} vulgata edicione f^{uit}ebatur in xph
 grandem s^{ed} v^{er}o v^{er}o contentione sup
 imp^{er}ia inter reg^{es} in hispania et reg^{is}
 gallia. effigata est a nob^{is} p^{er} diadem^{um}
 imp^{er}atoru^m. her^{ic} v^{er}o f^{uit}issima. In
 q^{uod} p^{er}fecte v^{er}o subilissima p^{er}du^{it}
 phrasio. qu^{od} m^{er}ito Mercurio et v^{er}o
 m^{er}ito. her^{ic} concertatio reg^{is} sopita est
 p^{er} Maximilianu^m imp^{er}atoru^m et Ludovicu^m
 regem gallo^{rum} defuncto. certis condi
 tionibus et partib^{us}. quib^{us} tunc fran^{ci}sq^{ue}
 gallo^{rum} rep^{er}. regi hispania imp^{er}atoru^m
 cessit. ut Ludovicu^m g^{er}eret p^{er}mo q^{uod}
 in purgatorio p^{er}mebatur anⁿⁱme
 Apocalypsis et narratio f^{uit}issima s^{ed}
 obitu^m Ludovicu^m reg^{is} gallo^{rum} et morte
 Maximilianu^m imp^{er}atoru^m rh^{od}on^{um}
 C^{on}st^{ant}in^{um} v^{er}o g^{er}ementu^m. m^{er}ito s^{ed}
 sup^{er} imp^{er}is g^{er}udentib^{us}. f^{uit} f^{uit} p^{er}fract^{us}
 Rex erat et m^{er}ito fulgeb^{at} s^{ed} d^{er}a celo
 Et m^{er}ito m^{er}ito quib^{us} p^{er}fract^{us} at^{que} s^{ed} p^{er}fract^{us}
 Mor^{is} p^{er}fract^{us} adueni^{ens}. d^{er}o p^{er}fract^{us} d^{er}o p^{er}fract^{us}
 p^{er}fract^{us} et s^{ed} f^{uit} m^{er}ito v^{er}o sequ^{ens}

27
 // f. Anar Mercurius ad fionfingaliam regem.
 // Biltoen regi. fionfio. affistit. et apte
 Que sibi iussa dedit magnus Apollo i fert
 Audir et expant ^{per fionfio} p'mreps. et q'dolet yll
 I quo f'reptra Hyom. et l'ha f'ara te. ut
 Cuius rogo aut das cōsiliū ul q'd sit agendu ^{Per ff}
 Dir age Lilem Consule que somnū ^{ad iunū}
 // Omnes in terris. iqt. mlti Marp'milian ^{M'mig}
 Restat querendus Me via nlla f'uar
 Orys et reletos refutū mādara p' aur ad
 Nidius nōse dēum et p'd rēse lyre
 Dulcē affabor f'arūq; mouebo susurro
 h'and f'erus ar q'rhara dore aūq; dūrem ^{marp'milian}
 // Hermes itea. querendi Marp'milian ^{Wigat}
 Collutus Venetos expetit hosq; rogat
 Cesar d'bi latet si nostis. Dicite nobis
 Hen' qui nō vobis pugna molesta fuit
 Amc clatarg i f'erut h'm r'p'e r'essit Venet
 f'or f'm apud batavos colligit era sibi. ^{indet}
 h'm f'arare quid f'emp mltō cre m'mena
 Cesar is eximū Nilq; negare solent
 Quic p' h'mo:ū regnū. d'atōsq; d'aurit
 V'sit. r'p'e neptes dignis honore suat
 Mox tū Mercuriū f'umptis talarib; omēs
 L'indūz terris quas sibi resan habet

Thammon
Dias iudex
ad anfrad

Infernum

purgatorium

Ad rancidius. Sed q̄ reperitur i p̄lo
Es rade se lo o. mdrus omne refert
Dūq̄ manet dubij. id futo opus esse videt
Non p̄uid thāmin morte obisse v̄m̄
Tid fex / Mercur / nō alioz esse volebat
Cū nō sum / ita est q̄ m̄ res agit
De tribus cat̄e lonis. p̄p̄d est hūc occupat dūm
Inferm̄ aut medm̄ / vel sup̄ asti a se det
Im̄. ne steḡ id. p̄nd p̄ auḡ b̄m̄ d̄no
Dūm̄ iēge m̄clab. quo ludomus onat
Non m̄ p̄tend̄d̄ est nūm̄. neq̄ d̄nt b̄ḡ v̄l̄b̄.
Dūer̄ ei ad fūero. qui m̄hi s̄repha dedit
Mex̄q̄ v̄ic̄ aīr̄m̄t̄us. s̄nḡid p̄aīd̄. d̄ id̄
Dūer̄ v̄bi res̄ar. Tūm̄q̄ aīr̄ v̄p̄e L̄h̄aron
Non lora n̄d̄ r̄st̄. Nec end̄ m̄ fūep̄m̄ v̄ell̄d̄
f̄f̄r̄ s̄it̄aȳ el̄ s̄j̄ō ac̄m̄bat̄ ille r̄hor̄is.
Iust̄ior̄ v̄p̄e f̄f̄r̄. h̄is̄ q̄ claud̄at̄ m̄ an̄tr̄is̄
Im̄p̄ȳ n̄p̄m̄. lūp̄ v̄igor̄ aīr̄ā d̄er̄us̄
v̄ic̄ha d̄er̄it̄is̄ v̄m̄ p̄ar̄is̄ am̄d̄hor̄ aīr̄ā.
Her̄ lora n̄d̄ m̄er̄us̄ q̄ f̄era bella p̄f̄oūer̄
Ad medm̄ acc̄edit̄. q̄ purgatorius̄ ign̄is̄
Occupat̄ v̄s̄q̄ lon̄d̄ Nec r̄p̄itur̄ ibi
Ad purgatorius̄ / elem̄os̄ina f̄ustulit̄ oī
Cūe d̄ f̄ur̄tor̄p̄ est / c̄adida et v̄na r̄em̄eo

28 22

Postremo ad ^{1. 120. 4.} ab omnes. Pen^o rogat / hunc
 Cesar habet sedē. Ne: no' petrus ait
 Mund est si nescis. superz q' mntoz aule es.
 Quo sine nemo refert. scande i ast' valz
 to te meos hat dixit cum demoror absens
 Is potuit mae. hunc referre forez
 Intus And. ad quid fecerit ipse fatet
 Illud aut induxi. qui mea signa tulit
 Tu mea signa pro. sy dicitur honore est.
 Ut mntm erubuit. stimate ferre cruce
 ar' apud Acriam' gallond castra fugavit
 plumb' q' mntz lonz. har. sibi virtoz i
 har p' h' is os p' essit. har tenuat vsz syndios
 har m' p'are fouet flandua q' qd habz
 ar' facit / hunc hermes ubi. du p'vz. ille q' sar
 Ad q' iussa fero. que mntz Apollo dedit
 Quid lond monstras iquit i dormire volē tem
 Exturbare caue. Cornua bilis habet
 Astat et auscultat. sh' opituz. v' aera lem
 Exatet d' r' gen. sedulitate iudet
 Per sp'it' it' i que summa agitat' in aula
 Igms etherei fulgida queqz videt

^{r. 1502}
 Diligens regem, testis stupet esse rodomo
 Anglorumq; rosio. res noua mira satis
 Iamq; exprobrat. q' rep' petat lodouicus
 Infimam multo fundit honore prec'
 Narrat iter. caufiq; apit mistelar et o'i
 Sed lodouicus amat res in aure tenet
 Dixit atlantides tid corvato. ^{in can. 9} lodouicus
 De modice i' leua. ger' putat ubi fort
 Si morbu' parat. nec despicit. n' i' boet
 Mi. siq; aliud qd' petat. Ho. p'ale.
 No' eten' deus ipse ego su' q' armis tollit
 Purgansq; aub. splendi in regis ex aie.
 Ipse homo p'ator. tamd' har' clemtia fide
 Et merito iudex cor. tribuit m'bi.
 Pro phane p'uit. No' ger' tibi cōgruit aula
 Ritub. i' regem spes. l' uanz tuus
 Sipe releuare bona. Sipe ut regit. id o'i
 Neq'ue fuerit so' de odio q' m'gi o
 Quicq' tibi q' cis' m'ho ad p'ice in pot
 Cessent impud. tum m'bi m'bi erit
 Dixit et plande ~~fl~~ res. sibi. bona q'et
 Fur sum agit. Ad regem da' n' se i' d'it

74
29 33

Quid si fuerat prece infecta suoluit
 Ut loquutus ei talia voce re fert
 Intus instans falcem res est in cordi
 Ipsa qz me nimio pena dolore quat
 Intus ne differ. nro her madata nepot
 Et vobis regi dicere voce mea
 fficiat si in senos curand pinto fluit
 Ex parte solanti munera Martis Olue
 Indiv Martis ole terrendum in lina turme
 gista et nulli stat tibi dand amor
 Jam prostat acies. ferro moitqz pate
 Im itruul digne signa Saturni adest
 Desine stulticie est qz in lino in illud
 Quid dicit ar vult in pitate inbet
 Quid tibi et nepot. cum sunt dpliss
 Gerond imperud si placet respice teneo
 Si qua tibi pietas. utid ne desine fedq
 Sed qz inud hoste te magis nro patre.
 In id est uos. que sup nata fedea quida
 In a burgi de garta honozqz domg
 Dicitur vna fides. amor vnu. et vna volutab
 In pnt. en vobis ne no noc re potest
 Exige ne si in lina pnt. de pnt. furore
 In a. ro firma. consuletoqz tuis.

Ecce (ibi) fateor) in Desimis / undiqz bellu
 imminet ^{et} ac qda' d'atignate / r'ardest
 Audyt her gallus ^{obediit} / paret / lectiqz ^{l'rollet} / mltit
 Miliciam. Sane federa p'ris aiet
 Clamar io plebs ois ouat. pax reddita h'is.
 Sparsa diu / Nec erit q' vacuabit eum
 Pax redit in h'as en lilia amica leom
 Plebs ferat ipsh. xio c'atica g'ta' deo
 Pare data / tan est / suz in lo d'io t'anni
 Opus ascendit. Max milianz o' u
 Diffugit lures, totiqz recedit ab orbe
 Luctus / et h'isam p'lia Martis eunt
 G'esut annoz / deniqz fides / rectiqz voluntas
 Atqz deo grates plebs a'io ois q' t
 Explint libellz q' 9^o Diadema Imp'it' ad



Transcription MS Leiden, U.L., Vulcanius 99B f. 26^r - f. 29^r.

Cornelius Aurelius

APOCALIPSIS ET NARRATIO FACETISSIMA SUPER OBITU LODOVICI REGIS GALLORUM ET MORTE MAXIMILIANI IMPERATORIS RHOMANORUM QUI IN UNUM CONSENTIENTES NEPOTES SUOS SUPER IMPERIO CONTENDENTES FELICI FEDERE PACIFICARUNT.

Nox erat et nitido fulgebant sydera celo,

Et mea membra quies presserat atque sopor.

Mox propere adveniens divorum interpret Apollo

Excitat, et sese nos iubet usque sequi.

[f.26^v] Insequor ipse Dei vestigia moxque subimus 5

Lucos fumantes et nigra tecta Stygis.

Haud modicus nobis tremor est, tandemque videmus

Quod sibi penarum rex Ludovicus habet.

Congemit implorans miserandus Apollinis ora;

Taliter exorsus tristia verba refert¹: 10

“Hunc miser in puteum pro crimine missus iniquo

Torqueor, et mentem torrida pena quatit.

Italiam involuens bello sedemque supremam

Et Calabros merui hac modo clade premi.

Heu nimium crucior regali tectus amictu; 15

Quamquam nulla patet, me gravat atra lues.

Nulla mihi spes est, sed nec relevabor ab ullo,

Ni ferat ipse mihi Maxmilianus opem.

Maxmilianus opem solus mihi ferre valebat;

Sic dii iusserunt, sic pia fata monent 20

Preterea, o Deli, si quid mea verba tibi sunt

Et cure et cordi, suscipe queso preces.

Precipe Stilboni contendat ut ocyus Euro,

Franciscoque meo fac mea vota ferat”.

Clarius Anubem vocitans talaria iussit² 25

Induere et plumas, ne premat ulla mora.

[f.27^r] *Festinat Mercurius ad Franciscum Gallorum regem*

¹ loquitur rex Ludovicus in margine.

² Apollo ad Mercurium in margine.

Gallorum regi Francisco assistit et apte,
 Que sibi iussa dedit magnus Apollo, refert.
 Audit et expavit princeps et condolet illi, 30
 A quo sceptrum throni et lilia sacra tenet.
 "Quid, rogo," ait rex³, "das consilii, vel quod sit agendum
 Dic age, Cilleni; Consule queso mihi."
 "Omnibus in terris, inquit, mihi Maxmilianus
 Restat querendus. Me via nulla gravat. 35
 Ocyus et celeres referam mandata per auras
 Nuncius ipse deum⁴, et pater ipse lyre.
 Dulciter affabor facillique movebo susurro,
 Haud secus ac cythara voce animoque ducem⁵".
 Hermes interea querendi Maxmiliani 40
 Sollicitus, Venetos expetit hosque rogat
 Cesar ubi latitet: "Si nostis, dicite nobis,
 Heu quicum vobis pugna molesta fuit."
 "Auro placatus", referunt⁶, "hinc ipse recessit;
 Forsan apud Batavos colligit era sibi. 45
 Hii farcire quidem semper multo aere crumenam
 Cesaris eximii, nilque negare solent.
 Sive per Hunorum regnum Danosque recurrit,
 Visitet ut neptes dignus honore suas."
 Mox tum Mercurius⁷, sumptis talaribus, omnes 50
 Circumiit terras, quas sibi Cesar habet.
 [f. 27^v] Ad regem rediens, dum non reperitur in ullo
 Cesar adesse loco, nuncius omne refert;
 Dumque manent dubii, quod facto opus esse videtur,
 Accipiunt Thamiri⁸ mortem obiisse virum. 55

³ *rex Francie ad Mercurium* in margine.

⁴ *deorum supra versum.*

⁵ *Maximilianum* in margine.

⁶ *Veneti respondent* in margine.

⁷ *Item nota in hoc carmine variantur nomina Apollinis et Mercurii qui hic sepius loquuntur. Omnia singulorum nomina hic ponemus:*

<i>Delius o Deli</i>	<i>Stilbon</i>
<i>Apollo: Clarius</i>	<i>Mercurius: Anoebis</i>
<i>Cynthius</i>	<i>Hines</i>
	<i>Atlantiades</i>
	<i>Cillenus</i>

in margine.

⁸ *Thamirum civitas Hungarie aut Austrie* in margine.

Tum rex⁹: “Mercuri, non certior esse volebam
 Quam modo sum; certa est que mihi res agitur;
 De tribus ecce locis (fixum est) nunc occupat unum:
 Infernum, aut medium, vel super astra sedet.
 I nunc, ne steteris! preciumque augebimus ultro, 60
 Dum regem invenias, quo Ludovicus ovat¹⁰.
 Non mihi parcendum est nummis neque viribus ullis,
 Donec ei adfuero, qui mihi scepra dedit.”
 Moxque vie accinctus Stygiam pervenit ad edem¹¹,
 Querit ubi Cesar, tumque ait ipse Charon: 65
 “Non loca nostra colit; nec enim transveximus illum.
 Forsitan Elisiis accubat ille choris.
 Iustior ipse fuit, his quam claudatur in antris
 Imperii nomine, lux, vigor, arra, decus;
 Prelia devitans (vir pacis amantior) atra 70
 Hec loca non meruit, quae fera bella foveant.”
 Ad medium accedit, quem purgatorius ignis¹²
 Occupat usque locum nec reperitur ibi.
 Quid purgaretur, elemosina sustulit omne,
 Que defunctorum est candida et una comes. 75
 [f. 28^r] Postremo ad celos veniens, Petrum rogat¹³ hicne
 Cesar habet sedem? “Nescio,” Petrus ait.
 “Mirum est si nescis, supere qui ianitor aule es,
 Quo sine nemo”, refert¹⁴, “scandere in astra valet”.
 “Forte meus frater”, dixit, “cum demoror absens, 80
 Is potuit nostras huic reserare fores”.
 Accitus Andreas quid fecerit ipse fatetur:
 “Illum”, ait, “induxi qui mea signa tulit;
 Qui mea signa pio semper veneratus honore est,
 Nec nostram erubuit stemmate ferre crucem: 85
 Hac¹⁵ apud Aeriam Gallorum castra fugavit,
 Pluribus inque locis hac sibi victor iit.

⁹ scilicet *Gallie*.

¹⁰ *triumphat* in margine.

¹¹ *Infernum* in margine.

¹² *Purgatorium* in margine.

¹³ *interrogat* in margine.

¹⁴ scilicet *Mercurius*.

¹⁵ scil. *cruce*.

- Hac Phrisios pressit, hac¹⁶ territat usque Sycambros,
Hac in pace foveat Flandria quicquid habet".
Hec sacer¹⁷. Hinc Hermes¹⁸: "Ubi (dic precor) ille quiescit, 90
Ad quem iussa fero que mihi Apollo dedit".
Inde locum monstrans, inquit¹⁹: "Dormire volentem
Exturbare cave. Cornua bilis habet".
Astat et auscultat²⁰, strepituque per aera leni
Excitet ut regem sedulitate studet. 95
Perspicit interea que summa agitantur in aula,
Agminis etherei fulgida queque videt.
[f. 28v] Liligeris regem tectum stupet esse coronis,
Anglorum rosis res nova mira satis.
Iamque experrecto que rex petiit Lodovicus, 100
Insinuans multo fundit honore preces.
Narrat iter causamque aperit, nil celat et omne,
Quod Lodovicus amat, Cesar in aure tenet.
Dixit Atlantiades; tum contra Maxmilianus
Se modice relevans, hec (puto) verba refert: 105
"Si morbum patitur, nec desunt era, medebor
Illi sique aliud quid petit. Ito, Vale.
Non etenim deus ipse ego sum, qui crimina tollam,
Purgatisque animis splendida regna parem.
Ipse homo peccator; tamen hanc clementia sedem 110
Et merita Andree contribuere mihi.
Ito, prophane, procul; non hec tibi congruit aula;
I citus, i, regem spe relevare tuum.
Spe relevare bona, quippe ut purgatus ab omni
Nigranti fuerit sorde odioque nigro, 115
Successorque eius nostro cum pace nepoti
Cesserit imperium, tum mihi iunctus erit."
Dixerat, et placide Cesar sibi dona quietis
Rursum agit; Ad regem nuncius ipse redit.
[f. 29v] Omnia quae fuerant prece transacta revolvit; 120
At Lodovicus ei talia voce refert:

¹⁶ scil. *cruce*.

¹⁷ scil. *Andreas*.

¹⁸ scil. *Mercurius*.

¹⁹ scil. *Andreas*.

²⁰ scil. *Mercurius*.

- "I cito, ne steteris! fateor, res est mihi cordi,
 Ipsaque me nimio pena dolore gravat.
 I cito; ne differ nostra hec mandata nepoti
 Gallorum regi dicere voce mea: 125
 'Francisce, insanos curarum ponito fluctus;
 Excute solliciti munera Martis; Ave.
 Audio, Marticole tercentum milia turme
 Legisti, et nullus stat tibi pacis amor.
 Iam prostant acies ferro mortique parate, 130
 Iam lituus pugne signa daturus adest.
 Desine! stultitie est, quicquid moliris in illum,
 Quem Deus ac presul imperitare iubet.
 Quid tibi et imperio, cui sunt amplissima regna?
 Grecorum imperium, si placet, ipse tenes. 135
 Si qua tibi pietas, ictum ne desere fedus.
 Sed generum presta te magis, imo patrem.
 Accendant animos que sunt data federa quondam,
 Et mea Burgunde gratia honorque domus.
 Si vos una fides, amor unus et una voluntas 140
 Iunxerit, en vobis nemo nocere potest.
 Ergo tuum, Francisce, (precor) depone furorem;
 Pacem confirma consulitoque tuis.
 [f.29^v] Ecce tibi (fateor), ni desinis, undique bellum
 Imminet ac quodam vaticinante ratum est.'" 145
 Audiit hec Gallus, paret lectamque remittit
 Miliciam; sacre federa pacis avet.
 Clamat io! plebs omnis, ovat, pax reddita terris
 Sparsa diu, nec erit quae vacuabit eam.
 Pax reedit in terras; en lilia amica leoni! 150
 Plebs ferat ipsa pio cantica grata Deo.
 Pace data (tanti est), superum Lodovicus in arcem
 Ocyus ascendit; Maxmilianus ovat.
 Diffugiunt lites, totoque recedit ab orbe
 Luctus, et insani prelia Martis eunt 155
 Crescit amor verique fides rectique voluntas,
 Atque Deo grates plebs animo omnis agit.

Ann Moss

LATIN LITURGICAL HYMNS OF THE REFORMATION CRISIS (1520-1568)

This article continues the history of Latin hymn publishing since the advent of printing, beginning at the point where I broke off in a previous contribution to this journal.¹ The importance of the end-date of the present article is self-evident. 1568 was the year in which the revised breviary, commissioned by the Council of Trent and completed under papal supervision, finally appeared. With it, and with the publication in 1571 of the revised *Officium Beatae Mariae Virginis* (which contained the substance of books of hours, or primers), the liturgical hymns which formed an integral part of the daily offices of the Church, moved onto another phase of their development². The decision to begin this chapter of their history in 1520 is more arbitrary. Certainly there is no decisive break in the tradition at this point. Not only do breviaries and books of hours continue to be published (in their multifarious forms), and with them liturgical hymns in universal and local use, but also many of the hymnals with commentaries by early humanists, which I analysed in my previous article, are reprinted, if spasmodically, and unevenly distributed throughout Europe³. Spain is by far the most conservative country in this respect. The medieval *Aurea Expositio* survives as the core of editions of hymns by the Spanish grammarians

¹ A. Moss, "Latin liturgical hymns and their early printing history, 1470-1520", *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 36 (1987), 112-137.

² For the bibliographical history of breviaries and books of hours between 1520 and 1568, see H. Bohatta, *Bibliographie der Breviere, 1501-1850* (Leipzig, 1937); H. Bohatta, *Bibliographie der Livres d'Heures... des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna, 1924); E. Hoskins, *Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis, or Sarum and York Primers with Kindred Books* (London, 1901). The most recent (and the most interesting) history of the offices of the Church is G. Guiver, *Company of Voices. Daily Prayer and the People of God* (London, 1988).

³ For bibliographical details and for descriptions of the editions mentioned in this paragraph, see my previous article, mentioned in note 1.

Petrus Nuñez Delgado (died 1535) and Antonius Nebrissensis (Antonio de Lebrija, c.1441-1522), which are reprinted at frequent intervals at various Spanish locations up until 1571. The Spanish editors had accommodated the traditional hymns and commentary to humanist standards of linguistic propriety, by emending the text of the hymns and by appending grammatical expositions and establishing correlations with classical usage. This combination of piety and paedagogy had been the aim of all early sixteenth-century editors of the hymns, and it seems to have sufficed in Spain as a way of mediating the hymns to educated readers, lay and clerical. In Northern Europe, at least two reprintings at Cologne of the classicising edition of hymns and sequences by Hermannus Torrentinus (Herman van der Beeke, c. 1450-1520), first published in 1499, prolong into the 1530s the influence of a commentary marked by the scholarly spirituality of the Brethren of the Common Life. Another important early humanist edition of the hymns and sequences, that of Jacobus Wimpheling (1450-1528) and his lesser known associate, Johannes Adelphus (Johann Adolph Müling), published at Strasburg in 1513, had already been reduced to hymns alone when taken up by Parisian printers in 1515, and subsequently Wimpheling's hymn-commentary had a provincial printing at Caen in 1530. The evidence is scanty, but indicates a trend: where production of the annotated hymnals of the early years of the century does continue in Northern Europe, it either retrenches in a major Catholic centre of religious-book publishing (Cologne), or survives in relatively marginal locations. The only exception is the commentary on hymns and sequences by Jodocus Clichtoveus (1472/3-1543), first published as part of his *Elucidatorium ecclesiasticum ad officium ecclesiae pertinentia planius exponens* (Paris, 1515/6), which was reprinted in its original context eight times up until 1558, at Paris and at Basel, and as an abstract from the longer work at Venice in 1555. But Clichtoveus is concerned with other things besides piety and paedagogy. His commentary is part of the literature of the proto-Reformation, in that he addresses himself explicitly to the education of the woefully ignorant parish clergy. And if, in common with the early humanists, he grounds his literal interpretation of the language of the hymns on analogies with classical usage, he implicitly associates himself with contemporary trends in Biblical commentary when he draws out their spiritual sense, not through the speculative allegorisation favoured by the medieval commentators, but by leading his reader to recognise allusions to

Scripture. With hindsight it is possible to see already in the annotations of Clichtoveus the range of pragmatic and interpretative preoccupations which in the 1520s is going to reactivate and diversify the production of hymnals, hymns and hymn-commentaries. Indeed the Latin hymn is about to become a territory over which humanists and reformers alike will engage in the moves and counter-moves of the debates about language and authority, rhetorical reformulation and doctrinal definition in which the major intellectual and cultural issues of the period were expressed.

Hymns and Humanists I: Commentary

The place of the Latin hymn in the intellectual universe of mid-sixteenth-century Europe is best apprehended by a perusal of the *Pandectae* of Conrad Gesner⁴. Systematic bibliography of all useful written knowledge, encyclopedia of learning classified according to the school and university curriculum of the period, the *Pandectae* inform us about what constituted the contemporary concept of the Latin hymn and the mental categories in which hymns were placed. Hymns straddle the categories of poetry, music and theology. Modern writers whose Latinity will stand comparison with classical and post-classical usage are given a place in the book on poetry under the head *De hymnis Christianorum et gentilium* and include Erasmus (as a writer of hymns and as a commentator on Prudentius), Salmon Macrin, Mantuan, G.F. Pico, Bigus, and Vida. Under "music" there are non-specific references to liturgical hymnals and collections of sequences. Under "theology" are included the commentaries on the liturgical hymns which belong to the first phase of their printing history (Dionysius the Carthusian, Torrentinus, Wimpheling, Clichtoveus) and a long catalogue of late medieval, recent and contemporary hymn-writers, ranging freely between Latin hymns to the Blessed Virgin and German hymns of obvious Lutheran provenance (*Partitiones theologicae*, fol. 39^v-40^v). The ecclesiastical hymn is seen to be a form which subsumes doctrinal differences. As a sub-set of theology, it is also carefully distinguished in Gesner's system of classification from psalm paraphrase, which is included with commentaries on psalms (*Partitiones theologicae*, fol. 24-

⁴ *Pandectarum sive partitionum universalium Conradi Gesneri Tigurini... libri XXI* (Zürich, 1548); *Partitiones theologicae pandectarum universalium... liber ultimus* (Zürich, 1549).

26), and from Christian-Latin poetry of a non-liturgical nature, where, once again, we find Prudentius (with commentaries), Mantuan, the hymns of Erasmus, G. F. Pico, Bigus, Vida and Macrin, and vernacular translations of the psalms and Latin psalm paraphrases (*Partitiones theologicae*, fol. 155-156). The printed material on which this article is based (though it makes no claims to be exhaustive) indicates that Gesner's parameters for the Latin hymn corresponded very closely with assumptions at work in mid-century hymn commentary and hymn production.

The categorical difference Gesner makes between Erasmus's commentary on Prudentius (assigned to "poetry" in general, as well as to Christian Latin poetry) and the commentaries of the earlier generation of humanists on the liturgical hymns (listed only under "theology") betrays a humanist's sense of the critical distinction to be drawn between the corpus of poems of which Prudentius was the author and the ecclesiastically determined cycle of variously derived office hymns which constituted the hymnals. Nevertheless, commentaries in either category were not unrelated, as is most obvious in the case of the commentary which first consecrated Prudentius as a member of the humanist poetic canon⁵. In 1520 Jacobus Spiegel (c. 1483-1547) prefaced his lengthy annotation of the hymn by Prudentius, *Hymnus omnis horae* (*Cathemerinon*, IX), with a description of a group of scholars at Schlettstadt, self-confessed admirers of Erasmus, Capito, Luther, Melanchthon, Mosellanus and Eobanus Hessus, among others. We have already moved into the generation of the Reform. Yet, chief among the Schlettstadt *sodalitium* is none other than Spiegel's uncle, Jacobus Wimpfeling, and, in Spiegel's reconstruction of a meeting of the group, it is Wimpfeling who is made to complain that, while Martial and Marullus are well received, Prudentius lies neglected, "cum tamen is unus inter omnes poetas praecipue dignus sit hominis Christiani lectione" (Sig. 2). At this, Spiegel produces with a flourish the commentary he has just written. The meeting at Schlettstadt of two generations of hymn-commentators underlines both continuities and innovations in a commentary tradition which goes from the allegorising paraphrases found in the medieval *Aurea Expositio* of the liturgical cycle, adapted for the humanist schoolroom in Wimpfeling's compilation by the

⁵ In *Aurelii Prudentii... de miraculis Christi Hymnum ad omnes horas Iacobi Spiegel Selestadiensis Interpretatio* (Schlettstadt, 1520).

addition of grammatical notes, to Spiegel's encyclopaedic edition of a single hymn of Prudentius, which bears close similarities to the massively erudite and comprehensive editions of classical texts, largely Italian in origin, which were being published in Northern Europe in the second and third decades of the sixteenth century. Spiegel edits the whole of Prudentius's hymn, not just the part which had been adapted for the liturgical cycle. In contrast to his uncle's disparaging attitude to Marullus, Spiegel widens his range of reference to include the hymns of pagan Greek poets in all their various forms (his knowledge is at least partially gleaned from that mine of information exploited by his contemporaries, the *Antiquae Lectiones* of Coelius Rhodiginus). Spiegel treats Prudentius's hymn as Italian scholars treated any literary text, as a cue for expatiating on vocabulary. Almost every word is explained in the light of its use by a copious array of authors, ancient and modern, pagan and Christian. The text is a focus for gathered information, rather than for interpretation, and, although the vocabulary and reference of Prudentius's hymn determine that a lot of that information will be from religious texts, there is little or no sense that they are privileged as a source of knowledge or as a mode of expression.

The Schlettstadt *sodalitium*, conversing, as Spiegel's preface says, "de literis cum humanis tum divinis", finds room for his enthusiasm for erudition and absorbs it into the *docta pietas* already manifest in the commentaries of the previous generation, whose history can be traced back to the environment of the schools of the Brethren of the Common Life. It was in that environment, in about 1489, that Erasmus had written his hymn to St. Ann, of which Spiegel published an edition just one year prior to his Prudentius commentary⁶. Perhaps in keeping with the much plainer language of Erasmus's hymn, Spiegel does not range nearly as widely in this commentary. But his chief interest is still in explaining vocabulary, sometimes defining verbal usage by reference to a fairly restricted range of classical authors, more often by employing quotations from Scripture as a context for explanation. Spiegel seems little interested in rhetoric (the focus is still the single word, not figures or phrases). Where the tone of this commentary does differ from the

⁶ In *Hymnum aviae Christi dictum ab Erasmo Roterodamo Scholia Iacobi Spiegel Selestadiensis* (Augsburg, 1519). For the hymns of Erasmus, probably written between 1489 and 1491, and for his sequence in his mass for the Virgin of Loreto, see C.H. Miller, "The Liturgical Context of Erasmus's Hymns", *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Torontonensis*, edd. A. Dalzell, Ch. Fantazzi, R. J. Schoeck (Binghamton, N.Y., 1991), pp. 481-490.

more ambitious Prudentius commentary, it is in the occasional excursus into moral advice, based on Biblical precepts. In this vein Spiegel refers quite frequently to the *Enchiridion militis Christiani*, whereas the Erasmus most quoted in the Prudentius commentary is the erudite Erasmus of the *Adages*.

Erasmus himself moved from his own efforts at liturgical hymn-writing to commentary on Prudentius. His commentaries on the hymns for Christmas Day (*Cathemerinon* XI) and the Epiphany (*Cathemerinon* XII) were published at Basel in 1524, with a dedication to Thomas More's daughter, Margaret Roper, then aged nineteen⁷. To present the book as a Christmas gift to a young wife and mother suggests a particular community of implied readers. The commentary is generally didactic, but not systematic enough for use in the class-room, nor is it addressed to the clergy. It broaches profound theological issues, but, sanctioned by the non-authoritative text which generates them, the register of such disquisitions is non-magisterial, even personal. The implied reader is a private reader, lay, devout, inquiring, and alert to the potential of language codified in rhetorical tropes and figures. From the first lines of the Christmas hymn, in which Prudentius plays on the literal and spiritual senses of light, and throughout the commentary, Erasmus engages the reader in an exploration of all the possible ways in which metaphorical sense can be signalled and recognised, including observed analogies in natural phenomena, figurative modes of ordinary language, traditional tropological categories of interpretation, and play with verbal parallels in other texts (technically called *allusio*), be they texts of classical poets or of the Bible. It is primarily on a sophisticated and rhetorically trained ability to recognise tropes that Erasmus draws to expound by *imago* the mystery of Christ begotten before all worlds, to which Prudentius elliptically refers in the fifth and sixth stanzas of the Christmas hymn. Rhetorical analysis thus goes beyond its application to the text in question and becomes a tool for theological inquiry⁸. However, its use is carefully controlled by Erasmus, in that he privileges

⁷ Text in Erasmus, *Opera*, ed. J. Clericus, 10 vols (Leyden, 1703-6), V, col. 1337-58; the dedicatory letter is reproduced in Erasmus, *Opus epistolarum*, edited by P.S. Allen, 20 vols. (Oxford, 1906-58), V, p. 366-7 (no. 1404).

⁸ Although the text in question nicely underwrites a linguistic and theological point which Erasmus slips in without labouring it: in his annotation to lines 17-24 of the Christmas hymn he substitutes his favoured (and highly controversial) "sermo" for the "verbum" with which Prudentius expresses the idea of "logos", fully aware that Prudentius himself, with sublime indifference, will use "sermo" in the same sense in line 52.

one text as a source of *allusio*, and that text is the Bible, quoted *verbatim* or inferred obliquely so as to enforce a reading of his commentary which mirrors his own reading of Prudentius's direct and indirect allusions to Scripture. When Erasmus picks up allusions to classical texts (as in the Virgilian Golden Age ushered in by Christ's birth in the Christmas hymn, line 61 on), he uses a collection of verbal parallels and allegorical equations, as well as those convenient link-women, the Sybils, to recover a Biblical sub-text. Erasmus is employing hymns as a neutral testing-ground for modes of interpretation which he and others apply more controversially to sacred texts and which involve rhetorical analysis on the one hand, and, on the other, the mobilisation of quotations from Scripture, deployed in fluid combinations and confrontational strategies. In his stress on figurative language and on Scripture, Erasmus is in fact closer to Clichtoveus on the liturgical hymns than he is to the Prudentius commentary Spiegel had published four years previously⁹. Nevertheless, the Italian philological expertise which Spiegel exploited with such relish will also have a role to play in the future development of the liturgical hymn. But in Italy it is not textual commentary which generates activity in the field of hymns so much as that other spur to production favoured by humanism: literary imitation.

Hymns and Humanists 2: Composition

Late fifteenth and early sixteenth-century Latin writers in Italy were preoccupied with inventing modes of expressing Christian sentiment in language acceptable to readers attuned to the Latin promoted by the humanists, classical, elegant, and fastidiously aware of metrical and linguistic niceties of which many of the liturgical hymns showed a crude and "barbarous" disregard. The best known humanist poets of the period wrote Christian poetry, often called hymns, such as the various collections of Baptista Mantuanus (Baptista Spagnola, 1447-1516), Ludovicus Bigus Pictorius (Bigo Pittori, 1454-1520), Johannes Francis-

⁹ Another commentary on Prudentius is of relevance to the history of liturgical hymns because it was written by Antonius Nebrissensis, editor of the hymnal which so dominated the Spanish market. His annotations, published in 1512 (and again in 1536, 1540, and 1546 as part of composite editions of Prudentius), are very much in the manner of Torrentinus, with paraphrastic and explanatory notes and parallels of vocabulary and phraseology from classical poets. But, in addition, Nebrissensis uses quotations from Scripture, in its literal sense, as his main mode of elaborating on the sense of his text.

cus Picus (G.F. Pico della Mirandola, 1469-1533) and Hieronymus Vida (1490-1566). But these are not hymns suitable in any way for liturgical use. They are attempts to reinvent for Christian application the language and the style of the hymns of pagan antiquity. Lilius Gregorius Giraldus, the foremost literary historian of the day, makes this clear in his preface to the *Hymni heroici* of J.F. Picus, first published in 1528, when he claims that the first three hymns which Picus had published (in 1510) had revived the tradition of Orpheus and Homer, practised by Moses, but dormant for many years. The hymns of Picus, very long encomia of the Trinity, Christ and various saints, all in hexameters, are splendidly ornate examples of the high poetic style, but they are certainly not written to be sung. His original three hymns had appeared complete with a commentary more designed to augment the reader's erudition than to foster his devotion. The startling novelty of the flamboyant Italian hymn-style can be assessed by comparing the hymn Erasmus wrote for St Ann with a hymn to the same saint which is included in one of the later collections of Bigus Pictorius, *In Coelestes Archangelos Hymnicae Centuriae* (Venice, 1520)¹⁰. Erasmus had called the metre of his hymn "rhythmus iambicus", though it is more "classical" than that implies and nearest to the commonest of all early hymn metres, the quantitative iambic dimeter of Prudentius and others. Erasmus stays fairly close to a linear narration of the story of Joachim and Ann. The only reference outside the narration is to the Old Testament parallel of Hannah. The most notable rhetorical flourish is the play on triples at the beginning and end of the hymn (it is characteristic of Spiegel's indifference to rhetorical figures and patterns that he ignores these, although they are heavily marked in the text). The hexameters of the hymn by Bigus Pictorius tell no story. They paint a picture, or, rather, they describe a statue of St. Ann in the manner of an *ecphrasis* in the Alexandrian style. The sacred and the aesthetic are inextricably combined, pagan and Christian inspiration almost confused:

Crediderimne fidem venturi in carne Tonantis
Mortali notam generi, quo tempore vixit
Praxiteles? clarusque Myron? fortasseque primus

¹⁰ Georg Ellinger, *Geschichte der neulateinischen Literatur Deutschlands im sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, 3 vols (Berlin and Leipzig, 1929), I, pp. 159-161, gives a convenient summary of the career of Bigus Pictorius; accounts of the other, better known Italian writers mentioned here may be found in the same volume.

Lysippus? veteres cum praeferat ista magistros
 Effigies niveo natam carumque nepotem
 Sustentans gremio, et geminis hinc inde lacertis
 Circumplexa duos¹¹.

(Sig a vi + 2*)

One of the most interesting attempts by an Italian humanist to reinvent the Christian hymn was the *Fasti* of Baptista Mantuanus¹². The title suggests Ovid. The content recalls (very faintly!) the cycle of liturgical hymns, being a calendar of hymns for feast-days. But the style and the angle of vision are ostentatiously classical and rhetorically oblique. When the angel brings the tidings to Mary, almost half the “hymn” relates how Mercury overheard them and relayed them to the other gods... The theology may be impeccable, but the mode of telling signals poetic fiction, not Scriptural metaphor.

In the first thirty years of the century there were attempts to write hymns in the Italian manner North of the Alps, but they were sporadic and rather half-hearted. However, the Italian hymns were very much part of the cultural agenda of Northern humanists for promoting “eruditionem haud vulgarem non sine pietate”. That was how Beatus Rhenanus introduced his edition of the three earliest *Hymni heroici* of J.F.Picus, together with the commentary, from which readers will learn “non tam Theologica dogmata, et vocum significantias, quam fabularum mysteria, graecis citatis scriptoribus” (Strasburg, 1511). Just such a commentary was to be written on the *Staurostichon* of the same author by Jacobus Spiegel (Tübingen, 1512), and was to prove good preparation for his similarly erudite commentary on Prudentius. Religious poems by Bigus Pictorius, *Opusculorum Christianorum libri tres*, were also published at Strasburg in 1509. Strasburg, it will be recalled, was also the location for Wimpfeling’s edition of the liturgical hymns in 1513. At Strasburg again the *Fasti* of Mantuanus, rechristened *De sacris diebus* was published in 1518, as it was later, at Poitiers, in 1526. The Strasburg editions of humanist hymn-writers not only point to Strasburg as a centre from which the Italian manner was disseminated, but, in the case of Mantuanus, draw our attention again to the

¹¹ Professor IJsewijn has pointed out to me how strikingly similar these lines are to several hymns in the *Coryciana* (Rome, 1524). See J. IJsewijn, “Poetry in a Roman Garden: the *Coryciana*”, in P. Godman and O. Murray (eds), *Latin Poetry and the Classical Tradition* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 211-231.

¹² Cf. H. Trümper, ed., *Die “Fasti” des Baptista Mantuanus von 1516 als volkshundliche Quelle* (Nieuwkoop, 1979).

mediating role played by Wimpheling and Spiegel. The preface to the Strasburg edition of the *Fasti* is a letter from Wimpheling, in which he says that it was in his nephew's library that he came across a copy of the work, "lectu dignissimum, in quibus nostra iuventus, vitam, et bonos fines Divorum, absque fabellis, et alia scitu utilia sine veneno (quo Tibullus, Propertius, Catullus, Lucretius, Marullus et horum lascivi similes respersi sunt) a teneris annis imbibere, seque et caeteros aliquando delectare posset"¹³. Strasburg will continue to have a pivotal part to play in our history, and perhaps not one to the taste of Wimpheling. However, the most direct consequence for the liturgical hymns of the Italian humanists' programme of reconstruction is to be found in Italy itself.

The reformation of religious service-books was on the programme at Rome in the early 1520s, as well as in places further north. During the first fifty years of the century there were movements all over Europe to make the daily offices shorter, easier to use, and linguistically more accessible. Language was always a major issue in such projects, but the language question took different forms. At Rome, it was a question, not of "whether Latin", but "which Latin". And, as far as the liturgical hymns were concerned, one answer to that question was the *Hymni novi ecclesiastici iuxta veram metri et latinitatis normam*, composed by a bishop of a see in the kingdom of Naples, Zacharias Ferrerius (1451-1524), approved by Pope Leo X before his death in 1521, sanctioned for use by Clement VII in 1523, and published at Rome in 1525. A prefatory letter portrays Ferrerius as an implacable enemy of Luther, but himself a reformer of errors which endanger the Church:

Vides mi lector quos passim canunt in templis hymnos uti sunt omnes fere mendosi, inepti, barbaria referti, nullaque pedum ratione nullo syllabarum mensu compositi, ut ad risum eruditos concitent, et ad contemptum ecclesiastici ritus vel litteratos sacerdotes inducant? (Sig. B)

The bad Latin of the the traditional hymns is a scandal to priests "bona latinitate praediti", that is, educated to the critical standards of the humanists. It is primarily for this educated élite, and for the dignity and the appropriate ornamentation of the queen of sciences, and because poetry is "divina et deo propinqua", that Ferrerius has under-

¹³ Published with the other letters of Wimpheling in O. Herding and D. Mertens (eds), *Jakob Wimpheling: Briefwechsel* (Munich, 1990).

taken to reform the hymnal¹⁴. “Rewrite” would be the better word. Hymns are supplied for the requirements of the breviary offices for days of the week, festivals and saints’ days, and in this sense they are fully liturgical. The metres are quantitative and reproduce the lyric forms which were often common-ground between Christian hymns and classical odes, though Ferrerius tends to stress accent, is by no means averse to lines “similiter desinentia”, and has a fondness for abecedarian stanzas, used, he says, to mark hymns for major feasts and to assist memorisation. These new hymns on the whole recycle the substance of the old, but translate it into the vocabulary of words and figures from which the Italian humanists had created a new lexis and a new rhetoric for Christian poetry. Feast-days dawn in a classical periphrasis; the pagan pantheon graciously concedes its place in countless invidious comparisons; the Blessed Virgin, “felix dea” and “nympha candidissima”, trips through verdant landscapes; and the most popular stories gain a veneer of verbal sophistication:

Nuncius summo veniens ab axe
 Nocte pastores monet excubantes
 Visere exortum puerum sub atro
 Fornice saxi.
 Ordo coelestis cecinit catervae
 Gloriam late super astra divis
 Et super terras homini futuram
 Undique pacem. (Fol. D iiiiv)

The theology of the hymns may be scrupulously orthodox, but their verbal reformulation operates a radical change of behaviour in whoever reads or repeats them. The purpose of the rewriting is to satisfy criteria derived from the judgements of grammatical commentaries on ancient poetry, to make them “dulcius, suavius, purius, tersius, nitidius”, to be “brevis, diffusus, varius, rotundus” (Fol. A iiiiv). These are the stylistic criteria of a particular culture and assume an educated élite reading critically. This élite is implicitly invited to construct a universe of reference for the hymns in which the dominant features are classical diction and classical poetry. It is not the Latin of Scripture that their

¹⁴ A note on the title-page indicates that he also had plans for reforming the whole breviary in order to make it “longe breuius et facilius... et ab omni errore purgatum”. For the context of breviary reform in which the hymns of Ferrerius appeared, see J. Wickham Legg, *The Second Recension of the Quignon Breviary*, 2 vols (London, 1908-1912), II, pp. 7-12.

language recalls, nor *a fortiori* the spiritual sense with which Scripture invests metaphor. Ferrerius uses rhetorical figures primarily to vary the literal sense and, more especially, the visual presentation of his material. The reader is kept at a certain distance from the text, a spectator rather than an actor in the drama of salvation, mentally appraising words rather than praising the Word with heart and voice¹⁵.

Whether the humanistic revolution in hymn writing had any real influence on forms of religious devotion in contemporary Italy has not been explored. There is an interesting provincial work, but hardly a product of popular devotion, published somewhat later, the *Aureum sacrorum hymnorum opus* by the Franciscan Laurentius Massorillus (Foligno, 1547), whose title half recalls the old *aurea expositio*. In four books of hymns Massorillus combines elaborately classicising narrations in hexameters for the main feasts; more effusive elegiacs for lesser occasions, often dramatically conceived, with passages of direct speech, apostrophe and fervent personal intervention; more meditative hymns in "Ambrosian" metres; and rhythmical, rhyming hymns after the pattern of the old sequences, often with a refrain, in which the dominant mode is one of personal prayer, nourished by reference to Scriptural archetypes. In this book, but it is an isolated phenomenon in the period, a symbiosis of all current "languages" of the Latin hymn seems possible.

North of the Alps the situation was to become much more complex, and the "reformation" of the hymns was to acquire a more than linguistic meaning. However, the spirit that moved Ferrerius did prompt a Northern rewriting of liturgical hymns, *Hymni aliquot* (Louvain, 1537) by Jacobus Meyerus¹⁶. Meyerus seems to have undertaken a fairly systematic revision of traditional hymns and of sequences as well,

¹⁵ The subsequent history of the hymns of Ferrerius is obscure, though it is doubtful whether they proved to be a successful alternative to the traditional cycle. They may have been reprinted at Rome in 1549, but do not seem to have been printed in Northern Europe. One suspects that, at best, they were a very local use. The reformed "Quignon" breviary, in use to a limited extent between 1536 and 1568, has the old version of the hymns, albeit in reduced numbers.

¹⁶ I have not seen a copy of this hymnal; nor had Philipp Wackernagel, who printed eight hymns by Meyerus in his *Deutsches Kirchenlied von der ältesten Zeit bis zum Anfang des XVII. Jahrhunderts*, 5 vols (Leipzig, 1864-1877; Hildesheim, 1964), I, pp. 254-257. These are taken from among the hymns by Meyerus reproduced by Georgius Cassander in his *Hymni ecclesiastici* (Cologne, 1556). For Jacobus Meyerus (De Meyere) see H. De Vocht, *History of the... Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense*, Part the Third (Louvain, 1954), pp. 432-436; and Nijhoff-Kronenberg, II, no. 3527.

rendering them into classical diction and quantitative metre. His versions do considerably more than introduce suggested variants, which was a common enough practice among the early humanist “correctors” in Northern Europe, but they do considerably less than Ferrerius in his wholesale rewriting. The versions by Meyerus could be described as close translations into another kind of Latin. The first four lines of a sequence for the Transfiguration,

Gaude mater pietatis in valle gementium
Pro ducatu dignitatis Christi regis omnium
Quo dilecto praedotaris in culmine montium

become:

Iugibus laetare mater canticis ecclesia
Sponsa dulcis iuncta Christo valle lacrimabili
Nobilique dote fulges montis in fastigio.

The theme is then varied again in an original hymn by Meyerus in iambics. Slightly pedantic, and certainly without the panache of Ferrerius, the hymns of Meyerus would have to wait for another twenty years before they reappeared in a compilation made in very changed circumstances. Neither Meyerus nor Ferrerius seem to have had any measure of popular support for their alternative hymn-books.

Meanwhile, three publications may serve to give a brief indication of the directions taken by Northern Catholic and humanist hymn-writers contemporary with Massorillus. These directions are very divergent. Most significant, perhaps, as a sign of the times, is the *Hymnologium Ecclesie* (Cologne, 1545) by Georgius Wicelius (Georg Witzel, 1501-1573), a translation of the liturgical hymns into German making a Catholic response to another part of our history¹⁷. A more main-line text is the *Hymni aliquot ecclesiastici* (Cracow, 1548) by the German-Polish humanist, Johannes Dantiscus (Johann von Höfen, 1485-1548). These are original hymns for liturgical occasions, primarily for the period through Lent to Pentecost. Dantiscus sets himself fastidiously apart from the “naeniae Germanicae” of the Reformers, and claims Prudentius as his model (ed. Skimina, p. 291). But, despite the occasional florid periphrasis, these hymns are almost ostentatiously rough-hewn, prosaic, lumbering, the product of a devotional idiom for which sophisticated elegance of language and classicising references

¹⁷ For the text of Witzel's German preface, see Wackernagel, I, p. 835.

have become objects of suspicion¹⁸. The most accomplished humanist hymn-writer of the period moves in a very different direction, well away from the pattern and constraints of the liturgy. The French Latin poet Salmonus Macrinus (Salmon Macrin, 1490-1557) wrote two books of hymns, *Hymnorum libri sex* (Paris, 1537) and *Hymnorum selectorum libri tres* (Paris, 1540). Macrin interprets the genre of the hymn far more adventurously than any other poet of the period. He includes encomia of notable individuals, prayers for his wife, his family, his friends and himself, often on the most intimate domestic topics, as well as hymns about saints and paraphrases of psalms. His collections explore areas of private experience, anxiety, suffering and tenderness, in which he seems to have found an entirely novel middle-ground between Christian piety and the personal note of some Horatian odes. Where earlier humanist school-masters had used Horatian metrical parallels to vindicate and to refurbish Christian hymns, Macrin explores a fusion of hymn and ode at a much more sophisticated level. His hymns exploit all the potential of neo-Latin diction, its metrical patterns, its range of reference and its rhetorical figures of speech and thought, and tries them as vehicles for articulating spiritual concerns in the idiom of the educated layman. So far in our history the nearest parallel to Macrin's hymns has been the commentary on Prudentius which Erasmus had written for a young married couple¹⁹.

Macrin, Dantiscus and Wicelius have all shied away from the grand, vatic and erudite manner of the Italian poets so much admired at Strasburg and Schlettstadt a generation before. There has indeed been a radical cultural change, for which there is eloquent testimony in the preface to a collection published at Basel in the latter half of the 1540s, *Pii, graves, atque elegantes poetae aliquot, nunc primum ad piae iuventutis et scholarum utilitatem coniuncti*. The preface, written from Rome, laments that war and religious differences have divided the Germans and the Italians. They no longer meet, they no longer read each other's books. In Germany it is no longer possible to mix the Christian and the

¹⁸ See Ellinger, II, pp. 295-303. It is interesting that the hymns of Dantiscus were published later in ultra-conservative Spain (Salamanca, 1571). There is a modern edition of the hymns of Dantiscus: S. Skimina (ed), *Johannis Dantisci carmina* (Krakow, 1950), pp. 217-295.

¹⁹ For Macrin's hymns in the context of the rest of his output, see I.D. McFarlane, "Jean Salmon Macrin (1490-1557)", *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 21 (1959), 55-84, 311-149; *Le Livre des Épithalames, 1528-1531; Les Odes de 1530 (livres I et II)*, edited by G. Soubeille (Toulouse, 1978).

profane, but for that very reason “eorum poemata sunt minus apud [Italos] gratiosa”. In order to mend Europe’s cultural divide Oporinus is urged to print this collection of Christian Latin poetry. It includes humanist poetry in the epic style by Sannazar and Vida. It also includes psalm paraphrases by Marcus Antonius Flaminus and Sebastianus Castelius (the Protestant Sébastien Châteillon, 1515-1563). Here we have the two boundaries of the field within which Latin hymns were being cultivated at this period. It is time we turned in the direction of the psalms.

Psalms and Hymns

Psalms and hymns have always gone together in Christian patterns of worship. In liturgy they are both integral features of the office, and appear together in breviaries and related texts. After the invention of printing, and throughout the sixteenth century, one of the commonest formulas for liturgical books consists of psalter, canticles and liturgical hymns, arranged by season and office, and followed by prayers and litanies. The hymns in most of these books are not annotated, though sometimes they are “corrected” in the interests of regular metre. In the 1520s a fair number of such psalters were primarily for monastic use. By the end of our period they are being marketed quite specifically as aids to lay involvement in public worship, “in usum omnium pietatis amantium, praesertim autem laicorum qui latine sciunt, quo huiusmodi Hymnos sane dulcissimos... et ipsi dum sacris intersunt, ad manum habere, et vota sua communibus Ecclesiae votis ac precibus coniungere queant”²⁰. The publishing history of even the most traditional liturgical hymns in one of their most traditional contexts thus registers changes which had more obviously cataclysmic effects in other areas of religious belief and practice. But not before a rift between hymns and psalms had opened up in the minds of some of those who set out to reform patterns of worship to reflect reformed theologies. Psalms are Scripture; hymns are not. The psalms express immutable truths, however variously interpreted, but hymns were the product of their times, especially late medieval hymns, and more especially still the sequences, always more in tune with popular piety. To those for whom those times were rife with error, the hymns were at best suspect, at worst irredeem-

²⁰ From the title-page of *Hymni et collectae*, etc. (Cologne, 1566), a collection which includes sequences as well as hymns, collects, psalms, and so on.

ably tainted. At the same time, the whole thrust of the reform of public worship was towards greater lay participation, and this found expression in the promotion of congregational singing and in the use of the vernaculars. But what was the congregation to sing? It is interesting that this issue was so clearly on the reforming agenda at Strasburg, which, as we have seen, had been a centre of Latin hymn-publishing in the first two decades of the sixteenth century²¹. As early as 1524 Martin Bucer had recognised that congregational singing of men and women together not only fanned religious fervour, but was a cohesive agent for reformed communities. Subsequently, the congregational singing in the German churches of Strasburg made such an impression on John Calvin during his ministry in that city that in 1539 he had published there a collection of *Aulcuns pseaulmes et cantiques mys en chant* (thirteen psalms translated into French by Clément Marot, six psalms, the *Nunc dimittis* and the Decalogue by Calvin himself) specifically for the use of the French congregation at Strasburg²². Meanwhile, Luther's German service-books had been published at Strasburg since 1523 and German hymn-books by Luther himself and others were in almost continuous production there from 1525. Even so, Latin was still a perfectly viable publishing proposition. A version of the psalms in Latin elegiacs by Eobanus Hessus was printed at Strasburg in 1542²³. And the Latin liturgical hymns themselves reappear, after an interval, in 1540, *Hymni, Psalmi, Versiculi et Benedicamus, pro parvulis ecclesiasticis cantantibus mancipatis et admissis*. This is a traditional service-book, psalms with antiphons, hymns with music, in which "nihil a veteri ritu ecclesiae immutatum est, sed a prioribus mendis quamplurimum repurgata, eundem tenorem et ordinem cuncta obtinent". The printer, Johann Frölich, produced this book inbetween publishing a German hymnal and Luther's catechism in Latin.

From the Reformation ferment of Strasburg in the 1520s two contra-

²¹ For the full context of publications in the Reformation era at Strasburg, see M.U. Chrisman, *Lay Culture, Learned Culture. Books and Social Change in Strasbourg, 1488-1599* (New Haven and London, 1982).

²² See Y. Rokseth, "Les premiers chants de l'église calviniste", *Revue de Musicologie* 36 (1954), 7-20; C. Garside, "The Origins of Calvin's Theology of Music", *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 69 (1979), 5-35.

²³ *Psalterium Davidis carmine conditum per Eobanum Hessum*, first published at Marburg in 1537 with commendations from Luther and Melancthon. For Eoban Hesse (1488-1540), see Ellinger, II, pp. 3-23; C. Krause, *Helius Eobanus Hessus, sein Leben und seine Werke* (Gotha, 1879; reprinted, Nieuwkoop, 1963).

dictory approaches to hymns emerge. Calvin's was brutally negative. The book he published for his congregation to sing in Strasburg, soon to be expanded for the Church at Geneva into *La Forme des Prières et Chantz Ecclesiastiques* (Geneva, 1542), contained French versions of the psalms and canticles of Scripture, but no hymns. Hymns played no part in the forms of worship practised by Calvin's adherents, whose only text was the Bible, translated or paraphrased. In so far as Calvinism drew on the repository of hymns it was solely on the vernacular carols of popular tradition, crudely recast as polemical pamphlets in verse²⁴. Calvinists were psalm-singers and this was a feature of their religious behaviour which loomed large in Catholic perceptions. Writing at the lower end of the literary spectrum in the period of overt religious strife in France, one of the most prolific Catholic propagandists, Artus Désiré (c.1510-c.1580), goes so far as to draw up the battle-lines between Catholics and Protestants in terms of psalms and hymns. Various versions of his *Hymnes en françois sur le chant de ceux de l'Eglise* were published between 1561 and 1580 and were sometimes labelled a "second contre-poison aux cinquante deux Chansons de Clement Marot"²⁵. His first *Contre-poison*, dating from 1560, had been a series of anti-Protestant parodies of Marot's psalm translations. His *Hymnes* were his own populist vernacular compositions, set to the tunes of the best-known liturgical Latin hymns. The fact that Désiré makes polemical use of Latin hymn-tunes indicates that those trying to promote an exclusive Catholic identity at this period could envisage the liturgical hymns providing one pointer towards a sense of corporate Catholic culture²⁶. Certainly, in regions where Calvinism came to predominate, the Latin liturgical hymn quickly fell out of use. This was also the case in England, where a total commitment to the vernacular, coupled with a belief in the absolute primacy of Scripture over all other forms of the written word, meant that the compilers of the reformed prayer-book found no room in it for hymns, Latin or vernacular²⁷. It

²⁴ Cf. *Noelz nouveaux*, [Neuchâtel, 1533], and see J. Bordier, *Le Chansonnier huguenot au XVI^e siècle*, 2 vols (Paris, 1870-1).

²⁵ See F.S. Giese, *Artus Désiré, Priest and Pamphleteer of the Sixteenth Century* (Chapel Hill, 1973).

²⁶ It must be added that in France the Catholics seem to have decided that a better tactic was to combat the Protestants on their own ground. French Catholic poets of considerable standing (Jean-Antoine de Baïf, Philippe Desportes) wrote French versions of the psalms in the latter part of the century.

²⁷ With one curious exception, an English translation of *Veni creator spiritus*, ap-

may have been not entirely irrelevant that England had no indigenous tradition of hymn-commentary, and had indeed been to a large extent dependent on hymnals and other service-books published abroad. The reign of Mary reactivated the publishing of hymnals for use with the Sarum rite, but only temporarily. The Latin hymn did have a future in England, but during the period from the start of the Elizabethan religious settlement until the last year of the sixteenth century there is a hiatus in its history.

However, the Reformers were by no means united in their antagonism to Latin hymns. To the two main issues involved for them, the choice between psalms and hymns for congregational use and the choice between Latin and the vernacular, responses in areas where Luther's influence was paramount were much more complex. There psalms and hymns co-existed on a more or less equal footing, and the attitude to Latin was sometimes very positive, or, at worst, ambivalent. Eobanus Hessus, whose paraphrase of the psalms into Latin elegiacs was published at Strasburg in 1542, is symptomatic of this more eclectic approach to tradition. In his youth, in 1515, he had written a long *Hymnus paschalis Christi resurgentis* in the manner of the Italian humanists, and this was also published in 1542, both at Marburg and at Basel, where it appears as one of *Christianae poeseos opuscula*, a collection of long Christian Latin poems by mainly non-Italian authors, edited by Oporinus²⁸. One may speculate that when Oporinus follows this with the volume of Christian poems mainly originating in Italy, to which we have already referred, the later publication was intended to complement the 1542 collection and to be part of a programme to straddle the religious and cultural divide in Europe. The letter which Melanchthon addressed to Eobanus for inclusion in the first edition of his psalm paraphrases in 1537 strikes the same conciliatory note as the Basel project. Melanchthon commends a range of poetic enterprises, new hymns in the manner of J.J. Pontanus, elaborate retellings of Christian narrative in the manner of Vida and of the earlier Eobanus, as well as psalm paraphrase. But, whereas he admires the Italian

pointed to be sung at the ordination of priests from 1550. The preface to the 1549 Prayer Book states categorically that in public worship "nothing [is] to be read, but the very pure worde of God, the holy scriptures, or that which is evidently grounded on the same; and that in suche a language and ordre, as is moste easy and plain for the understanding, bothe of the readers and hearers".

²⁸ The text of Eobanus's Easter hymn may be found in Wackernagel, I, pp. 261-3.

manner for its stylistic felicities, Melanchthon adds other criteria when he comes to the psalm paraphrases of Eobanus. Private pleasure is now enhanced by public profit: "Et ad pietatem et ad formanda iudicia studiosae iuventutis deinde etiam ad incitandas generosas naturas ad studium poetices, [prodest haec] psalmorum editio" (1542 edition p. 19). The elegant elegiacs of Eobanus teach piety and good Latin, good thinking and good writing. Psalm paraphrase is immediately annexed to the paedagogic programme of the humanists, and becomes another extension of that same *docta pietas* which had been the ideal of the preceding generation of hymn-commentators from Torrentinus to Wimpfeling. This is but one of many examples of the Lutheran concern to keep the close alliance between School and Church, humanist paedagogy and religious instruction, which predated the Lutheran Reform and now presented itself as the instrument to cement a union between the new clerical establishment and the educated laity in civil government. The reformed Church thus took over the cultural hegemony, but it also took over the need to conserve, teach and promote the language of that hegemony, which was humanistic Latin. Clearly the rhetorical varying of psalm texts in Latin was an ideal way of teaching "simul et literas et Musas, cum rebus et causis spiritualibus" (as Luther wrote in a letter also published with the psalms of Eobanus Hessus, 1542 edition, p. 14)²⁹.

But how did Latin hymns come to keep the place they did keep in Lutheran Church and School? In a roundabout way they probably owe their conservation as much as anything to Luther's enthusiasm for the vernacular in public worship and for congregational singing. In his *Formula Missae et Communionis* of 1523 he quite clearly envisages that the whole congregation should sing hymns at mass in German:

²⁹ Eobanus was not alone in writing Latin verse paraphrases of the psalms, although his were among the most successful. The genre began to be practised in the 1530s and was continued throughout the century, mainly by writers sympathetic to some at least of the ideas of the Reformers. The more Catholic psalm-paraphrasts, as well as the Lutherans, also wrote or rewrote Latin hymns. One of the most interesting examples of this dual practice was Salmon Macrin, whose *Septem psalmi in lyricos numeros versi...paeanum libri quatuor* were published in 1538, and whose books of hymns contain psalm paraphrases. See J.A. Gaertner, "Latin Verse Translations of the Psalms, 1500-1602", *Harvard Theological Review* 49 (1956), 271-305; I.D. McFarlane, *Buchanan* (London, 1981). A further extension of the mode was the conversion of the pericopes throughout the year into Latin hexameters and Latin elegiacs, a very popular exercise with Lutherans.

Cantica velim etiam nobis esse vernacula quam plurima, quae populus sub Missa cantaret, vel iuxta Gradualia, item iuxta Sanctus et Agnus Dei. Quis enim dubitat eas olim fuisse voces totius populi quae nunc solus chorus cantat?³⁰

But he goes on straightaway to make a concession to Latin:

Possent vero ista cantica sic per Episcopum ordinari, ut vel simul post Latinas cantiones, vel per vices dierum nunc latine nunc vernacula cantarentur, donec tota Missa vernacula fieret.

Luther thinks very much from within the framework of the old mass. It is therefore natural that when he condemns the old sequences (well, not quite all: "Sequentias et Prosas nullas admittimus, nisi... 'Grates nunc omnes'... 'Sancti spiritus' et 'Veni sancte spiritus'"), he should replace them with an equivalent type of composition, original, non-Scriptural, rhymed. Psalms remain, as they had always been, a main feature of the offices: "Et pulchrum, imo necessarium, est pueros assuescere legendis et audiendis psalmis. Per partes distributum totum Psalterium in usu maneat". The inclusion of hymns in the offices seems left to the discretion of the bishop. However, in the public liturgy of the mass, far from giving way to psalm singing, hymns are in fact promoted to a status that they had never had before. And, with Latin in use as a liturgical language side by side with German, the new role assigned to hymns encourages the writing of hymns in Latin. It also ensures the retention of a large proportion of the old liturgical hymns, suitably adapted to their new setting. Since well before Luther, the editors of hymn collections had been "correcting" and "improving" their Latinity and their style. It was only a small step to "correcting" and "improving" their theology.

Lutheran conservatives

After an initial hesitation in the 1530s, Latin Lutheran hymns develop a rich history over the next sixty years. It is such a complicated

³⁰ D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe, 61 vols (Weimar, 1883-1983), 12 (1891, reprinted Weimar, 1966), pp. 197-220. For the liturgical context and the history of German hymns at this period, see *inter alia*: A. Boes, "Die reformatorischen Gottesdienste in der Wittenberger Pfarrkirche von 1523 an", *Jahrbuch für Hymnologie und Liturgik* 4 (1958/9), 1-4, and 6 (1961), pp. 49-61; G. Hahn, *Evangelium als literarische Anweisung. Zu Luthers Stellung in der Geschichte des deutschen kirchlichen Liedes* (Munich and Zurich, 1981); J.N. Alexander, "Luther's Reform of the daily Office", *Worship* 57 (1983), 348-60; H.G. Kemper, *Deutsche Lyrik der frühen Neuzeit*, I (Tübingen, 1987), pp. 50-57.

story that here it is only possible to point to its salient features. There are many gaps in my account, and, as is the case with the whole subject of the Latin hymn, ample scope for further inquiry.

For the Latin hymns to be used in the Lutheran liturgy, more than cosmetic treatment was needed. One of the earliest and most thorough Lutheran revisers was Hermannus Bonnus (1504-1548), whose adaptations of well-known hymns and sequences begin to appear as soon as 1542, although they are not published as a collection until after the author's death, in 1559³¹. Doctrinally, the most obvious revisions are in hymns for saints' days, rewritten so as to omit any reference to fanciful legends and to avoid any hint of invocation. But in other ways the project supports our hypothesis about the conservative tendency of the Lutheran Church. Bonnus expends most of his energy on sequences, and we have seen that, although Luther himself wanted to discard the sequences, he left room for their retention. If there had been any place for congregational singing in the Latin mass, it had been supplied by sequences. The appearance of these new, acceptable Latin versions in service-books and hymn-books, both Latin and German, indicates that the liturgical function of sequences was reinforced as a by-product of the new stress on congregational singing. What is also apparent is that the Lutheran Latin liturgy was a paedagogic as well as a devotional instrument. The complete edition of Bonnus was marketed as "in usum Christianae iuventutis scholasticae fideliter congesta et evulgata". Bonnus had been a pupil of Murmellius, and he represents not so much a break as a link in the chain back to the earlier generation of pre-Reformation hymn-editors.

Everything that can be inferred from the work of Bonnus is given tangible form in the *Cantiones Ecclesiasticae latinae, in Commemorationem Cenae Domini, per totius anni circulum cantandae* edited by Johannes Spangenberg (1484-1550) and published at Magdeburg in 1545³². Here we have a liturgical book with music, in effect a missal large enough for use in choir, with sequences (here called "hymns") at their proper place between epistle and gospel, first in Latin and then in

³¹ *Hymni et sequentiae tam de tempore quam de Sanctis, cum suis melodiis, sicut olim sunt cantata in Ecclesia Dei, et iam passim correctae per sanctae memoriae Rev. v. M. Hermannum Bonnum, Superintendentem quondam Ecclesiae Lubecensis, in usum Christianae iuventutis scholasticae* (Lübeck, 1559). Seventeen specimens of Bonnus's work are printed in Wackernagel, I, pp. 273-82; see also Ellinger, II, p. 162.

³² For Spangenberg, see Ellinger, II, pp. 254-5.

German. The German hymns are either translations from the Latin or original hymns from new collections sponsored by Luther. The Latin "hymns" are traditional sequences, mostly from the early rather than the late medieval period, rescued, as Spangenberg says in his preface, from the blemishes that these manifestations of the working of the Holy Spirit had accumulated under the Papacy. The edition was not the product of Spangenberg's own initiative, "sed potius iussu et instinctu Venerabilis patris nostri D. Martini Lutheri" (Sig. ii^v). So this bilingual service-book has an "official" air, and this gives special significance to a second preface which takes issue firstly with those who are so scandalised by a few improprieties that they want to do away with traditional hymns altogether, and, secondly, with those who "ita sunt delicati et supersticiosi, ut nihil nisi Teutonica velint, ac nephas esse putent, alia lingua sonare in templis" (Sig. iii^v). Spangenberg's book is presented as a timely reminder of the "purity and piety" of the old hymns. It is also a text-book for training the young in a necessary foreign language, for without a knowledge of foreign languages, religion itself will decline, just as it had done "sub papatu" (Sig. iii^v). Once again, the liturgical hymns are a means by which Lutheranism displays its religious and humanistic pedigree. Spangenberg can be seen contributing again to Lutheranism's bilingual culture in the *Hymni ecclesiastici duodecim, summis Festivitatibus ab Ecclesia solenniter cantari soliti* (Frankfurt, 1550). These are a translation into Latin, sometimes into rhyming Latin, by Reinhardus Lorichius of Spangenberg's own edition of German hymns, *Zwölff Christliche Lobgesenge und Leissen* (Wittenberg, 1545), together with Spangenberg's commentary on them. So far, Lutheran hymnody had had its conservative side-effects, but this commentary (our first Protestant commentary) breaks new ground. It is neither philological nor rhetorical. Its interest in language is minimal. Because most of these hymns were originally written in German, and the vernacular was perceived as having neither historical nor literary context, the specificities of the language of the hymns, even in their Latin versions, are disregarded in the commentary and transcended by theological rigour. For the commentator, the hymns provide material for exercises in doctrinal exposition, formulated either catechetically, as question and answer, or as divisions by topics, or as a short homily. So a homily derived from the translation of *Christ ist erstanden* is introduced by an *explicatio*:

Duobus autem praecipue locis, hoc est insigne Canticum. Principio continet salutiferam Christi resurrectionem. Deinde fructus eius habet, nempe Pacem, Gaudium et Consolationem. Sed ante omnia necessarium est cognitu scire, quando, ubi, quomodo, et quare Iesus Christus resurrexit.

We have moved from a rhetoric of figures to an instructional mode based on place-logic, in effect to the “*διδασκαλικόν genus*” which Melanchthon wished to add to the three traditional types of rhetoric, “*praesertim cum hoc tempore vel maximum usum in Ecclesiis habeat, ubi non tantum suasoriae conciones habendae sunt, sed multo saepius homines dialecticorum more, de dogmatibus religionis docendi sunt*”³³.

The history of Latin Lutheran hymns is not just a history of the adaptation and survival of the liturgical hymns or of fall-out from the explosion in German vernacular hymn-production. New Latin hymns were also being written, some as replacements or supplements for the new liturgy, some non-liturgical in character. The most important Lutheran to write Latin hymns was Melanchthon himself, who composed a few replacement hymns for saints' days, which are to be found in various hymn-books and service-books from 1544³⁴. Latin hymn-writing could hardly have had a more spectacular seal of approval. Stylistically more ambitious were the hymns included in various collec-

³³ *Elementa rhetorices in Opera*, edited by C. G. Bretschneider and H. E. Binseil, 28 vols (Brunswick, etc., 1834-60), XIII (1846), col. 421 (original edition, Wittenberg, 1531). An important factor in Lutheran hymnology, but a little outside our brief, was music. Spangenberg himself was a musicologist, and his *Zwölff Christliche Lobgesenge* was published at Wittenberg by Georg Rhau (1488-1548), who since 1538 had been publishing a series of Latin offices and hymns. Luther favoured retaining choir schools, with their combination of religion and learning. Latin hymns were part of their repertoire, and publishers supplied their requirements for traditional and new music. An instance of the latter is *Hymni aliquot sacri veterum patrum* (1552), edited by Georgius Thymus (Georg Klee), with settings by Martinus Agricola to which the hymns were sung at Georgius Major's school in Magdeburg and at schools in Zwickau and Goslar (see Wackernagel, I, pp. 437-9). *The New Grove Dictionary of Music*, edited by S. Sadie, 20 vols (London, 1980), is extremely informative about music in a Lutheran context; and the Latin component of Lutheran service-books is surveyed in F. Blume, *Protestant Church Music. A History* (London, 1975), with particularly relevant sections on “The Latin and German Liturgy” (pp. 51-63) and on the publications of Georg Rhau (pp. 113-9).

³⁴ Specimens in Wackernagel, I, 266-70. Hymns by Melanchthon first appeared in print as part of the appendix to *Psalterium Davidis, et integri loci sacrae doctrinae, ex omnibus Prophetis, cum quibusdam aliis piis canticis* (Wittenberg, 1544), edited by Johannes Bugenhagen (1485-1558), who was largely responsible for Church reform in North Germany and Denmark. Hymns and psalms still ran in parallel in Lutheran publications, as we shall see later.

tions published in the late 1540s and in the 1550s by the important Latin poet, Johannes Stigelius (1515-1562)³⁵, and odes and hymns published between 1554 and 1572 by Ludovicus Helmboldus (1532-1598), in which the tone is primarily one of private devotion and personal prayer³⁶. However, the most idiosyncratic of Lutheran Latin hymn writers, and certainly the least liturgical, was the Czech, Mattheus Collinus, whose *Sacri argumenti hymni aliquot* were first published in 1545 at Prague and were subsequently reprinted there in 1561 (and perhaps earlier, as a liminary epistle is dated 1553) as part of an anthology of Czech poets called *Prima Farrago sacri argumenti poematum aliquot*³⁷. The child of *utraquist* parents (1561 edition, Fol. 69^v), educated at Wittenberg, Collinus returned to Bohemia as a teacher of Latin and seems, from the evidence of the *Farrago*, to have been the moving spirit in a humanist *sodalitium* at Prague, drawn mainly from the university. The *Farrago* includes hymns for feasts and saints' days, "odae catechisticae", some of which are expositions of doctrine, and elegies "in praecipuas solennitates Christianorum". The standard of Latinity is not high, but the collection has an engagingly confidential, often autobiographical character, as well as a rumbustious approach to feast-days, with the emphasis on the feasting, interrupted with loud cries of "Io! Io!" in honour of the saints. It is possible to speculate that this odd mixture of the learned, the pious and the popular may owe something to the still-living tradition of the *cantiones bohemicae*, Latin and vernacular carols which became associated with the Hussite Bohemian Brethren and were used by Luther as an example of the virtues of congregational singing³⁸. One of Collinus's paedagogical works, *Elementarius libellus in lingua Latina et Boiémica* (Prague, 1557, preface dated 1550) includes "cantiunculae sacrae pro usu Scholae privatae", which are mostly rhymed "prosaes" in Latin and in Czech, sometimes

³⁵ See Ellinger, II, pp. 75-94; specimens of hymns and psalm paraphrases in Wackernagel, I, pp. 282-7.

³⁶ See Ellinger, II, pp. 173-8; specimens of Helmbold's work in Wackernagel, I, pp. 313-20.

³⁷ See J. Hejnic and J. Martinek, *Enchiridion renatae poesis latinae in Bohemia et Moravia cultae* (Prague, 1966), I, pp. 415-450.

³⁸ *Cantiones bohemicae* of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries form the first part of the *Analecta hymnica* of G.M. Dreves, vol I (Leipzig, 1886), pp. 1-203. German versions of a large number of these popular hymns were published at Jungbunzlau (Mladá Boleslav) in 1531 in the *New Gesengbuchlen* of Michael Weisse and some were included in an important collection of Lutheran hymns, *Ein schön Geistlick Sangböck*, edited by Christian Adolf (Magdeburg, 1542).

alternating verses and responses, sometimes with a refrain. On the whole, Latin hymnody of this period represents the religious mentality and practice of a linguistically and theologically sophisticated élite, and a mode by which that élite attempted to impose uniformity, but there is an undercurrent of a much more popular devotion expressed in less inhibited Latin, which sometimes surfaces in print, especially on the fringes of Europe (notably in Sweden in 1582), and continues, despite the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation, into the seventeenth century.

We must return to main-line Continental humanism for the most accomplished of Lutheran Latin hymn-writers, who was indeed a humanist of the first rank, an editor of classical texts (including all the Christian Latin poets of late antiquity), and the author of one of the fullest and best rhetorical expositions of ancient poetic practice. Georgius Fabricius (Georg Goldschmid, 1516-1571) was published by Oporinus at Basel, where his *Odorum libri tres* appeared in 1552, and his *Hymnorum libri II* in 1554, subsumed into his *Poematum sacrorum libri XV* in 1560, and further amplified as *Poematum sacrorum libri XXV* in 1567³⁹. The framework in which Fabricius works is liturgical, and by 1567 the range of his short hymns covers meditations on all the events of Christ's Passion, the canonical hours, the whole of the Church's calendar, and various occasions in the religious life. With Fabricius, the humanist, who understands the rhetorical procedures of ancient Latin poetry and how to imitate them, the modern liturgical Latin hymn recovers the manner of an Ambrose or a Prudentius. The basic narrative lines of his hymns and their allusions are purely Scriptural; the vocabulary concentrates attention on the object of meditation, without engaging in the gratuitous display which had been the lure of earlier humanist religious poets; and, while scrupulously adhering to Lutheran tenets and never invoking a saint, Fabricius seems to have discovered an idiom which speaks in purest Latin the language of a slightly austere, but fervent post-medieval spirituality common to all Western Europe in the mid-sixteenth century. His meditations on the Passion are indeed "spiritual exercises":

³⁹ See Ellinger, II, pp. 150-7, and E. Schäfer, *Deutscher Horaz* (Wiesbaden, 1976), pp. 39-64; 49 of his odes and hymns are reproduced in Wackernagel, I, pp. 288-308.

Heu quale nunc spectaculum
 Mihi merenti sistitur.
 Regi Angelorum et aetherum
 Christo tiara rhamnus est.

Transfixa foedantur rubis
 Aculeatis tempora
 Rivi cruoris per caput
 Et os serenum defluunt.

Da Christe membrum sim tuae
 Semper virens Ecclesiae
 Et te sequar per grandia
 Laeto gradu pericula.

Feram salutis cassidem
 Conumque fulgentis spei
 Beatus olim ut induar
 Tuae corona gloriae. (*Poematum sacrorum libri XV*, 1560, p. 209)

The hymns of Fabricius will find their way into Catholic as well as Protestant collections.

Hymns by Fabricius, Melanchthon, and adaptations of traditional sequences by Hermannus Bonnus all feature in the second edition of the liturgical music-book of Lucas Lossius (1508-1582), *Psalmodia hoc est Cantica sacra Veteris Ecclesiae selecta... ad Ecclesiarum et Scholarum usum diligenter olim collecta, et brevibus ac piis Scholiis illustrata* (Wittenberg, 1561; the first edition, Nuremberg, 1553, had already included hymns by Melanchthon)⁴⁰. In the details of their orders of worship Lutheran centres retained the autonomy envisaged by Luther, but this book was regularly reprinted and came to represent some sort of standard use. It sets out the musical practice at the church at Lüneburg, the antiphons, responses, hymns and sequences sung at the evening and morning office and at mass throughout the year, giving texts, tunes and brief annotations explaining the sense and doctrine of the hymns and sequences, with references to Scripture. Latin hymns are sung at vespers, and Latin sequences at the traditional moment in the mass, with the addition of rhyming Latin “cantica”, hymns in German or hymns in a macaronic mixture of German and Latin provided for

⁴⁰ For Lossius, see F. Onkelbach, *Lucas Lossius und seine Musiklehre* (Regensburg, 1960).

the Communion. It is abundantly apparent from the accompanying rubrics that the principle of congregational singing did not necessarily hold for the Latin texts, many of which are designated to be sung by the "chorus" or by "pueri". The element of "performance" is marked, and the effort to conserve the Latin liturgy (and with it the linguistic, literary and musical culture of a privileged few) does threaten to introduce hierarchical distinctions of class and education into the priesthood of all believers. Many of the hymns and sequences conserved by Lossius are the traditional ones, sometimes slightly adapted. The hymns and sequences for saints' days provide the greatest variety of choice. It is here that we find the hymns by Melanchthon and Fabricius and a few others set side by side with the old liturgical hymns and sequences, both in their original form (where this was unexceptional) and "corrected" by Hermannus Bonnus. There is a careful assimilation of old and new, underlined by the Gregorian chant melodies to which all the texts, ancient and modern, are set. Melanchthon had written a commendatory letter for the first edition of the *Psalmodia* (dated 1550), in which he praised the power of music to spread and conserve good doctrine, provided the texts of hymns and sequences have been properly emended. Lossius elaborates these points in his own preface, with particular reference to the alliance of Church and School in the enterprise: "Nos quidem nihil maluimus quam hunc nostrum laborem exarandi et redigendi in hanc formam Ecclesiasticas cantilenas gratum et utilem esse Ecclesiis et Scholis Christianis" (1569 edition, Sig. B 3). The conservation, renovation and extension of the Latin patrimony is, as always, a paedagogical as well as an ecclesiastical concern. The extent of the cooperation between the two establishments may be read in the explanatory notes to the hymns, which apply the rhetoric taught in the humanist class-room to the "right" interpretation of the old hymns, as when it is explained that the epithets given to Mary should be read "per Methonymiam, ut cum vocatur Stella maris, decus mundi, regina et porta coeli, ideo quod Deus illa tanquam organo usus sit, in opere humanae redemptionis, non quod ipsa sit mediatrix inter Deum et homines" (Fol. 208).

The last part of the *Psalmodia* of Lossius consists of psalms, which featured largely in the recitation of the offices. Psalms and hymns run in parallel in Lutheran publications. This is quite different from the antagonism set up between them under Calvinist influence. We have already noticed that Melanchthon's hymns were first printed as an

appendix to the *Psalterium Davidis* of Johannes Bugenhagius (Wittenberg, 1544), and Spangenberg had published a Latin psalm paraphrase, *Psalterium carmine elegiaco redditum* at Magdeburg in the same year, just before his *Cantiones ecclesiasticae latinae* and his *Zwölff Christliche Lobgesenge*. Lutheran liturgical practice, and, in particular, the retention of the offices, albeit reduced in number and renamed, required both hymns and psalms. Soon after the first edition of Lossius this need was also supplied by an anonymous publication, *Psalterium Davidis, iuxta translationem veterem, una cum Canticis, Hymnis et Orationibus Ecclesiasticis* (Frankfurt, 1556). The ordering of this compilation, unlike Lossius, corresponds exactly to that of the Catholic psalters published at the same time: psalms, canticles, hymns (with a note of metre, author, season and office), prayers and litany. A great many of the traditional hymns are retained, with the addition of the hymns of Melancthon, three saints' hymns by Joachim Camerarius (Joachim Kammermeister, 1500-1574) and one by the Wittenberg pastor, Paulus Eberus (1511-1569)⁴¹. Publication of such compilations, with accompanying music, continues in the 1560s, notably at Wittenberg, where one such received the personal blessing of Paulus Eberus, the *Psalterium Davidis iuxta translationem veterem, alicubi tamen emendatam et declaratam, et accuratius distinctam iuxta Ebraicam veritatem* (1565). In this edition the psalms are given in the revised and annotated version by the important Lutheran teacher and controversialist, Georgius Major (1502-1574). At least since 1561 Major's psalms are to be found bound, as they are in 1565, with canticles, hymns and prayers, very similar in presentation to the 1556 compilation, but "recogniti et aucti per D.Georgium Maiorem". What Major had added when he had first produced this edition of the hymn repertory in 1558 were other traditional hymns and a new one by Stigelius.

In his preface to the 1565 compilation Paulus Eberus incidentally explains why there was such a proliferation of large service-books with music at this period, when he says that the 1565 book was produced specifically to replace the large choir-books "olim a Monachis descripti vel typis excusi" which had disintegrated (Sig. iii^v). Once the music-books used by choirs in the great churches inherited by the Lutherans began to fall apart, a decision had to be reached about the continuation

⁴¹ The hymns by Camerarius and Eberus are reproduced in Wackernagel, I, pp. 321-3 and 272-3.

of the musical tradition. The long preface with which Eberus dedicates the 1565 compilation to Maximilian II is a coherent and enthusiastic defence of the Latin hymns which were an integral part of that tradition. Against those who condemn the hymns as “inepti, et inutiles, vel... etiam indigni professione Evangelicae Veritatis” (Sig. iii^v), Eberus claims that in the dark ages of Babylonian superstition and neglect of the Word, it was the hymns alone which kept alive the faith of true believers:

Hoc, quicquid in eis fuit divinae lucis, qua Filium Dei agnoverunt, et ipsius beneficia fide amplexi sunt, verisimile est accensum fuisse in ipsis praecipue illa crebra repetitione et meditatione Verbi Dei et Promissionum Evangelicarum, quas in Templorum Lectionibus et consuetis Cantionibus vel ipsi cecinerant a prima pueritia, vel ab aliis cantari toties audierant.

(Sig. v^v)

The ancient liturgical hymns are therefore to be retained as repositories of a living tradition and witness to the spiritual succession of the Lutheran Church (except, of course, for the late concoctions of ignorant and superstitious monks). Against those who object to Latin, Eberus commends vernacular hymns, but argues for the simultaneous use of Latin on the usual paedagogic grounds:

ut... Iuventus dicata studiis pietatis et Linguarum, habeat caeteris operis suis scholasticis adiuncta etiam exercitia vocis talia, in quorum usurpatione crebriore, sed moderata tamen, adsuefiat ad cognoscendos textus librorum Prophetarum et Apostolicorum ex quibus pia illae Cantiones depromptae sunt, atque ita assiduo illo ac diuturno Cantionum et Lectionum usu, a primis usque pueritiae annis celebrato, memoriae imprimant insigniores Scripturae sacrae sententias.

(Sig. v + 1)

It is not immediately apparent why Eberus should want his pupils to learn Biblical texts through hymns rather than directly, but the reason soon becomes clear. It is quite simply that he loves the liturgical hymns, and he is fighting from the heart as much as the head for their conservation:

Quoties enim quisque nostrum est, quamvis senex, qui non et meminerit, et cum voluptate imo cum singulari animi adfectione et motu audiat vel usurpet sacra ea Cantica, quae in puericia sua et accrescente aetate vel cecinit ipse, vel toties in Templis repeti audivit?

(Sig. v + 1^v)

Even when he draws attention to corrections he has made to the old hymns on metrical grounds, his affection for their remembered phraseology makes him reluctant to change very much. He is loath to find his authors ignorant of metrical niceties, and imputes to them a proper preference for *res* over *verba*:

Unde factum credimus ut Scriptores Ecclesiastici non ignorantia aut imperitia rationis faciendorum versuum, sed studio rerum, negligerent Carminum leges in eiusmodi brevibus Canticis, in quibus admiranda Dei mysteria receptis in Ecclesia et usitatis vocabulis exprimere conati sunt. (Sig. iiiii)

In 1568 the Latin hymns of the Lutheran liturgy were published with an elaborate commentary, a sign that they had been fully acclimatised into the intellectual habitat⁴². Christopherus Cornerus (1518-1594) took as his text the collection made by Georgius Major. Four years previously he had written a similar commentary on the psalter, and he clearly perceives the combination of psalms, canticles, hymns and prayers as an integrated whole. The hymns, for Cornerus, are primarily a mode of instruction, both in doctrine and in morals, running in parallel with sermons and Scripture, and peculiarly beneficial, as Eberus had already said, by virtue of their vocalised repetition:

In illis [cantonibus] cum de praecipuis doctrinae et fidei Christianae capitibus agatur, et quidem certis statisque totius anni pulcherrimo ordine temporibus fieri non potest quin earum frequenti recitatione usurpationeque de dogmatibus purioribus erudiemur et inter nos ea sana, recta et integra retineamus. (Sig. A5 + 1)

The happy co-existence of psalms and hymns, old and new, in Latin and in vernacular, in public and in private worship, is by now an accomplished fact, a sign, indeed, that the Word of God is living “in nostris Ecclesiis”, seeing that canticles, hymns, psalms and prayers, in prose and in verse,

cum dulci Musica in templis nostris, in publicis congressibus, et domi nostrae inter diurnos nocturnosque labores nunc latino nunc vernaculo sermone recitantur et canuntur. (Sig. A4v)

In his accompanying commentary Cornerus centres on the text in a

⁴² *Cantica selecta veteris novique testamenti: cum hymnis et collectis, seu orationibus purioribus, quae in Orthodoxa atque Catholica Ecclesia cantari solent. Addita dispositione et familiari expositione Christophori Corneri* (Leipzig, 1568).

more conventional way than Spangenberg had done. Spangenberg had used commentary to generate various forms of discourse from the places of argument he discovered in the hymns. Cornerus begins by locating each hymn within the totality of the articles of religious belief, which he does by assigning it to a particular “locus communis”. Behind the commentary lie the *Loci communes* into which Melanchthon had “digested” the tenets of religion. The commentary then proceeds in the form of marginal annotation, stanza by stanza, explicating the sense and analysing the text according to the rhetorical categories of *inventio*, *dispositio* and *elocutio*. The principles of *inventio*, or generation of matter, are explored in terms of the “places” by which argument or amplification proceeds in each hymn; *dispositio* is analysed in terms of the rhetorical divisions, *exordium*, *narratio*, and so on; *elocutio* labels figures of speech. The hymns are totally assimilated into the rhetorical schema which school-children were taught to apply to their texts, sacred and profane, and the commentary is excellent testimony to the continuation and reinforcement of the alliance between Church and School. Yet, compared with an Erasmus or a Clichtoveus, Cornerus operates a very restricted range of reference. There is no sense whatsoever that the Latin hymns are part of Latin culture. Gone are the analogies with classical usage, and gone with them is any notion of the essentially figurative nature of language used spiritually. Cornerus refers to no other text except the Bible, and that only to point up the Scriptural orthodoxy of the hymns. Despite the terminology he employs, it is not really language or rhetorical expression that interests Cornerus, but techniques of categorisation and demonstration. As in the commentary by Spangenberg, the paradigm is Melanchthon’s “*διδασκαλικόν genus, quod.. ad dialecticam pertinet*”, with the added doctrinal rigour of the *Loci communes*. Nevertheless, Cornerus does give the phraseology of the hymns some stress, if only by way of accurate paraphrase.

Paraphrase was also necessarily involved in translation, and translation between Latin and German was a further sign of the vitality of Latin hymnody. As early as 1545, the Catholic Wicelius had responded to the Lutherans’ promotion of the vernacular by translating the Latin liturgical hymns into German. In 1568 there are Lutheran translations of traditional Latin hymns into German and Lutheran translations of German hymns into Latin⁴³. Cross-fertilisation of this kind was cur-

⁴³ *Der alten reinen Kirchen Gesenge verdeutschet* (Frankfurt an der Oder, 1568; see

rent, and all the more productive because the Lutheran Latin liturgy was open to new hymns.

Even in cases where a Lutheran was apparently anything but open-minded or sympathetic to the old ways, Latin hymns could benefit. A curious example is that of Matthias Flacius Illyricus (1520-1575), one of the more rabid and prolific Lutheran anti-Catholics, much given to collecting documentary evidence of pre-Reformation writers who had attacked theological positions now held by the Catholic Church as orthodox, or who had condemned abuses now rife. Among the evidence he published were *Pia quaedam vetustissimaque poemata, partim Antichristum, eiusque Spirituales filiolos insectantia, partim etiam Christum, eiusque beneficium mira spiritus alacritate celebrantia* (Magdeburg, 1552)⁴⁴. This is a transcript of a manuscript collection of “cantilenae” or “rhythmi”, which Flacius estimates to be at least three hundred years old. The first thirty or so of these 150 rhymed poems are in an anti-clerical vein typical of medieval satire. The majority are non-liturgical Latin hymns, often personal, lyrical, combining Scriptural allusions in ways which flash with illumination. Perhaps Flacius was sensitive to their religious insight, almost despite his better judgement, which can hardly have approved of their Latin. Perhaps his interest was primarily antiquarian, and he saw them as fascinating literary fossils. It would be the first hint of a coming shift in perspective. During the next thirty years, Lutheran Latin hymns continue to be regularly printed, in liturgical books and elsewhere, but by the end of the century notes are being inserted to explain the rites and customs which once formed part of the context of the liturgical hymns, and which are now not a live threat, but a quaint curiosity worth recording.

Catholic reformers

Vernacular psalm-singing may have seemed a Protestant prerogative in the early stages of the Reformation, but the Latin rewriting of the psalms (in the eyes of the humanists, the “modernisation” of the psalms) was a much wider phenomenon, and, from a conciliatory point of view, it could be seen as an area in which the linguistic expertise they

Wackernagel, I, pp. 782-785); *Hymni sacri Germanicolatini*, translated by Georgius Aemilius (Basel, 1568; see Wackernagel, I, pp. 324-6 and 474-5).

⁴⁴ Republished with other, longer medieval poems in his *Varia doctorum piorumque virorum, De corrupto Ecclesiae statu, Poemata* (Basel, 1557).

had acquired from their almost identical humanist schooling enabled Catholics and Protestants to work in concert on the Sacred Word. One of the most often reprinted sets of Latin verse-paraphrases was by a Catholic writer, Marcus Antonius Flaminus (1498-1550)⁴⁵. His adaptations were not infrequently published in composite editions of religious poetry by humanist publishers trying to mend the impending rift. Oporinus included the *Odae in Psalmos XXX* of Flaminus alongside other lyric versions of the psalms by the Protestant Sebastianus Castellius in the volume of humanist Christian poetry published at Basel, probably in the later part of the 1540s, to which we have already referred. At Paris in 1556 Henri Estienne set verse-psalms by Flaminus side by side with Latin psalm paraphrases by Eobanus Hessus, Salmon Macrin and George Buchanan⁴⁶. The psalm paraphrases of Flaminus were in fact published several times in Paris from 1546 onwards, not improbably because they made a Catholic response to the Protestant vernacular psalms of Clément Marot, also in a variety of lyric measures.

It was also at Paris that the Latin hymns of Flaminus were first published, in a collection *De rebus divinis carmina ad Margaritam Henrici Gallorum Regis sororem*, soon after the poet's death in 1550⁴⁷. The atmosphere of the religious poems of Flaminus is at once spiritually more intense and linguistically more austere than that of the earlier Catholic humanists, even than Salmon Macrin. Flaminus distances himself from the stylistic flamboyance of his fellow-Italians and from the classical connections they loved to cultivate:

David et eius similes poetas imitari malui, quam Horatium vel Catullum, propterea quod in scriptione rerum divinarum, ut mundi-

⁴⁵ Marcantonio Flaminio was a Catholic of liberal (in some eyes, too liberal) sympathies, an associate of Pole, Contarini and Sadoletto. For his career, see C. Madison, *Marcantonio Flaminio. Poet, Humanist and Reformer* (Chapel Hill, 1965); also, Ellinger, I, pp. 208-215; D. Fenlon, *Heresy and Obedience in Tridentine Italy. Cardinal Pole and the Counter-Reformation* (Cambridge, 1972).

⁴⁶ *Davidis psalmi aliquot latino carmine expressi* (Paris, 1556).

⁴⁷ The French context of the publication of the hymns of Flaminus would be worth investigating. Ten years earlier Salmon Macrin had been similarly engaged on writing psalm paraphrases and original hymns, not unlike those of Flaminus in their personal tone, although Flaminus does not follow Macrin in the exploration of the overlapping territory between Horatian ode and Christian hymn whereby Macrin opens the genre to patrons, family and friends. In 1569 the hymns of Flaminus appeared in a French translation by a nun, Anne de Marquets, *Les divines poesies de Marc Antoine Flaminus* (Paris, 1569), together with a considerable number of her own religious poems.

tiem Latini sermonis et elegantiam adhibendam esse non nego, sic omnem orationis pompam et fucum et calamistros removendos censeo. (p. 3)

In changing the models on which to exercise his skill in literary imitation, and, in particular, in severing connections between Christian hymn and Horatian ode, Flaminius moves away from previous humanist hymn-writers and nearer to the mode Fabricius was to find in the coming decade. But, unlike the hymns of the Lutheran Fabricius, the poems of Flaminius are mostly private prayers of meditation, and in most cases not suitable for incorporation into the liturgical round of public worship. Their occasions are not the Church's calendar, but the private effusions of the soul as lover of Christ:

Tu sponsus es animae meae,
Te quaerit illa, lachrymis
Te continenter invocat.
Tu sancte, mortis e manu
Tuo redemptam sanguine,
Tuique amore sauciam
Odisse certe non potes:
Ergo misella cur tuae
Dulcedinem praesentiae
Non sentit? ah cur supplices
Venti querelas dissipant?
Sed tu licebit anxio
Amantem amore torqueas,
Non illa amare desinet:
Jesu tui tabescere
Amore, res dulcissima est. (p. 28-9)

Like Fabricius, Flaminius writes a Latin whose "elegance" is that of a humanist for whom the classical language is a second nature, and who has no need to authenticate his writing with the badges of literary allusion. And, like Fabricius, Flaminius uses a metaphorical mode of language and a range of reference which identify his poetry with the tradition of the Christian hymn. But, whereas, almost without exception, the metaphorical expressions employed by Fabricius trigger a recall, and a very precise recall, of words of Scripture, Flaminius is less inhibited about the late medieval heritage of religious poetry and consequently more open to other ways of activating a response. He has available to him a tradition in which the hymn had a role as text for private meditation, and was couched in a figurative language which had

been derived from medieval techniques of allegorical exposition, both of the Bible and of other writings, a language which can make very bold affective leaps. The practice of ruminative reading which dwells on the plural meanings of Scripture and leads into ecstatic prayer is familiar in the contemplative tradition at least from St. Bernard onwards. It survives both humanistic and religious reform, even if between 1520 and 1550 it does not much mark the dominant style of religious language. The hymn-commentary closest to this tradition, that of Dionysius the Carthusian, who died in 1471, was printed at Paris with his complete works in 1539, 1542, 1548, and 1551. Another Carthusian, Johannes Lanspergius of Cologne (Johann Landsberger, 1490-1539), author of a devotional manual, the *Pharetra divini amoris*, composed new hymns in this vein⁴⁸. Notes to these rhymed Latin verses sometimes indicate that they could be sung to the tunes of well-known liturgical hymns. Nevertheless, they are not hymns for public worship. They are exercises for private meditation on such themes as the events of the Passion and the mysteries of the rosary, and belong to the life of personal prayer. In the second half of the sixteenth century this Carthusian tradition feeds the spirituality of the Counter-Reformation, notably that of the Jesuits, who not only republish books from the contemplative tradition, but incorporate hymns associated with it into their own prayer-books. The role of the Latin hymn among the various factors contributing to the language of private prayer as it developed in the vast diversity of prayer-books for private use written by Catholics and Protestants in the next hundred years, and its concomitant influence on religious language in general, would repay investigation.

As far as Catholic public worship was concerned, service-books with liturgical hymns continued to be published, unaffected by the abortive movement for reform represented by the hymnal of Zacharias Ferrerius in 1525. Outside Spain, the only Catholic work which had to do with the education of clergy or laity in the matter of the liturgical hymns and which continued to be printed after 1530 was the *Elucidatorium* of Jodocus Clichtoveus. The fact that the section on hymns and sequences from this work was published separately at Venice in 1555 would seem to indicate that it was in effective circulation⁴⁹. Much stronger evidence

⁴⁸ *Opera*, 5 vols (Cologne, 1630), II, pp. 409-467. I am doubtful whether these hymns were printed as a collection before the early seventeenth century, but they may well be found embedded in devotional works.

⁴⁹ *Hymni et Prosae, quae per totum annum in ecclesia leguntur, cum explicatione Jodoci Clichtovei* (Venice, 1555).

for this is provided by the frequent references to the *Elucidatorium* in the major collection of liturgical hymns edited by a Catholic in the period 1520-1568, the *Hymni ecclesiastici* (Cologne, 1556) of the conciliatory Flemish humanist and theologian, Georgius Cassander (1513-1566), who made his career in Germany. From the preface it is clear that Cassander perceived his book both as a contribution to historical scholarship and as an instrument for cutting some of the knots of contemporary controversy. The scholarly side of the edition consists primarily of the inclusion of the section "de metrorum generibus" from Bede's *De re metrica*, and the transcription of two "lost" Ambrosian hymns mentioned in Bede and recently discovered by Cassander. However, rather in the manner of Eberus, it is sheer pleasure, rather than scholarship, that first brought Cassander to the hymns, the pleasure he has had since childhood in hearing the sweet singing of hymns and psalms, "maxime quomodo apud Gandavos et Brugenses in psalmis decantandis fieri animadverti, cum dissonantium vocum suavissimus concentus verborum sensum non obruit, sed cum suavitate quadam audientium animis infigit" (*Opera*, Paris, 1616, p. 149). This brings Cassander to an attack on two extremes in musical styles: the total confusion of polyphony, in which all words are lost in an "inanis vocum tinnitus", and the rough and ready bawling which passes for singing in Germany (p. 150).

Cassander's predilection for the *via media* in music is a marker for his preferred stance between extremes in religion. The matter of contemporary religious controversy which was foregrounded in any doctrinal discussion of the liturgical hymns was the invocation of saints. Cassander cuts through to the middle of the dispute in such a way as to preserve the traditional hymns and mitigate the offence they caused to Protestants, for, if the merits of the saints are gifts from God, then, surely, hymns which celebrate the merits of saints do nothing else but celebrate the gifts of God? (p. 152) To say that hymns are "to" saints, rather than "to God in memory of saints", is merely a figure of speech (an argument which seems to be taking a leaf out of the Protestants' own hymn-books, bringing Cassander perilously close to the way a Lutheran like Lossius used rhetoric to explode the literal sense of the hymns). Religious reformers of the hymns are not the only ones to be put straight. Humanist revisionists are castigated for their affected use of phraseology imitated from Cicero *et al.*, in particular for their modern usage of "divus" as an epithet for saints: "cavendum sane

nobis est, ne dum orationis cultum sectamur, in unius et veri Dei cultu minus cauti et observantes videamur” (p. 154).

Cassander sees where the extremist threats to the liturgical hymns are coming from, but his own attitude is not to retrench in the *status quo*. On prosody he takes a purist line, to the extent of proposing to exclude from his edition all hymns which are not in Ambrosian metres. He has no room, therefore, for sequences in their original form, but he does include rewritings of sequences by Clichtoveus and Jacobus Meyerus, “qui non tam novos hymnos conscribere quam veteres aliquot, lege solutos, in legem carminis cogere voluerunt” (p. 151). Even more adventurously, he includes a great many hymns by the Lutheran, Georgius Fabricius, “quod is inter recentiores omnes simplicitatem illam et venustatem Ambrosianorum quam proxime expresserit” (p. 151). His own annotations do not cover grammatical points, but are there, he says, to clarify “locutiones aliquot Patrum et ritus Ecclesiasticos” as he is prompted by the hymns (p. 149). His aim is the peace of the Church, a peace only to be found in a middle way between extremes of misconception:

Et omnino existimo, earum rerum cognitionem non parum ad Ecclesiae pacem et tranquillitatem pertinere. Nec dubito, si haec ab aliis candidius interpretata, ab aliis castius observata fuissent, minus dissidiorum et turbarum extitisset. (p. 156)

The hymns are drawn right into the midst of the fray, and quite how far only becomes apparent when one reads the annotations. Most of the great mid-Reformation disputes are there: the role of St Peter as the rock on which the Church is built (but, says Cassander on p. 180, quoting various Fathers, on his faith and his confession, not on his person); the hypostatic union (p. 191); invocation of the saints (a natural instinct, but needs caution, p. 242); communion in both kinds (there is ancient evidence and good argument on both sides of the dispute, pp. 248-9); merits of saints (a doctrine only properly understood if proper verbal discriminations are made, pp. 262-3); the credibility of certain modern miracles and legends of saints (about which this proto-Bollandist is extremely sceptical: “haec autem ideo asscripsi ut studiosorum et piorum diligentiam ad accuratiorem huius rei investigationem excitarem”, pp. 261, 278-9).

For Cassander, the liturgical hymns are at once a repository of evidence about the questions vexing Christendom, and an occasion for rational discussion, all the more conducive to sweet reasonableness,

perhaps, because the hymns belong to the world of poetry and music, at one remove from more “authoritative” texts now overprinted with the squabbles of theologians. The hymn-collection of Cassander is, quite literally, a *locus* where Protestant and Catholic, the old authors and the new, Meyerus, Clichtoveus and Fabricius, stand side by side and speak in harmony. The message of reconciliation was not allowed to spread very far. Cassander’s *Hymni ecclesiastici* were put on the Index of prohibited books in 1558, a condemnation confirmed at Trent and subsequently⁵⁰. The rather less obvious conciliatory tactics of Flaminius and, more likely, his close association with Catholic churchmen of an Erasmian reforming tendency, led to his work on the psalms and his poetry being classed as “dubious” at about the same time as Cassander was prohibited, and, while this decision was subject to variation over the next few years, books by Flaminius were not finally removed from the Index until 1596⁵¹.

The Council of Trent could recognise reasonably well what it did not want, but was less certain about what it did want in the matter of missal, breviary, books of hours, and the hymns that went with them. The revision of liturgical books was under discussion at the Council, but at the last session, in December, 1563, the matter was referred back to the Pope⁵². When approved versions of breviary and missal did appear, in 1568 and 1570, a new course was set for the development of the liturgical hymn in the Roman Catholic Church. Of all the sequences to be found in print around the year 1500, the Tridentine missal retained only four. This fall from grace confirms a trend operative during the previous fifty years, when there was almost no publication of separate collections of sequences, and virtually the only new sequences composed were written specifically to correct and to displace the old ones. Humanists’ standards of Latinity and Reformers’ standards of Scriptural rectitude had finally rendered the species non-viable, and the people were to be given no excuse for congregational singing at mass.

⁵⁰ See F.H. Reusch, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher*, 2 vols (Bonn, 1883; reprinted, 1967), I, pp. 361-4, where some of the contemporary correspondence over the decision is transcribed.

⁵¹ Reusch, I, p. 385.

⁵² See H. Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient*, 4 vols (Freiburg, Basel, Vienna, 1975), IV, pp. 238-41; and, in more detail, H. Jedin, “Das Konzil von Trient und die Reform der liturgischen Bücher”, *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 59 (1945), 5-38, which also includes a survey of attempts to reform liturgical service-books in the years prior to the Council.

Sequences were officially declared obsolete (although neither people nor sequences proved to be quite so easily silenced). By contrast, the revised breviary of 1568 retained to a large extent the standard liturgical hymns. In the sense that no liturgical opening was made immediately for new hymns, this decision did not reflect the vitality of the genre as we have seen it flourishing in the numerous publications and stylistic experiments of major and minor poets since the beginning of the century. But the transmission of at least some of the medieval heritage was assured. What was also assured was its accommodation with the Latin of the Renaissance humanists. The signal was given in effect for a concerted Counter-reform in the matter of hymns, which would both insist on tradition and call on the educated élite in the Church to modernise that tradition, by stiffening its theology in response to the Protestant challenge and by refining its Latin to conciliate the humanists. It was entirely to be expected that the Jesuits should be among the prime movers of this particular Counter-reform. They were in the business of promoting precisely that combination of piety and pedagogy which had ensured the survival and development of the Latin hymn⁵³.

University of Durham
Dept. of French

⁵³ Even in the English church, the Latin hymn proved fitter than I may have inferred (pp. 89-90). Banned from the public rite, hymns, even Latin hymns, subsisted in primers issued for private use in the reigns of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I. King Henry's Primer, first printed simultaneously in Latin and in English in 1545, and re-edited well into the reign of Elizabeth, ensured the survival of eight liturgical hymns, one for each of the daily offices. Another Latin primer, *Preces privatae*, first printed in 1564, added an appendix which included nine of the hymns of Flaminio and three metrical prayers by Fabricius; see *Private Prayers Put Forth by Authority during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, edited by W. Keatinge Clay (Cambridge, 1851), pp. 403-19. Latin hymns were not entirely lost to the new English church, but they belonged solely to the sphere of private devotion. It was in that sphere that Anglican religious poetry was to develop.

A. BREEZE - J. GLOMSKI

AN EARLY BRITISH TREATISE UPON EDUCATION:
LEONARD COX'S *DE ERUDIENDA IUVENTUTE* (1526)

Introduction

In 1526, Leonard Cox, a wandering Welsh humanist, published *Libellus de erudienda iuventute* in Cracow. This short essay was the first treatise on education to be written by a Welshman. In it, Cox applies humanist pedagogical theory to the education of young boys. *De erudienda iuventute* reveals the state of schooling in the early sixteenth century in central Europe and attests to the spread of humanism in this region. The text of *De erudienda iuventute* has never been printed in modern times and it is the intention of the editors to provide this document of humanist philosophy with the attention it deserves.

Leonard Cox will be familiar to scholars of the English Renaissance as the author of *The art or crafte of rhetoryke*, which appeared in London in 1532. Unfortunately, not much is known about Cox's education and career, or about the background of his writings. Many of his texts have survived only in rare copies, if at all. Still, a list of his writings demonstrates that he was an active propagator of humanism, and especially of the works of Melanchthon and Erasmus¹.

Cox left England about 1513 to study in Paris, where he made contact with Henri Estienne I². In 1514 he matriculated at Tübingen, and eventually met Melanchthon. During this period he would have encountered the works of Erasmus³. It is also thought that Cox spent time at Wittenberg and Prague.

In 1518, Cox reached Cracow and matriculated at the Jagiellonian University. In December of that year, he delivered an oration, *De*

¹ Andrew Breeze, "Leonard Cox, a Welsh Humanist in Poland and Hungary", *The National Library of Wales Journal* 25 (1988), 399-410.

² Breeze gives a recently revised, concise biography of Cox, with sources. His outline is followed here.

³ Henryk Barycz, *Z epoki renesansu, reformacji i baroku* (Warsaw, 1971), pp. 14-15.

laudibus Celeberrimae Cracoviensis Academiae, to the university community. This text was printed at the Wietor (Vietor) press in Cracow and is still considered a primary document of the Renaissance in Poland, as it lists the major humanist figures who were active in Cracow at the time⁴. *De laudibus* also indicates that Cracow flourished as an international academic centre.

From March 1520 to autumn 1525, but with the exception of the period 1522-23, when he returned to Cracow to lecture on Erasmus' *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum*, Cox served as rector of the schools of Levoča and Košice in what was then Hungary, now Slovakia. In Košice, Cox read Erasmus' *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum* with his students⁵. Certainly, Cox's experience as head of these two schools furnished the substance of *De erudienda iuventute*, and it may well be that he composed part of the treatise during this residence in Slovakia⁶.

Towards the end of 1525, Cox returned to Cracow, where he lectured on rhetoric and published a series of humanist tracts, editions of the classics, and occasional verse. In 1527, he wrote a letter to Erasmus, addressing him as the "father of humanistic studies"⁷.

Leonard Cox returned permanently to England in 1527. He finished his studies at Cambridge and also supplicated for incorporation of his degree at Oxford. By 1530, he was appointed headmaster of Reading School. Cox spent some time as headmaster of Caerleon School after the dissolution of Reading Abbey, but he was back at Reading in 1541. Cox may have taken a position at Coventry School later on, but he most likely died in 1547, the year in which his post at Reading became vacant⁸.

⁴ For a summary of the contents of the oration, see Henryk Zins, "Leonard Coxe and the Erasmian Circles in Poland", *Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska Sectio F* 28 (1973), 153-179. This article is a translation of the first part of Henryk Zins, "Leonard Coxe i erazmiańskie koła w Polsce i Anglii", *Odrodzenie i reformacja w Polsce* 17 (1972), 27-62.

⁵ Jozef Kuzmík, *Slovník autorov slovenských a so slovenskými vzťahmi za humanizmu*, 2 vols (Martin, 1976), I, p. 154; *Humanizmus a renesancia na Slovensku v 15.-16. storočí*, edited by L. Holotik and A. Vantuch (Bratislava, 1967), pp. 153-154.

⁶ Kuzmík, p. 154, as cited by Breeze, p. 401.

⁷ Cox's letter to Erasmus appears as no. 1803 in *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, edited by P.S. Allen (Oxford, 1928). Erasmus' reply is no. 1824, and his letter to Zebrzydowski, no. 1826. For further information on Erasmus' correspondence with Poles, see *Korespondencia Erazma z Rotterdamu z Polakami*, edited by M. Cytowska (Warsaw, 1965).

⁸ For a discussion of the confusion surrounding the date of Cox's death, see Breeze, p. 402.

When Cox arrived in Cracow the University was enjoying the peak of its humanist phase. The endeavours of the renowned humanist poets Konrad Celtis and Philip Callimachus at the end of the fifteenth century had transformed Cracow into a gathering place for both foreign and Polish scholars who were sympathetic to the humanist movement⁹. These scholars were quick to introduce lectures on the classical authors and they thus infused humanistic life into the University's stale scholastic curriculum¹⁰.

It was in such a milieu that Cox managed to attract the support of the most influential humanists in the Polish capital and to gather around himself a circle of brilliant colleagues. His patrons during his first stay in Cracow were Justus Ludovicus Decius, a diplomat, economist, historian, and a long-time secretary to the powerful Boner family, who, in 1520, would become secretary to King Sigismund I, and Jan Konarski, a Cracow bishop who led a movement to revitalize the University of Cracow¹¹. Among Cox's associates at this time was Johann Henckel, master of the University of Cracow, who would be named chaplain to Queen Mary of Hungary, the wife of Ferdinand I. Henckel was also made provost at Košice and became Cox's protector in Slovakia¹².

With the advent of Protestantism from Germany, however, the mood of the older members of the University shifted towards a severe reaction to the new learning. The admiration for humanism which the throng of Cracow poets had expressed in their verses welcoming Queen Bona Sforza from Italy upon her marriage to Sigismund I in 1518, dissolved by 1520 in the face of a religious attack from the Cracow professors of theology. The younger masters were forced, more and more, to withdraw to hostels and teach their students privately¹³. It was such a hostel in which Leonard Cox was living in 1527, when he

⁹ H.B. Segel, *Renaissance Culture in Poland: The Rise of Humanism, 1470-1543* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1989). See chapters two and three for detailed biographies of Callimachus and Celtis and their activities in Poland.

¹⁰ J. Ziomek, *Renesans* (Warsaw, 1978), pp. 70-72.

¹¹ Zins, pp. 169-171. For biographical details on Decius in English, see *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, edited by P. Bietenholz and T. Deutscher, 3 vols (Toronto, 1986), I, 380-382.

¹² Barycz, *Z epoki renesansu*, p. 15; H. Barycz, *Historja Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w epoce humanizmu* (Cracow, 1935), p. 46; *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, I, 353; II, 175-176.

¹³ S. Kot, *Historja wychowania*, vol. 1: *Od starożytnej Grecji do połowy w. XVIII* (Lwów, 1934), p. 244.

wrote to Erasmus, and where he lectured to his followers on Erasmus' *De copia* in the same year¹⁴.

During his second stay in Cracow, Cox's residence at the Jerusalem Hostel (Bursa Jeruzalem) served as the meeting place for admirers of Erasmus' works and became the nucleus for a cult of Erasmus¹⁵. Cox now fell under the patronage¹⁶ of such luminaries as Piotr Tomicki, bishop of Cracow and vice-chancellor of the realm¹⁷, and Tomicki's nephew, Andrzej Krzycki (Andreas Critius), a poet, royal secretary, and from 1535, primate of Poland¹⁸. Cox was also on excellent terms with both Stanislaus Hosius, a church dignitary, protégé of Tomicki and future organizer of the counterreformation in Poland¹⁹, and Jan Łaski (Johannes a Lasco), also a church official, a close associate of Erasmus, but later an active Reformer²⁰. Cox's relationship with Hosius and Łaski demonstrates the Welsh humanist's diplomatic abilities, since these two men were politically at odds. Cox during this time became tutor to Andrzej Zebrzydowski, nephew of Krzycki, grandnephew of Tomicki, and it was concerning the young man that Cox wrote to Erasmus²¹. Henryk Zins reports that following Cox's dedication of *De erudienda iuventute* to him, Tomicki rewarded Cox with an appointment as teacher at his court school²².

Although humanistic studies had already been established at the Jagiellonian University when Cox came to Cracow, the new learning was just beginning to take hold in the schools of the region. In 1518, Bishop Jan Lubrański set up the first humanist middle school in the Polish kingdom, in Poznań. Johann Henckel, the renowned Slovakian

¹⁴ Barycz, *Z epoki renesansu*, p. 14.

¹⁵ Barycz, *Historja*, p. 47. The Jerusalem Hostel was founded by Cardinal Oleśnicki and his secretary, Jan Długosz (Długossius), in 1453. It was located on Gołębia Street, near the corner of Jagiellońska Street, and was active until 1841. See *Zakłady uniwersyteckie w Krakowie*, edited by J. Mayer (Cracow, 1864), p. 522 and especially C. Morawski, *Histoire de l'université de Cracovie: Moyen Âge et Renaissance*, 3 vols (Paris, 1900), III, 219-251, who gives a detailed history of student lodgings at the University of Cracow during the Renaissance.

¹⁶ Zins, p. 175-177; Barycz, *Historja*, pp. 47-49.

¹⁷ For biographical details, see *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, III, 327-329.

¹⁸ For biographical details, see Segel, pp. 191-226; *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, II, 275-278.

¹⁹ See *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, II, 206-7.

²⁰ See *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, II, 297-301.

²¹ See note 7; also Zins, pp. 177-79.

²² Zins, p. 173.

humanist, was surely intending to plant a humanist curriculum in the institutions under his charge when he invited Cox to teach at Levoča and Košice²³.

Cox's treatise on education followed the publication of a series of new, humanist-oriented handbooks on Latin grammar for school and university use²⁴. The initial work of this group, Jacob Heinrichman's *Grammaticae institutiones*, published by Haller in 1511, was the first grammar printed in Poland to break away from traditional, scholastic learning. It was employed in lectures at the Jagiellonian University from 1513 to 1534. The first humanist grammar written by a Pole, Stanislaus Zaborowski's *Grammatices rudimenta*, was printed by Haller in 1518. It enjoyed at least six successive editions, in 1523, 1529, 1535/36, 1538, 1560, 1564, attesting to its growing popularity for use in Polish schools. Finally, Erasmus' edition of Lily's *De octo orationis partium constructione* was brought out by the Wietor press in 1523²⁵, and Melanchthon's *Elementa Latinae Grammatices* and *Syntaxis* were printed by Wietor in 1526.

De erudienda iuventute, issued by Wietor in 1526, was part of this revolution in education. In his treatise, Cox makes reference to the traditional, scholastic grammar, "Donatus", but notes that it should be used by pupils only in the earlier phases of learning Latin, whereafter the boys should advance to the humanist handbooks of Mancinelli. Cox, moreover, recommends that Erasmus' edition of Lily be studied thoroughly. In the matter of the composition of verses, he defers to Walenty Eck's (Valentinus Eckius, Eccius, Ecchius) *De arte versificandi opusculum* (Cracow, 1515, 1521). Cox abides by the view that pupils should not be overburdened with too much material all at once, in keeping with the spirit of the new grammars, which revolted at scholasticism's demands on the pupils to master enormous amounts of grammatical rules²⁶.

De erudienda iuventute was not the first treatise on education to have been published on Polish soil²⁷. A medieval dissertation, *Labyrinthus*

²³ Holotík and Vantuch, pp. 210-211.

²⁴ The following information is taken from M. Cytowska, *Od Aleksandra do Alwara. Gramatyki łacińskie w Polsce w XVI w.*, Polska Akademia Nauk, Archiwum Filologiczne, no. 18 (Wrocław, 1968).

²⁵ Cox would edit this work in England in 1540. See Breeze, p. 408.

²⁶ Cytowska, *Od Aleksandra*, p. 28.

²⁷ A recent work which gives detailed information on pedagogical theory in medieval and Renaissance Poland is, Ryszard Wroczyński, *Dzieje oświaty polskiej do roku 1795*

vitalis conjugalis, written by a certain Konrad z Byczyny in 1432, contained remarks on the rearing of children. Later in the century, circa 1467, an essay on the education of a prince was dedicated by an anonymous humanist to Kazimierz (Casimir), the son of Kazimierz Jagiellończyk (Casimir IV). The unknown Polish author extracted material from a letter written by Aeneas Silvius to Prince Sigismund of Austria in December, 1443, making only minor changes to suit the Polish situation and his own particular circumstances²⁸. In 1502 another treatise on the education of royal sons, *De institutione regii pueri*, written most likely by the humanist Maciej Drzewicki, secretary to Jan Olbracht, was directed to Władysław (Ladislaus) Jagiellończyk, then on the throne of Bohemia. This work was composed in the form of a letter from Queen Elżbieta (Elizabeth) of Poland, wife of Kazimierz Jagiellończyk and thus sister-in-law of Władysław.

The contents of Cox's *De erudienda iuventute* differ from those of Polish Renaissance educational treatises preceding it. Cox's essay deals with the education of boys who would most likely be attending town schools similar to the institutions where he taught in Slovakia. Cox has no concern for the customs of the élite, but, following the precedent of Erasmus' *De ratione studii*, published in Cracow in 1519, he concentrates on the teaching of Latin and Greek composition and on the study of classical texts, through which he expects his pupils to become upright and respected citizens.

Cox states that, aside from responding to the request of his patron Tomicki, his purpose in writing *De erudienda iuventute* is to produce a digest of teaching to enable instructors to lead their pupils to a better knowledge of the Latin language. He is familiar with earlier writings on this topic, such as those of Vergerio, Guarino, pseudo-Filelfo, Pius II, Agricola, and Erasmus. Cox agrees with their views on education, but wishes to concentrate on details. His tract will assist the teachers in motivating their students step by step towards proficiency in Latin.

The bulk of *De erudienda iuventute* is taken up by discussions of the nature of education and the descriptions of an ideal curriculum. Cox is especially concerned with the moral character of schoolmasters, as the

(Warsaw, 1987). See also, Kot, *Historja wychowania*, cited in note 13 above; M. Janik, *Dzieje szkolnictwa polskiego*, second edition (Częstochowa, 1924); *Odrodzenie w Polsce*, Volume II, *Historia Nauki*, edited by B. Suchodolski (Warsaw, 1956), pp. 115-174; *Historia Nauki Polskiej*, edited by B. Suchodolski, VI (Wrocław, 1974).

²⁸ I. Zarębski, "Z dziejów recepcji humanizmu w Polsce", in *Studia z dziejów kultury polskiej*, edited by H. Barycz and J. Hulewicz (Warsaw, 1949), pp. 147-171 (p. 155).

young boy is "like soft wax, which receives any impression". Teachers must be just as honourable as they are erudite. Cox also probes the boys' motivation to learn. Ideally, he believes, the teacher's praise should be sufficient to encourage the pupils, but some boys may simply have to feel the force of the rod. Cox stresses that the aim of education is to teach children to fear God and respect their elders. This conviction is reiterated when Cox defends the teaching of Greek by claiming that without a knowledge of that language, the boys will never acquire a solid foundation in the Christian faith.

Cox gives only minor attention to beginning classes. He states that the pupils must learn the Latin and Greek declensions and conjugations by heart, with grammar exercises from Donatus and Urbanus. After achieving a complete grasp of Latin and Greek inflection, they should proceed to a reading of Isocrates (Cox recommends Agricola's translation), coupled with Lily's grammar, in order to acquire a supply of vocabulary and an understanding of the rules of syntax.

When it comes to intermediate stages of learning, Cox pays particular heed to designating authors who he feels should be included in the curriculum, and he is careful to explain either the moral basis or the didactic pragmatism of his choices. He suggests Cato for elementary students, and commends its moral content, while restating the importance of influencing the pupils' characters from the very beginning. Cox then recommends that the boys approach Vergil's *Bucolics* and *Georgics*, while paying extreme attention to understanding the contents of the works and to exactness in translating. Cox claims, referring to Erasmus, that Terence is the most useful in teaching good Latin style. He meets possible objections that the content of the plays may be too racy for young boys by professing that worse events take place in daily life. In any case, he believes that teachers can make didactic use of scenes from Terence by pointing out examples of moral turpitude.

As for advanced learning, Cox gives only a profile of the course pupils should follow. He advises the reading of the *Aeneid*, followed by Cicero's philosophical works. The boys who show promise should embark on a study of rhetoric. Cox remarks that the teaching of this subject is an onerous task and refers his readers to Erasmus' *De conscribendis epistolis* for further guidance. Cox's intention at this stage is that the pupils, if they have been properly trained, should be able to read classical authors independently and to understand them without much coaching from their instructors.

Cox provides a brief outline for conducting a lesson. The teacher, he states, must first read through the lesson, while the pupils compare their own copies and correct any mistakes. The contents of the text are then to be summarized in the vernacular. It is the teacher's duty to explain the declensions and conjugations of nouns and verbs found in the text and to note any anomalies. The instructor must also illuminate the sense of the lesson and attend to problems of syntax. Finally, older boys may participate in exercises of translating sentences from the vernacular into Latin.

De erudienda iuventute is laced with didactic and moral considerations, beginning with Cox's proclamation of the aims of education. When making his recommendations for elementary classes, Cox stresses that the teacher should not overburden the boys with a difficult text, but by the same token, the instructor should not disregard moral content in order to provide pupils with an easier lesson. Cox's views on learning are strict: correctness is important; good grammatical habits must be established early; and the boys' memories must be exercised. He states repeatedly that young pupils are easily influenced, and that the teacher must realize that what the boys learn early on will last a lifetime. Cox's approach to teaching is simple: boys who learn well should be encouraged by the instructor's praise; those who are lazy are to be censured.

In *De erudienda iuventute*, Cox adheres to the Erasmian formula for education, and the similarities between Cox's treatise and *De ratione studii* are obvious. In presenting the approach to reading a classical author, Cox echoes Erasmus' instructions for the "praelectio". Cox shares Erasmus' enthusiasm for including Greek in the curriculum. Both humanists stress both accuracy in learning (i.e. pupils must be corrected from the beginning) and the importance of maintaining the purity of classical language. Cox, like Erasmus, asserts that lessons must appeal to the interest of the pupils, so as not to discourage them from learning, and that, for the same reason, pupils should not be overburdened with lessons. Finally, Cox and Erasmus both emphasize the necessity for the development of the pupil's mental faculties ("memoria").

The similarities between these two educational treatises, though, do not imply that Cox's work is a simple reworking of the Erasmian text. There exist substantial differences to demonstrate that *De erudienda iuventute* stands on its own as an independent composition. When *De*

ratione studii and *De erudienda iuventute* are compared, Erasmus' treatise appears saturated with philological concerns, while Cox's essay seems overwhelmed by moral considerations. In *De ratione studii*, Erasmus is preoccupied with the scholarly training of the instructor. Cox, on the contrary, worries about the teacher's moral character and its influence on the pupils, as he states:

Sit ergo haec prima ... cura, quod inueniatur is adolescentiae informator, cuius uita discipulis quasi morum suorum amussis sit. ... Quid enim proderit etiam si Platonem aut Aristotelem in philosophia aequemus, in eloquentia simus Demosthenes aut Cicerones, si caruerit haec scientia condignis sua uirtute moribus?

Whereas Erasmus' text is filled with explicit instructions and examples, especially on the teaching of oratory, Cox's work is coloured by the relationship of the teacher and pupil, and the psychology and behaviour of adolescent boys²⁹.

Although the text of *De erudienda iuventute* is too small a sample to yield a precise analysis of Cox's capabilities in Latin composition, it does demonstrate that he could conform to the demands of a lucid, humanistic style. A few comments may be made concerning his grammatical and lexical preferences. Cox is fond of the passive voice and impersonal constructions. The text also contains an abundance of gerundives. There is an extensive use of *quod* for subordination, and even as a replacement for *ut* in parenthetical remarks, such as "quod aiunt". Post-classical forms, such as "ceu", "foret" in periphrastic constructions, and "absque", appear infrequently. Cox favours superlatives and diminutives, and he makes an effort to vary his vocabulary, as in his use of different terms for the schoolteacher, "magister", "praeceptor", "moderator", "ludimagister". Cox is evidently proud of his knowledge of Greek, as he enjoys impressing the reader with an occasional borrowing from that language, such as "theologotatos" or "ephebiam".

²⁹ This is not to say that moral concerns do not underlie Erasmus' educational philosophy. Although they may remain in the background in *De ratione studii*, they are clearly expressed in his later work, *De pueris instituendis* (1529). See Margolin's critical study of this work in Erasmus, *Declamatio de pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis*, edited by Jean-Claude Margolin (Geneva, 1966). See also J.K. McConica, "The Fate of Erasmian Humanism", in *Universities, Society and the Future*, edited by N. Phillipson (Edinburgh, 1983), pp. 27-61; William H. Woodward, *Desiderius Erasmus concerning the Aim and Method of Education* (Cambridge, 1904; reprinted, New York, 1964), pp. 72-85.

As was mentioned above, most of Cox's works have survived only in rare copies, and *De erudienda iuventute* is no exception. It was considered lost³⁰ until the last war, when the sole copy known at present was discovered by Władysław Hordyński in the Library of the Rumanian Academy of Sciences in Bucharest, shelf mark I 40344. Unfortunately, Hordyński does not discuss the provenance of the books in his list of Polish titles in Bucharest³¹. He does, however, indicate that many of the books were once the property of the Rumanian collector, Dimitrie Sturdz-Scheianu. It is unlikely, though, that *De erudienda iuventute* was part of this group, as its subject matter falls outside that of the majority of the items on Hordyński's list, which are concerned with law, diplomacy, government, and history.

The editors would like to thank Dr. G. Stempel of the Library of the Rumanian Academy of Sciences for permission to print the text of *De erudienda iuventute*. We are also grateful to Dr. J. Pirożyński and Ms. Teresa Malik of the Jagiellonian Library at the University of Cracow for their assistance. Finally, we owe a special debt of gratitude to Dr. Erika Rummel of the University of Toronto Press for her support and for facilitating communication with Rumania during a difficult period.

*
* * *

The present edition is the result of a collaboration. The above introduction is by Dr. Jacqueline Glomski, formerly of the Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, Toronto; the edition of the text, translation, and notes are by Andrew Breeze of the University of Navarre, Pamplona, Spain. Besides the thanks expressed above, the editors thank each other: JG thanks AB for drawing the text to her attention in the first place, while AB thanks JG for improvements to his translation and important additions to the notes, particularly on recent publications. Translation and notes both owe a fundamental debt as well to the annotated Polish translation by Janina Czerniatowicz in *700 Lat Myśli Polskiej*, ii: *Filozofia i Myśl Społeczna XVI Wieku*, ed. Lech Szczucki (Warsaw, 1978), pp. 82-101.

The editors hope their work will prompt further research on Cox,

³⁰ See the article on Cox by Stanisław Kot in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* iv (Cracow, 1938).

³¹ W. Hordyński, "Książki polskie i odnoszące się do spraw polskich znajdujące się Bibliotece Akademii Rumuńskiej (XVI-XVIII w.)", *Biuletyn miesięczny Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej* 5 (1953) nr. 6, 23-37; nr. 8, 10-32.

perhaps in the form of a monograph. His numerous publications have been listed in AB's "Leonard Cox, a Welsh Humanist in Poland and Hungary", *The National Library of Wales Journal*, 25 (1987-88), 399-410; these deserve specialized study, particularly as most are extreme bibliographical rarities. It should also be possible to learn more about Cox's background, education, and career in Wales and England from documents and published works on British local history inaccessible in New York and Spain. The same is true for Cox's periods of study and teaching in France, Germany, Poland, Slovakia and Bohemia. Finally, we hope that future writers on the history of British education will take note of *De erudienda iuventute*. British educational theory is usually thought to begin with Roger Ascham's *The Schoolmaster* of 1570. But Cox's book goes back nearly fifty years earlier, providing both an unprecedented glimpse into an early Tudor classroom and a first, detailed, and vivid insight into the mind of a British schoolteacher. As Cox was also a friend of Erasmus and a scholar of European experience, we trust that, with its publication and translation here, *De erudienda iuventute* will be recognized as a document of unique importance in the history of British education.

Columbia University
New York.

Universidad de Navarra
Pamplona.

[f. B1^v]

LEONARDI COXI ANGLI
DE ERUDIENDA IUVENTUTE LIBELLUS

Ad Reuerendissimum in Christo Patrem, ac Dominum D<ominum> Petrum Tomitium dei gratia Episcopum Cracouiensem, ac Regni Poloniae Vicecancellarium¹.

1. Graue munus, Ornatissime Praesul, atque ut ille dicit periculosa plenum alea, mihi superioribus hisce diebus iniunxerunt Magnificus Dominus Petrus Vedelicus de Obornyki Artium et Medicinae doctor, Rector Academiae et nunc electus Senator urbis, ac eximii bonarum literarum fautores Stanislaus Biel, Nicolaus Mycos Sacrae Theologiae professores, Iacobus Ardeschow Decretorum Doctor, et uenerandus ille Diuini uerbi praeco Magister Martinus Dobergast Sacrae Theologiae Baccalaureus, et in aede beatae uirginis Matris primarius concionator, ut inter tot excellentissimos tum eruditione tum prudentia uiros, qui de recta instituendae pubis ratione summa diligentia scripserunt, ego qui nec doctrina nec rerum usu par esse possum, aliquid tamen in medium adferam super ea re, tradamque quoddam docendi compendium, quo freti praeceptores rectius simul et facilius ad cognitionem Romanae linguae discipulos perducant².

[f. B1^v]

2. Id quod sane lubens abnuissem, probe mihi conscius quam eget haec res egregie perito artifice, quamque sit domi meae curta (quod fertur) nimium supellex³. Dein quod ea fide, ea perspicacitate, atque recto consilio negotium prius adgressi sunt, Petrus Paulus Vergerius, / Guarinus Veronensis, Philelphus, si me non fallat memoria, Pius Maximus Pontifex, Rudolphus Agricola Phrisius, et Erasmus Roterodamus, omnes uiri egregii, et quod de Appione scribit Gellius, polyhistores, ut

¹ Piotr Tomicki (1464-1535), Bishop of Cracow, humanist and patron of humanists, including Cox. For Tomicki's library see Leszek Hajdukiewicz's *Księgozbiór i zainteresowania bibliofilskie Piotra Tomickiego na tle jego działalności kulturalnej* (Wrocław, 1961) and *Historia Nauki Polskiej*, vi [= *HNP*] (Wrocław, 1974), 698-99, and *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, ed. P.G. Bietenholz and T.B. Deutscher (Toronto, 1985-87).

² Horace, *Odes*, II.1.6: *periculosae plenum opus aleae*. The colleagues referred to are: Piotr Wedelicjusz z Obornik (d. 1543; *HNP* 731-32), physician, rector of Cracow University, newly-elected Cracow city councillor (February 1526); Stanisław Biel (1457-1541; *HNP* 38), humanist and theologian, for many years rector of Cracow University; Mikołaj Mikosz (d. 1528), theologian and collector of a library of over 200 books, which he left to Cracow University; Jakub z Ercieszowa (d. 1533), judge in the ecclesiastical

To the very reverend Father in Christ and Monsignor, Piotr Tomicki, by God's grace Bishop of Cracow and Vice-Chancellor of the Kingdom of Poland¹.

1. Most venerable Pastor,

The following have lately imposed upon me a duty both serious and, as the poet puts it, "fraught with hazard": his excellency Piotr Wedelicjusz of Obornik, Litt. D., M.D., rector of the university and city councillor-elect; the distinguished patrons of literature Stanisław Biel and Mikołaj Mikosz, Professors of Sacred Theology; Jakub of Ercieszów, D.C.L.; and that venerable propagator of God's word, Master Marcin Dobergast, S.T.B., principal preacher at the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary². This duty is that, amongst so many men outstanding for their learning and understanding, who have written with the greatest perception on how best to educate the young, I, who cannot compare with them in either learning or experience, should none the less publish something on that subject, and produce a kind of résumé of teaching. The teachers who used this book would thus be able to guide their pupils to understanding Latin more easily and more accurately.

2. Thus duty I would gladly have refused, being fully aware of the extent this subject requires an expert with first-rate experience, and how scant (as the phrase goes) is the furniture of my mind³. The task has also previously been undertaken with great integrity, penetration and good sense by Pier Paolo Vergerio, Guarino of Verona, Francesco Filelfo (if my memory does not fail me), Pope Pius, Rudolph Agricola of Friesland, and Erasmus of Rotterdam, all of them distinguished men and, as Aulus Gellius said of the scholar Apion, *Polyhistor*, so that it

courts and steadfast humanist; and Marcin Dobergast, famous preacher at the Church of the Blessed Virgin in the main square of Cracow. Biel, Mikosz and Jakub z Ercieszowa are praised in Cox's *De laudibus Celeberrimae Cracoviensis Academiae* (Cracow, 1518). Mikosz's library is noted in *Historia Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, ed. Ignacy Zarebski, i (Cracow, 1966), p. 153.

³ Cf. Persius (34-62), *Satires*, 4.52: *noris quam sit tibi curta supellex*, 'Learn how sparse your furniture is'. See Horace's *Satires and Epistles* and Persius' *Satires*, tr. Niall Rudd (Harmondsworth, 1979), p. 222.

mihi non superfluum modo, sed arrogans et plusquam Phaetonteum omnino uideatur, post hos melioris literaturae proceres, tantam suscipere prouinciam⁴. Atque adeo in eiusmodi sudauit palestra sanctissimus Philosophorum omnium Plutarchus⁵. Fabius quoque in Instituendo oratore suo, minime prima infantiae rudimenta neglexit. Nec hunc spreuit laborem Diuus Hieronymus inter eos, qui theologiam latinis literis illustrarunt, facile in eloquentia princeps, et inter eloquentes (ut graece dicam) theologotatos, qui de his rebus copiosissimas epistolas ad Gaudentium et Laetam exarauit⁶. E quorum fontibus quicquid desiderari putetur, abunde cuius haurire licet.

3. Verum illi praeter alia quae tunc multa contra meam excusationem adferebant, adiecerunt tuae celsitudinis auctoritatem. Cuius apud me iure merito tanta ueneratio est, ut uel in minimo reluctari, maxima sit religio. Quare ne non in omnibus tuis, Amplissime Praesul, mandatis obsequar, perlectis diligenter, quae Plutarchus, Quintilianus, et Erasmus scriptis prodiderunt, adtuli meam quoque sententiam. Qua si aliquando minus conueniam cum illis, in causa erit, quod illi summam rei uelut fasciculo quodam comprehenderint, ego per singulos gradus

⁴ Cox's references to humanist writers on educational theory are as follows:

a. Pier Paolo Vergerio (1370-1444), *De ingenuis moribus et liberalibus studiis adulescentiae* (c. 1402; pr. Venice, c. 1471, 1491, 1493, 1497; Louvain, c. 1474; Padua, c. 1475; c. Rome, 1476; Florence, c. 1481; Brescia, 1485, 1495; Paris, 1510); modern edition by A. Gnesotto, in *Atti e Memorie Accademia ... di Padova* 34 (1918), II, pp. 75-156.

b. Battista Guarini (d. 1513), *De modo et ordine docendi ac studendi* (Ferrara, c. 1474; Heidelberg, 1489; Strasbourg, 1514; modern edition by L. Piacente, Bari 1975). Like many of his contemporaries, Cox mistakenly attributes this text to Battista's father, the celebrated humanist Guarino of Verona (1374-1460).

c. Francesco Filelfo (1398-1481). However, Cox must actually be referring to *De educatione liberorum clarisque eorum moribus* (Paris, 1508; Tübingen, 1513; modern edition by M.W. Fanning and A.S. Sullivan, 2 vols., Washington 1933-36) by Maffeo Vegio (1407-58) of Lodi, near Milan. Maffeo's book is attributed to Filelfo in both the Paris and Tübingen editions, either of which Cox could have seen while studying in those cities. It is unlikely that Cox is referring to Filelfo's letter of 1475 'circa institutionem infantis inclyti Ioannis Galeacii Mariae', or *De morali disciplina*. The last is less relevant to Cox's theme and was not printed until 1552.

d. Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini (1405-64), from 1458 onwards Pope Pius II. The reference is to his *De educatione puerorum ad regem Bohemiae Ladislaum* (Cologne, c. 1470), written about 1450. See the modern edition *Aeneae Silvii De liberorum educatione*, ed. Joel Stanislaus Nelson (Washington, 1940).

e. Rodolphus Agricola, the Latin name of the Frisian humanist Roelof Huysman (1443-

seems to me not just unnecessary to take up such an office after these great ones of literature, but audacious beyond even the recklessness of Phaethon⁴. Plutarch, moreover, that most blameless of all philosophers, has similarly wrestled with this problem⁵. In his *Institutio oratoria* Quintilian likewise far from neglected primary education; while St Jerome, easily the most eloquent of those Latin writers who have honoured theology, and (if I may use a Greek expression) *theologotatos* amongst the eloquent, did not dismiss the subject when he wrote letters teeming with ideas about education to Gaudentius and Laeta⁶. And from these wells a man is free to take as much as he wants.

3. However, to the many other arguments they cited against my objections, Piotr Wedelicjusz and his colleagues added the opinion of your lordship; and for that my respect is so great, as is right and just, that I would be apprehensive about going against it even in a trivial matter. So, in case I should disobey you in any of your commands, Most Reverend Father, I have made a careful reading of what Plutarch, Quintilian and Erasmus have written on the subject, and added my own views. If at times I disagree with them, this is because they have treated the whole subject in summary form, whereas I shall try to guide little Tommy along gradually, one stage at a time, until he has reached the

85), author of *De formando studio*, probably read by Cox in Agricola's *Nonnulla opuscula* (Antwerp, 1511; Basel, 1518).

f. Erasmus, *De ratione studii ac legendi interpretandique auctores* (Paris, 1511), ed. J.-C. Margolin in Erasmus' *Omnia opera*, i/2 (Amsterdam, 1971), pp. 79-151, and tr. Brian McGregor in *Collected Works of Erasmus*, xxiv (Toronto, 1978), pp. 661-91.

Cox's reference to Aulus Gellius (c. 130 - c. 180) is to *Noctes Atticae*, 5.14.1-2. Apion, an Alexandrian grammarian and self-publicist teaching in Rome under Tiberius (14-37) and Claudius (41-54), claimed to have raised Homer from the dead, and been present when the Lion recognized Androcles. Cf. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* [= *OCD*], ed. N.G.L. Hammond and H.H. Scullard, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1970), p. 81.

⁵ Cox is thinking of the treatise *De liberis educandis* falsely ascribed to Plutarch, a text popular in renaissance Europe thanks to Guarino of Verona's Latin translation of it. An edition of Guarino's translation, by Jerzy Liban (1464-after 1546; *HNP* 358) of Legnice, was published at Cracow in 1514. Sir Thomas Elyot's English translation of *De liberis educandis* was published in 1533.

⁶ Quintilian (c. 32-after 88), *Institutio oratoria*, 1.1-3; *theologotatus*, 'the most theological'. Cox refers to the letters of St Jerome (c. 348-420), *Ad Gaudentium de Pacatulae infantulae educatione* and *Ad Laetam de educatione filiae*. He had published an edition of these at Cracow in 1519; see Andrew Breeze, "Leonard Cox, a Welsh Humanist in Poland and Hungary", *The National Library of Wales Journal*, xxv (1987-88), 399-410.

f. B2^r sensim paruum Iulum deducere curabo, donec eo promoueat doctrinae, ut iam sine cortice (quemadmodum in adagio est) nare ualeat⁷. Iam si cui placeat nec ipsas cunas omitti, legat quae a Plutarcho diligentissime memoran/tur. Mihi negotium erit cum ludimagistris duntaxat, neque ultra id, quod ad eloquii Romani cognitionem pertinet, interim ne minutissima quidem illa, sed sine quibus haud temere ad sublimiora pateat aditus posthabenti, quippe qui non gloriam inanem inde uenor, non lucrum aliquod capto, contentus abunde si labor iste, qualis qualis est, non displiceat T<uae> R<euerendissimae> D<ominationi> proueniatque fructus aliquis iuuentuti, in cuius gratiam noster calamus tuis iussis, optime pater, laborat. In maioribus studiis quid agendum sit, quam insistant uiam, melius ex aliis discant uel scriptoribus uel doctissimis sacrae philosophiae interpretaetibus, quorum haud contemnendam multitudinem habet haec inclyta mater nostra Cracouia.

4. Sed ut ad institutum reuertar, moderatores pueritiae omneis uelim in primis uitae sanctimonia quadam, nedum eruditione probari. Neque parum interest cuius curae tenera iuuentus commendetur. Nam ueluti mollis caera facile quamlibet cuiusuis sigilli formam admittit, ita non aliter aetas illa solet, in quoscunque mores, in unumquodlibet uitae genus haud grauatim fingi, ac non statim dediscere quae tum adprehenduntur. Etenim ut uere canit Horatius:

Quo semel est imbuta recens seruabit odorem
Testa diu⁸.

f. B2^r Hinc legimus apud Fabium, Leonidem Alexandri paedagogum quibusdam eum uitis imbuisse, quae robustum quoque et maximum regem ab illa institutione puerili sunt persequuta⁹. Rursum ex tot Romani imperii moderatoribus, quum uix unum aut alterum inuenias qui uere princeps adpellari mereatur, Traianus omnium dissimil<l>imus, non solum nomen boni imperatoris (ita nunc mutauimus uocabuli / significationem) obtinuit, sed mortalium optimus iure merito habitus est. Atque haec nescio an non, magna saltem ex parte debebantur Plutarcho, qui

⁷ Iulus is Ascanius, the son of Aeneas (*OCD* 128). The "adage" is from Horace, *Satires*, I.4.120, *nabis sine cortice*; see also Erasmus' *De ratione studii*, ed. Margolin, p. 135.

⁸ On wax, cf. adage 2133 in Erasmus, *Opera omnia*, ii/5, 123. The quotation from Horace, *Epistles*, I.2.69-70, tr. Rudd, 135, figures (heavily modified) in St Jerome's *Ad Laetam* 4; see St Jérôme, *Lettres*, ed. J. Labourt, t. V (Paris 1955), p. 149, ll. 14-15.

⁹ This tradition concerning Leonides, tutor of Alexander (356-323) appears in Quintilian, *Institutio*, I.1.9, and St Jerome's *Ad Laetam* 4 (ed. Labourt, t. V, p. 149, ll. 15-19).

educational point when he can, as the proverb puts it, swim without a cork float⁷. Of course, if anyone wishes to begin the process of education with babies in their cradles, he can read the account so carefully given by Plutarch. My concern will simply be with school-masters, and with nothing beyond what concerns a complete grasp of Roman eloquence — and in that I shall not include all the details, but only those without which the pupil will scarcely be able to go on to more advanced studies. Obviously, I am not doing this for the sake of empty glory or for material benefit. I shall be perfectly satisfied as long as this work, good or bad, does not provoke your Lordship's censure, and is useful for young people, for whom my pen, most excellent father, labours at your command. As for what they are to do regarding choosing and carrying out courses of action for more advanced studies, they should learn from others, either writers, or learned lecturers in sacred philosophy, of whom there are many and excellent at our renowned *alma mater*, the University of Cracow.

4. But, coming back to the subject of this book, I would like all those in charge of young people to be respected first of all for the integrity of their lives, rather than for their learning, because who we entrust impressionable young people to is important. Just as soft wax takes anyone's seals, young people are easily influenced by anyone's morals and way of life; and what they learn, they do not forget overnight, as Horace points out:

A jar retains for years the smell with which it was tinged
when new⁸.

On this we read in Quintilian that Alexander's tutor Leonides tainted his pupil with certain vices, and that these effects of his childhood education wreaked havoc on Alexander when he was a grown man and a mighty king⁹. On the other hand, when from all those governing the Roman Empire you find scarcely one or two who really deserve to be called "first of citizens", Trajan, unlike all others, not only received the title of "the good ruler" (for we have now changed the meaning of the word *imperator*), but was rightly considered the best of men. I am not sure that these things were not to at least some considerable extent due to Trajan's teacher Plutarch, whose integrity and learning, amidst such

sua integritate et eruditione in tanta rerum licentia et tot educatum deliciis adolescentem, huc, si non perpulit, adduxit tamen¹⁰. Adeo efficax est in pueris imitatio.

5. Sit ergo haec prima (ut dixi) cura, quod inueniatur is adolescentiae informator, cuius uita discipulis quasi morum suorum amussis sit. Quem ante omnes habeant autorem, quo haec faciant, illa eurent. Quid enim proderit etiam si Platonem, aut Aristotelem in philosophia aequemus, in eloquentia simus Demosthenes aut Cicerones, si caruerit haec scientia condignis sua uirtute moribus? Praeclare M <arcus> T <ulius> malle se dicit indisertam prudentiam, quam stultam loquacitatem¹¹. Rectissime Fabius, "Potior mihi", inquit, "ratio uiuendi honeste quam uel optime dicendi uidetur"¹².

f. B3^r 6. Proximum esse cuperem ne quem uana spe ludi sinant, quin ubi minus aptum esse cuiuspiam ingenium ad literas capessendas intellexere (quod sane factum facile <1> imum est uel mediocriter erudito), Alabandensem Apollonium imitentur, qui quum mercede doceret, tamen non patiebatur eos quos iudicabat non posse oratores euadere, operam apud sese perdere. Dimittebatque et ad quancunque artem unumquemlibet putabat esse aptum, ad eam impellere atque hortari solebat¹³. Sunt quidam ita rudes, ita muccosi naribus (ut Luciani uerbis utar) et cerebro nullo, ut omni rei plane uideantur inhabiles, nedum scientiae¹⁴. Quidam autem et si naturam habent non destitutam ingenii dotibus, ad quiduis potius quam literarum studia propensi sunt, nec huc laboris etiam fustibus impelli queant. Alii rursus sponte sua crescunt. / Nullo adigente, suapte industria disciplinas amplectuntur. Alii iterum quamuis abhorreant ab otio literario, tamen coacti, foeliciter in id genus studio promouent. Hi igitur calcaribus egent, ac tanquam indomiti boues uerberibus quoque iugum tolerare et additum onus subire cogantur. Illi ambitione alendi sunt, et laudibus debent inflammari.

¹⁰ Trajan (53-117), emperor from 98, an energetic and efficient ruler and administrator, was given the official title of 'Optimus' in 114. The tradition that Plutarch was his teacher lacks foundation.

¹¹ Cicero, *De oratore*, III.142, *malim equidem indisertam prudentiam quam stultitiam loquacem*; but the reading *stultam loquacitatem* shows Cox is quoting from Gellius, I.15.6.

¹² Quintilian, *Institutio*, I.2.3 (which reads *videretur*).

¹³ Cicero, *De oratore*, I.126. Apollonius of Alabanda (fl. 121-98) ran a school of rhetoric on Rhodes: cf. *OCD*, 85.

¹⁴ This expression is not found in Lucian (c. 120-after 180), but in Erasmus, *Declamatio ... quae e Luciano versae respondeat* (*Opera Omnia* I/1, Amsterdam 1969,

licentiousness and luxury, worked by influence rather than force, and brought his pupil to this higher level. Such is the power of example on the young¹⁰.

5. So this should, as I have said, be the first consideration, that a schoolmaster be appointed whose life is capable of being a kind of yardstick for his pupils' moral behaviour. They should think of him above all as their guide on what to do and what not to do. What good will it do us if we equal Plato or Aristotle in philosophy and are Demosthenes or Cicero in eloquence, if that understanding lacks the moral standards worthy of its importance? Cicero puts it admirably when he says that he prefers intelligence without eloquence to stupid loquaciousness¹¹. And Quintilian says, quite rightly, "Even the ability to talk brilliantly seems to me less important than a regard for integrity of life"¹².

6. Next I would expect that teachers should refrain from allowing anybody to delude himself with vain hopes; in fact, when they have realized that a particular pupil's mind cannot cope with academic study (which is easy enough to do, even for an average scholar), they should rather imitate Apollonius of Alabanda, who, although he taught for a fee, still did not let students he believed would never make public speakers waste time and trouble with him. He would send them away, urging and encouraging each one of them towards whatever occupation he thought him suited¹³. For some students are so dull, so runny-nosed (to use Lucian's phrase) and witless, that they seem fit for absolutely nothing, least of all study¹⁴. There are others who, even if by nature they are not unintelligent, would still rather do anything than study, and cannot be driven to it even with cudgels. But other pupils are the very opposite. They grow of their own accord, and without anyone forcing them on, absorb learning by their own efforts. Others again, despite an aversion to literary culture, make successful progress in that kind of study when they are forced. These, then, will need to be spurred on, just as wild bulls are forced by whipping to submit to the yoke and bear the load; the others are to be fed on the hope of doing well, and should be encouraged with praise.

p. 533): "non dicam hos iudices, ... sed vel e media plebe quemquam esse tam mucosis naribus ..."

7. Nam priores istos plane tanquam fucos et ignaua pecora arcendos procul a praeseipibus censeo¹⁵. In alteris delectum habendum, ne quos humanitate et indulgentia possis adlicere, stulta seueritate deterreas et in odium detrudas literarum. Aut quibus non deest acumen, sed dominatur negligentia, illorum tu desidiam fouere credaris. Non placet Chrysippus qui totus in uerberibus est, nec Plutarchum aut Quintilianum audio qui caedi pueros nolunt¹⁶. Medium quiddam tenendum, et cuiusque naturam contemplari oportet. Quamquam malo praeceptores a suis amari quam timeri¹⁷. Caeterum cautio est ne dum nimium student diligi, plane contemnantur. Nolim in scholis quandam regnare tyrannidem. At uolo illud tamen cogitari interim, omnes licentia peiores fieri. Fateor indoli bonae ac liberali satis acrem stimulum esse obiurgationem. Porro quod scribit Fabius, si cui mens est tam illiberalis, ut obiurgatione non corrigatur, is ad plagas ut pessima quaeque mancipia indurabitur. Nescius sum an eo tempore, quo florebat homo doctissimus ita sese res habuit; certe nostra aetate longe aliter usu uenire uidemus, non oderunt nunc peccare mali nisi formidine poenae¹⁸. Meum est tamen consilium ne quid nimis agant in quorum manu ferula est, sed illud Horatium saepe recordentur: /

Est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines,
Quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum¹⁹.

8. At magnam huius sollicitudinis partem nobis auferet moderator iuuentutis eruditus, nempe qui rem probe callens, non induxerit animum ut more aliorum temere saeuat. Solent enim plerique omnes cum literis humanioribus mores etiam humaniores colere, quemadmodum e contrario indocti non possunt non duriores (id quod rudium est) sese semper erga suos exhibere. Curandum ideo mihi uidetur ut probum iuxta ac doctum infantiae nostrae praeficiamus. Efficiet integritas, ne natura puerorum in malum procliuis facile corrumpatur, ac si quid peccatum fuerit, ut corrigatur ocissime. Efficiet doctrina, ne quidpiam

¹⁵ Vergil, *Georgics*, 4.168, *Ignauum fucos pecus a praeseipibus arcet*.

¹⁶ Cox's source on beating is Quintilian, *Institutio*, 1.3.14-17, where the attitude of Chrysippus (c. 280-207), head of the Stoic school at Athens (*OCD* 234), is in fact criticized. Cf. also pseudo-Plutarch, *De liberis educandis*, 13.

¹⁷ Apparently citing St Augustine. In his *Letter 221* he says, on the duties of a priest, *tamen plus a uobis amari appetat quam timeri: S. Aureli Augustini ... Epistulae*, ed. Al. Goldbacher, iv (Vienna, 1911), 370.

¹⁸ Quintilian, *Institutio*, 1.3.14, which reads *si cui tam est ... is etiam ad plagas ... durabitur*.

7. But the first of these groups should in my opinion be kept as far away as possible from the hives, like drones and unproductive swarms¹⁵. With others you will have to make a choice. Some pupils you may entice by being kind and easy-going; do not, by an imbecile sternness, frighten them so much that they end up hating learning; but do not give pupils who are bright but lazy the idea you are encouraging them not to work, either. Although I do not agree with Chrysippus, who is all for flogging, nor do I follow Plutarch or Quintilian either, who are against corporal punishment¹⁶. Hold to a mid-course, and consider the character of each individual. I would rather teachers were loved by their pupils than feared by them¹⁷. But teachers must take care in case, by trying too much to be liked, they merely earn contempt. I would not like a kind of tyranny to rule in schools. But I think people should reflect whether lack of discipline is not bad for everybody. I believe that for a good-natured pupil a reprimand is a sharp enough stimulus. However, Quintilian writes that if a pupil has a mind too ill-natured for correction by reprimand, he will just become hardened to blows as all the most blackguardly slaves are¹⁸. Whether that was actually the case when this most learned man was alive, I do not know; but nowadays we certainly see a very different state of affairs coming about, when the only thing that stops trouble makers from being disruptive is the threat of punishment. All the same, my view is that those holding the rod should not go too far, but think again and again on Horace's lines:

Things have a certain proportion. In short, there are definite limits;
if you step beyond them on this side or that you can't be right¹⁹.

8. However, a trained schoolteacher takes much of this anxiety away from us, because a wise and experienced teacher has learned not to fly off in a rage, as others are always doing. Almost all those studying civilized literature tend to have civilized manners, just as the uneducated, on the other hand, can never resist being offensive when with their pupils, i.e. behaving like oafs. So it seems to me care should be taken that we appoint a master for young children who is trustworthy as well as properly trained. The effect of professional integrity should be that boys' natures are not easily corrupted to be ready for evil, and that if there has been a vicious practice, it is put right as quickly as

¹⁹ Horace, *Satires*, I.1.106-07; tr. Rudd, 42.

tradat quod non fuerit e re studiosorum, ac ne doceatur adolescentia, quae mox dediscere compellatur. Cuius rei utinam pauciora essent exempla, quam ut opus sit in querelam efferri. Sane id ubique fere contingit, ut inscitia praeceptorum haud unquam indigebamus magis, non uno Timotheo, sed propemodum innumeris, qui duplicem subeant in erudiendo laborem. Alterum atque eum ut priorem ita non paulo grauiorem, medius fidius, quod oblitterentur (ut iam memineram) quae prius didicerunt ephoebi inepta et stolidissima; quae tamen, quia eo aetatis accepta sunt fortius haerent, nec nisi difficili admodum nisu eruantur iam in habitum indurata²⁰. Alterum ut ita purgati ab eiusmodi sordibus et mentium inquinamentis, ad meliora demum euehantur, quod quo tardius, eo difficilius fieri quis ambigat? Scitum est illud Ouidii,

Qui non est hodie, cras minus aptus erit²¹. /

[f. B4^r] 9. Atqui haec prima cura esto. Proxima ut ante omnia iam ab ipsis uelut incunabulis Dei timorem cuncti imbibant. Assuescant maiores honorare, nihil sibiipsis temere et arroganter attribuere, nihil magis suspectum habere quam ignobilis uulgi iudicium. Vtpote quod omnia citra omnem rationem ex suis metitur affectibus, damnat laudanda, laudat damnanda, nihil amans, nihil commendans, nihil commodum existimans, nisi suauis uoluptatis oblectamento blande titillauerit. Nihil quum recte sapit, nil se nescire (ea est istius beluae temeritas) arbitratur.

10. Proderit huic institutioni si statim inchoemus ab illis autoribus quorum opera similibus sint praeceptionibus undique referta. Quales Isocrates, Epictetus, Pythagoras, Cebes et alii, in quibus et linguae et ingenii cultus pariter hauritur²². Porro hos cuperem graece simul et latine (si fieri possit) tradi. Quoniam graecae literae multum ornamenti nostris adferunt, imo nunquam recte sine illarum adminiculo latinus sermo percipi et exacte adquiri poterit. Neque est cur remorentur hanc

²⁰ 1 Timothy i, 6-7, in the Rheims version: 'From which things some, going astray, are turned aside unto vain babbling: desiring to be teachers of the law; understanding neither the things they say, nor whereof they affirm'; and iv, 7, 'But avoid foolish and old wives' fables: and exercise thyself unto godliness'.

²¹ Ovid, *Remedia amoris*, 94.

²² These are all standard authors of humanist schooltexts. The references are to Isocrates (436-338), the Athenian orator, especially his orations *To Nicocles* and *Demoniacus*, which portray the ideal ruler and his relationship to his subjects; the *Discourses* and

possible. The effect of proper training should be that the master teaches nothing that has been of no benefit to the pupils, and that young people are not taught something they soon have to unlearn. If only this last was not, as it happens, such a common cause of complaint! There is no doubt that it occurs almost everywhere, so that thanks to the crassness of schoolteachers, we have never been in greater need of not just one, but of an almost infinite number of Timothies to take up the double labour of teaching²⁰. The first labour and (heaven knows) much the more important is, as mentioned, to clear the boys' minds of the idiotic rubbish they have learned. Since anything learned at that age sticks in the memory all the more and engrains itself by habit, it will take some doing to root it out. Secondly, is it not obvious that the later boys are purged of such grubby mental iniquities and at last raised to better things, the more difficult teaching will be? Ovid puts it in a nutshell:

The person who is not ready today will be less so tomorrow²¹.

9. This should, of course, be our first concern. But our next should be that they should, before everything else and almost from the cradle, learn the fear of God. They should also learn the habits of respecting their elders; of not, insolently, giving themselves credit they do not deserve; and of trusting nothing less than what the rabble thinks. Because its views on everything are based on its own irrational emotions, the rabble damns the good and praises the bad, loving nothing, trusting nothing, and valuing as useful, nothing — unless it has sweetly massaged its own sense of pleasure. The rabble knows nothing, and thinks it knows everything. Such is the fatuousness of this monster.

10. It will be useful for our education if we start straight away from those authors whose works are throughout written on similar lines, such as Isocrates, Epictetus, Pythagoras, Cebes and others, writers as worth studying for what they say as for how they say it²². I would also like them, if possible, to be taught in Greek and Latin simultaneously, because a knowledge of Greek literature is a major source of enhancement for us, and because in any case without the help of Greek it will be impossible to understand Latin properly and learn it precisely. And there is no reason why smatterers, screaming that every heresy and

Enchiridion of Epictetus (c. 55 - c. 135), Stoic philosopher; the *Golden Song* (1C A.D.) by pseudo-Pythagoras; and the eclectic dialogue *Tabula* (probably 1C A.D.) by pseudo-Cebes (OCD 218). An edition of the last was published at Cracow in 1524.

utilitatem scioli, clamitantes inde natum fuisse quicquid haeresis aut mali alterius Christianam rempublicam inturbavit. Faciunt (uelut in Andriae prologo habetur) nae intelligendo, ut nihil intelligant, ac dum maxime scire uideri cupiunt, suam inscitiam produnt omnibus. Proprio tanquam sorices indicio pereuntes²³. Qui quum talia effutiunt, non sentiunt miseri se eadem opera sanctissimum eundemque doctissimum Hieronymum damnare, indefatigatum graecae facundiae et Hebraicae ueritatis sectatorem. Quod si iis literis caruisset, nunquam per Christum [f. B4*] tanta quiuisset praestare in eruditione atque / adeo fidei aedificatione solidissima. Iam ubi habuissimus nos cognitionem Chrysostomi, Origenis, Athanasii, Basilii magni, Gregorii Nazanzeni, Cyrilli, Damasceni, Dionysii, Gregorii Nissenii, Theophilacti, Eusebii, aliorumque quos longum esset hoc loco pernumerare (quos omnes iure merito ecclesiae lumina uocemus) si nemo latinorum graec<a>e linguae studiosus fuisset²⁴.

11. Adde quum scholae nostrae Aristotelem inter philosophos unice suspiciant, quid potuissemus in illius dogmate magnum praestare latini homines, si tam prisci odio graecas literas habuissent quam multi iam habent? Et si longe dispari cum instituto foelicitate manus huic negotio admoliti sunt. Et profecto (ut ingenue loquar) non tam adauctum quam sordibus conspersum mihi uidetur nobile peripaton superstitiosa industria eorum qui lacerum nobis Aristotelem ex graeco attico gotthice magis quam latie sonantem traduxere²⁵. Cur non male audit ab istis Paulus Apostolus et uas electionis, quod homo haebreus graeco potius quam natiuo sermone in omnibus epistolis sit usus²⁶. Id quod ipsum fecisse magnis testibus conuincam. Sed quid testibus dico, quum res sit manifestissima? Eia uero quid iudicant tandem de maiorum institutis an posthaberi uolunt, perpetuisque damnari tenebris ac carcere (quod

²³ A Terentian passage. Cox must have taken *inturbavit* (a rare word), from *inturbat* in Terence's *Andria*, 663; the quotation is from *Andria*, 17: *Faciuntne intelligendo ut nil intellegant?*; and the last allusion is to *Eunuchus*, 1024, *Egomet meo indicio miser quasi sorex hodie perii*. 'I am undone this day, like the shrew [betrayed by its cries when trapped]'.
²⁴ St John Chrysostom (c. 354-407), Bishop of Constantinople; Origen (185/6-254/5); St Athanasius (c. 295-373), Bishop of Alexandria; St Basil the Great (c. 330-79), Bishop of Caesaria; St Gregory of Nazianzus (329-89); St Cyril (c. 380-444), Bishop of Alexandria; St John of Damascus (c. 675 - c. 750); pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (c. 500 A.D.); St Gregory of Nyssa (c. 335 - c. 395); Theophylact of Ohrid, in modern Yugoslavia (d. c. 1108); and Eusebius of Caesaria (c. 260-340), the 'father of Church History'. Cox would

other evil that has thrown Christendom into turmoil was born of it, should hinder the benefit of this. In fact, they criticize so keenly that they understand nothing, as the prologue of *Andria* puts it; and when they try hardest to seem wise, they proclaim their own ignorance to everyone. They die like shrew mice, betrayed by their own squeaking²³. When they chatter out such things, the wretches do not realize that by doing this they condemn the most holy and learned St Jerome, tireless disciple of Greek eloquence and Hebrew truth, because if he had not known those languages, he would never have been able, through Christ, to achieve so much in learning and, even more, in the permanent strengthening of faith. Again, what knowledge would we have had of St John Chrysostom, Origen, St Athanasius, St Basil the Great, St Gregory of Nazianzus, St Cyril, St John of Damascus, Dionysius the Areopagite, St Gregory of Nyssa, Theophylact of Ohrid, Eusebius of Caesaria, and others too numerous to mention here (all of whom we rightly and justly call glories of the Church), if no Latin writer had been an ardent student of Greek?²⁴

11. Furthermore, our schools hold Aristotle in particular honour amongst philosophers, but what would we Latinists ever have been able to achieve of importance on his ideas if our predecessors had hated Greek learning in the way many do now? And yet they long put their hand to the work with an outcome ill-suited to the intention; in fact (to put it bluntly), it seems to me the noble school of Aristotle has not been so much increased as spattered with filth, thanks to the superstitious industry of those who from the Greek of Athens have handed over to us a mangled Aristotle, sounding more like Gothic than Latin²⁵. Why do these people not censure the apostle Paul, chosen vessel, because the Jew used Greek rather than his mother tongue in all his letters?²⁶ What he did I can prove conclusively with important witnesses; but why quote witnesses, when the matter is perfectly obvious? What, then, is their opinion of the institutions of the ancients? Do they want to disregard them and be for ever, in Vergil's phrase, enclosed for ever

have known the work of Theophylact from his *Commentarii in epistolas Pauli in Athanasii ... opera* (Strasbourg, 1522), an edition associated with Erasmus.

²⁵ *Peripaton*, 'the peripatetic school'. On the history of 'gothic' as a word of abuse, see *gothique* in Edmond Huguet, *Dictionnaire de la langue française du seizième siècle* (Paris, 1925-67). The 1526 edition reads 'gotthicae' and 'latiae' (= 'latinae').

²⁶ *Vas electionis*: from Acts ix, 15.

infirmitas ille) ceco? Quemadmodum nunc aliqui non impie minus quam audacter, homines sui amantes decernunt²⁷.

12. Procul a nobis, procul hoc Deus omen auertat. Procul absit, ut tam dire uesanus sim, quo credam illos in hunc errorem tam omni ex parte detestabilem, tam infandum, labi posse. Atqui statutum est a patribus nostris, uiris ex aequo prudentia et sanctitate claris, / ut in omnibus uniuersitatibus (sic enim haec aetas adpellare consuevit), in illis inquam habeantur qui linguas publico stipendio conducti doceant²⁸. Quocirca, ut istos missos faciam, illos ego operaepretium facturos puto, qui utriusque sermonis cognitionem pari studio colunt.

13. Sed ne inlotis (quod aiunt) pedibus sacra haec pueritia ingrediatur, nomina et uerba in primis flectere memoriter discat, neque enim aliter (quod Fabius ait) peruenire ad intellectum sequentium possit²⁹; idque e Donati exemplis, ad quorum formam contentus erit praeceptor aliorum flexus exigere, donec curiosa magis locus opportunior postulabit³⁰. Quibus graeca pariter tradere in animo est (utinam autem omnibus esset) idem ex Vrbano uel quocunque non anxio nimium grammatico, quanta possunt simplicitate agant, memores quod (ut ait in institutionibus Imperator) “si statim ab initio rudem adhuc et infirmum animum studiosi, multitudine ac uarietate rerum onerauerimus, duorum alterum, aut desertorem studiorum efficiemus: aut cum magno labore eius, saepe etiam cum diffidentia quae plerumque iuuenes auertit, serius ad id perducemus, ad quod leuiori uia, sine magno labore eius, et sine ulla diffidentia maturius perducere potuisset”³¹.

14. Cognitis igitur tum nominum tum uerborum flexibus, statim ad bonos autores accedendum est. Quorum ut quisque facil<1>imus, ita

²⁷ Vergil, *Aeneid*, 6.734: *Dispiciunt, clausae tenebris et carcere caeco*.

²⁸ On this attack upon opponents of Greek learning, Czerniatowicz notes that in the mid-sixteenth century there was still no chair of Greek at Cracow. The struggle to introduce Greek there is described in Casimir Morawski, *Histoire de l'Université de Cracovie* (Paris, 1905), iii, pp. 123-34, and Henryk Barycz, *Historja Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w epoce humanizmu* (Cracow, 1935), pp. 67-84.

²⁹ ‘Unwashed feet’, i.e., without preparation. Cf. Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, 1.9.8 and Erasmus, *Adagia*, i.9.54; for Quintilian see *Institutio*, 1.4.22, with the reading *possunt*.

³⁰ The *Ars minor* of the Roman grammarian Aelius Donatus (late 4C A.D.), the brief tract used in medieval schools on the eight parts of speech, was still popular in the renaissance and is recommended in Erasmus’ *De ratione studii* for beginning pupils. Donatus was widely used in Polish schools. The development of humanist Latin gram-

within the "darkness of their windowless prison" — just as some self-admirers, as godless as they are arrogant, are now decreeing?²⁷

12. May God keep this danger from us as far as possible. God forbid that I should be so terribly out of my senses to believe they could fall into so utterly abominable and detestable an error as this. In any case it has been decided by our predecessors, men as famed for their intelligence as for their religious devotion, that in all universities (as they are called nowadays) there should be, I say, language teachers appointed at public expense. Therefore, to draw this subject to a close, my own belief is that those studying Latin and Greek together with equal diligence will find this well worth the effort²⁸.

13. None the less, so that young people do not, as the saying goes, tread on holy ground with unwashed feet, they should first know the paradigms of nouns and verbs by heart, because otherwise (as Quintilian points out) they will be unable to understand more advanced work²⁹. This should be done from the tables in Donatus' *Grammar*, from which the teacher should zealously ask for the paradigms of other words, until at the right time more detail is required³⁰. My view — but if only it were everyone's — is that Greek should also be taught at the same time as this from Fr Urbano Bolzano's *Grammar* or some similar book which is not too forbidding, the teacher simplifying as much as he can. He must remember, as the emperor Justinian says in his *Institutiones*, that if we should overload the as yet untutored and undeveloped mind of a student from the very start with too much different material, we shall end up with one of two things. We shall either produce a dropout; or, after great effort on his part, often accompanied by the lack of self-confidence which often discourages young people, we bring him late to a point which he could have been brought to earlier by a easier route, without great effort on his part, and without undermining his self-confidence³¹.

14. Once the students have learned the paradigms of nouns and verbs, they can make a start on standard authors; the easier the author, the

mars in Poland is discussed in Maria Cytowska, *Od Aleksandra do Alwara: Gramatyki łacińskie w Polsce w XVI w.* (Wrocław, 1968).

³¹ On Urbano Bolzano, OFM (1442-1524), Italian author of *Institutiones Graecae grammaticae* (Venice, 1498, 1512; Paris, c. 1514; Basel, 1524), see *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, xxxii (Rome, 1986), 88-92, s.n. 'Dalle Fosse'. For Justinian, see *Institutiones I 1.2 (Corpus Iuris civilis*, ed. P. Krüger - Th. Mommsen, Berlin 1911, p. 1, col. 1).

primas in ordine teneat. Mihi sane nequaquam arridet quod in Rhetoricis ad Herennium, siue Gallio, seu quicumque alius scripserit, maxima et diffici <1> lima primo tradenda. Id enim ex uiri scriptis colligatur³². Adlicienda potius quam deterrenda foret iuuentus, quae leui momento huc f. C[17] uel illuc impelli potest. Si crustula blandi / praeceptores, quod inquit Horatius,

Dant pueris elementa uelint ut discere prima,

et sua cuique studio infantia est, quae tenera cupit, aspera duraque non fastidit solum, sed horret maxime. Hic illud uolo memoriae infigatur, quo iuncta sit dulcedini utilitas³³. Nolo cordi sit quicquam quantumuis planum, quantumuis argumenti iucunditate gratum, nisi pariter et mores instruat. Nolo lateat sub melle uenenum³⁴. Dulcis est Syrenum cantus, at quicumque per ignorantiam illis adpropinquabit, seu uocem illarum audiet, iam de illo actum est, periit funditus. Ibi fixus manebit donec lenta tabe consumatur. Grata res uoluptas, quam teste Cebe-te, supplicium, moesticia, dolor, et poenitentia semper comitantur³⁵. Aures quoque ab omni uanitate, nedum oculos auertere decet. Nec a malo tantum, imo ab omni specie mali cauere iubet Paulus³⁶.

15. Viderint alii quid probabunt, ego daturus sum Isocrati primas. Cuius dictio facilis est, tum ab Agricola Phrysiō (ut est in omnibus admirandus artifex) elegantissime translata³⁷. Coniungetur mea opinione Syntaxis Guilielmi Lili conterranei mei (quid enim uetat quo minus Pliniano uerbo utar?) quam Erasmi titulo multi uenditant, ipse etiam se nonnulla in eo opusculo fatetur emendasse³⁸. Nam in eo libellulo breuissime quae ad congruitatem faciunt adnotantur. Iam quis

³² Cox attributes the anonymous *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (c. 85 B.C.; *OCD* 922), the oldest known rhetorical handbook in Latin, to Lucius Iunius Gallio, an orator contemporary with Augustus. Cf. *Rhétorique à Herennius*, ed. Guy Achard (Paris, 1989). In the original edition there is a misprint "coilligatur".

³³ Horace, *Satires*, I.1.25-26: *ut pueris olim dant crustula blandi / Doctores, elementa uelint ut discere prima*; tr. Rudd, 40; *A.P.* 343: *Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci*.

³⁴ Ovid, *Amores*, 1.8.104: *Impia sub dulci melle venena latent*.

³⁵ Citing the *Tabula* of pseudo-Cebes. See *The Tabula of Cebes*, ed. J.T. FitzGerald and L. Michael White (Chico, California, 1983) and, for its influence, introductions by Sandra Sider to *Cebes' Tablet* (New York, 1979) and Stephen Orgel to *Cebes in England* (New York, 1980). These latter works are facsimiles of renaissance texts.

³⁶ 'From all appearance of evil refrain yourselves': 1 Thessalonians v, 22.

³⁷ Citing *Ad Daemonicum Exhortatio*, attributed to Isocrates, in the Latin translation by Rudolph Agricola, printed at least thirty-five times before 1526. See Gerda

earlier he should come. I flatly disagree with what Gallio, or whoever else it was, wrote in *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, saying the longest and most difficult texts should be taught first (since this is what can be deduced from that author's writings)³². Young people are better coaxed than frightened, since a slight push can send them this way or that. Thus kind-hearted teachers, in Horace's words,

sometimes give their children biscuits to coax them into learning their ABC.

And every activity has its period of childhood, which desires gentleness, and not only feels an aversion for what is rough and hard, but shudders at it greatly. Here, however, I would like everyone to remember that the agreeable should go with the profitable³³. I do not want a student to find something easy to understand and its subject attractive and a source of pleasure, unless at the same time it teaches him a moral purpose as well. I do not want poison to lurk under honey³⁴. The Sirens' song is sweet, but whoever through ignorance comes close to them or listens to their song is finished. He will remain there, trapped, until he slowly rots away. Pleasure is a delightful thing, but it is always followed by grief, sorrow, pain, and repentance, as Cebes shows³⁵. The ears should be kept away from all worldly vanity, and the eyes even more so. St Paul commands us not only to avoid evil, but all appearance of evil as well³⁶.

15. Whatever authors others may have considered good, the one I would personally set first is Isocrates. His style is easy, and there is also an outstanding translation of him by Rudolph Agricola of Friesland, whose skill in all things must be admired³⁷. In conjunction with this I would recommend the study of the handbook on syntax by my fellow-countryman (is there any reason why I should not here use the Elder Pliny's word 'conterraneus'?) William Lily³⁸. This short work is available with Erasmus' name on the title page at many booksellers, as

C. Huisman, *Rudolf Agricola: A Bibliography of Printed Works and Translations* (Nieuwkoop, 1985), pp. 198-225, nrs. 256-351.

³⁸ *Libellus de constructione octo partium orationis* (London, 1513), by the English educationalist William Lily (c. 1468-1523), was republished in an edition by Erasmus at Basel in 1515; see also the edition printed by Wietor at Cracow in 1523; Maria Cytowska, *Od Aleksandra*, 9,40-42; and the modern edition in Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, I/4 (Amsterdam, 1973), pp. 105-43. Cox uses the hapax legomenon *conterraneus* applied by Pliny to Catullus (c. 84 - c. 54) in the preface to his *Natural History*. Catullus was born at Verona, Pliny (23-79) 85 miles away at Como.

obsecro nescit? Quis reclamationem? Adhibenda quaedam ceu fulcimina, quibus rudis adhuc discipulus nitatur, seu in propria oratione contextenda, seu in aliena iudicanda. Id quod citra praeceptiones ullas ex sola oratorum poetarumque obseruantia perficere licet, alioqui utilissimum, in primo tamen aditu summi laboris atque difficultatis opus nemo non / iudicet. Ergo haec opuscula simul doceantur, ut ex altero una cum sapientia, uerborum copiam, ex altero certam rite connectendi inter se partes orationis formam pueri discant.

f. C2r

16. Suadet nunc locus ut didascalos officii sui in praelegendis quorumcumque scriptorum operibus admoneam³⁹. Quanquam eruditioribus non magnopere opus est hac nostra diligentia, atque adeo meliora ipsi fortassis excogitabunt. Et suus cuique docendi modus est. Quumque uarii uarias sequuntur uias, dum modo sint docti, omnes equali compendio suos ad metam cupitam perducunt. Talibus non magis haec nostra scribuntur quam lucubrationes olim C. Lucilii Persio. Lelium uoluit ille, sic nos mediocres adiuuare conamur⁴⁰.

17. Primum itaque lectionem totam pronunciabunt, iubentes ut quae quisque animaduenerit in codice suo minus recte posita castiget, neglecta adiciat, superflua expungat. Dicent forsitan unus et item alter cum Strepsiade illo apud Aristophanem, minutula in medium adferri, fateor, sed nec ea me posthabiturum a principio mox pollicebar⁴¹. Obiciant me nugis angere; illis ego responderim, nec sine autore tamen, nugandum interim, modo ex re ut Flaccus ait⁴². Porro ut sint quantumuis nugae, nugae istae seria ducunt. Neglecta id genus minutissima, maximorum saepe errorum causas fuisse in confesso est. Tam recte scribere, quam citra errorem loqui, ab ipsis uelut incunabulis grammaticae, discamus oportet. Id uero qua commodiore uia contingat, non cito mihi quisquam persuadebit.

³⁹ On the concept of *praelectio*, see Erasmus, *De ratione studii*, ed. Margolin, p. 132 n. 16; p. 136-37, and p. 146, line 5.

⁴⁰ The (mostly lost) satires of Gaius Lucilius (c. 180 - c. 102), as noted in Cicero's *De oratore* II,25. Lucilius wished to be read by ordinary readers like his patron Lelius Decimus (otherwise unknown), rather than sophisticates like Gaius Persius. See Lucilius, *Satires*, ed. F. Charpin, II (Paris, 1979), pp. 272-73.

⁴¹ Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 627-99, where Strepsiades fares badly as Socrates' pupil in grammar and metrics.

⁴² Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 451: *Hae nugae seria ducunt*, and St Jerome, *Ad Laetam* 4:

Erasmus has himself acknowledged that he made several improvements to it. Lily's little book gives an extremely concise account of how grammatical agreement works. But can there be anyone who is unaware of this, or rejects it? A beginner has to have the support of some kind of prop, either in writing his own compositions, or coming to an opinion of texts by others. Everyone admits that to achieve that by the study of orators and poets alone without any practical rules is, although in other respects highly salutary, none the less at its beginning a supremely laborious and difficult task. These little books should therefore be taught at the same time, so that the boys are both learning and understanding vocabulary from one, and the set way of connecting parts of speech together correctly from the other.

16. This point now brings me on to a reminder to the teacher of his functions when working through texts by different writers with his class³⁹. Experts may not find the author's work here particularly indispensable. They may even think out something better, since everyone has his own way of teaching. When different people follow different routes, provided they know what they are doing, they all bring their own pupils with equal advantage to the desired goal. What I am writing here is no more intended for such teachers than the satires of Lucilius were for Gaius Persius; just as Lucilius wrote for Lelius Decimus, so my efforts are written to help the average teacher⁴⁰.

17. First of all, then, he should read the whole text aloud, telling the pupils to correct whatever mistakes they notice in their own copies, to fill in gaps, and rub out what does not appear in the teacher's text. I admit that one or two may perhaps say here, like Strepsiades in Aristophanes, that they cannot see the wood for the trees, but I promised right from the start that I would not neglect details⁴¹. Some may accuse me of worrying over trifles; my reply to them, yet not without authority, is that details must sometimes be mentioned, if only (as Horace says) in the appropriate circumstances⁴². And again, even if they are only trifles, trifles matter. Everyone knows that it was for want of a nail that the battle was lost. We have to learn, right from the time we are in our grammatical cradle, to write correctly and to speak without making errors. Anyone who thinks there is a better way of doing this will find me difficult to persuade.

"Non sunt contemnenda quasi parua, sine quibus magna constare non possunt" (ed. Labourt, t. V, p. 149, ll. 1-2). The 1526 edition prints erroneously "ungandum".

f. C2^v 18. Emendata ad hunc modum lectione, proximo loco quam aptissime fieri queat, sensus dicatur natiuo sermone. Dein sequatur expositio singularum uocum, eaque uerbis ubique propriis, ut inde genuina cuiuslibet uoca-/buli significatio colligatur. Atque ibi si quae durius uernacula lingua sonabunt, moneantur studiosi, quae sit latini sermonis maiestas, quanta in ipsis linguis uarietas, multa uulgari ideomate eleganter proferri, quae omnino muta sunt latinis auribus, contra pleraque latinis uerbis dicta magnam demereri gratiam, si eadem phrasi alia lingua exprimentur, inculta existere et sordida. Non parum momenti talis cura habet. Profuerit adhuc teneris ne nimium confidenter per uestigia maternae linguae in reddendis latinis incedant. Quae una causa fuit hactenus tantae in omnibus locis barbariei, et quod tam incondite etiam hodie multi loquuntur. Alioqui unde haec portenta romanam eloquentiam oppressere? “Ero uenire”, “mansit iacere”, nisi quod sic eleganter germanica lingua sonet. “Recommendo me uobis” e Gallia primo acceptum, nunc per Latium totum impune grassatur. Vnde nobis “frascae” si non ab ipsis Italis? Qui tamen gloriantur sese solos non esse barbaros. Atque hoc nomine caeteras nationes prae se contemnunt. Vnde lacernae gallicae nomen “hasuce” inditum⁴³? Vnde “schubam” adpellant uestem pellibus duplicatam? Vnde nunc “appodiare”, pro “inniti”, aut “incumbere”, si non e uestigiis maternae loquelae? Hoc enim gallicum est, illa uero teutonica. Passim audire est apud Vngaros, “saltum dedit”, “saltum fecit”, pro “abiit”, “aufugit”. Atque ideo concinne dictum autumant quod sermone proprio magnae eloquentiae instar existimatur.

f. C3^r 19. Possem et ex meis Anglis eiusmodi non pauca colligere, quibus suam consuere barbariem. Sed haec meminisse sufficiat, ut sciant omnes, quam non sine caussa praescriptum munus iniunctum ludimagistris uolui⁴⁴. Tum e re fuerit ista se-/dulitas aduultorum, ut ex bonis graecis aut hebraicis, latina bona faciant. Quam uim defuisse uideo non mediocribus, imo illis qui inter praecipuos nominari ambierunt. De iis hactenus.

⁴³ Czerniatowicz considers this sentence unclear, but without reason. The Cracow edition prints “lacenae”, a printer’s error.

⁴⁴ Cf. Quintilian, *Institutio*, 1.7.20.

18. When the text has been corrected as described above, its contents should then be explained in the vernacular as accurately as possible. This should be followed by an explanation both of individual words and of proper nouns, so that the actual meaning of any substantive is grasped. But if any of these sound harsh in the vernacular, the pupil should be told how majestic the Latin language is, and how much difference there is between the two languages; and that many excellent expressions in a modern language are quite impossible to translate into Latin, while on the other hand many expressions in Latin sound very attractive, but become barbarous and meagre if expressed in another language. It is worth taking care on this point. It will always be a useful one for small children, lest they become overconfident in following their native idiom when translating into Latin. It is also one reason why there was until recently such bad Latin everywhere, and it still explains why many people speak in a confused way even now. If the monsters 'ero venire' and 'mansit legere' had not been perfectly acceptable in German, where else would they have come from to suffocate Rome's eloquence? 'Recommendo me vobis' first came from France, and is now marauding the whole Latin world beyond control. Where would we have 'frascae' from, if not the Italians? — who boast that they are the only people who are not barbarians, and scornfully call other nations 'barbarians' in comparison with themselves. Where do the words 'hasuce' for a French cloak, and 'schuba' for a coat lined with fur come from?⁴³ Where is 'appodiare' instead of 'inniti' or 'incumbere' from, if not the influence of the native language? This last derives from French, but the others from German. Amongst Hungarians it is very common to hear 'saltum dedit' or 'saltum fecit' for 'abiit', 'aufugit'. And people therefore maintain that this sounds harmonious in Latin, because it passes for a model of style in their own language.

19. I could also collect many examples of the same thing from my fellow-Englishmen, stitching their barbarism together. But it is enough to remember these, so that everyone realizes I did not want to impose the duty prescribed above on the teacher for no reason⁴⁴. The hard work and accuracy of mature scholars translating good Greek or Hebrew into good Latin will be due to it. The lack of this quality I can see not only amongst average students, but even amongst those who aspired to be reckoned amongst the elite. But enough of this.

20. Tertio declinationes nominum, coniugationes uerborum monstrabunt. Demum si inciderint aliqua nomina heteroclyta, aut anomala uerba, diligenter curabunt omnia chartis excipi. Illud nullo pacto omittendum, quin statuto diei tempore iubeant audita reddi. Primo ut praelegatur lectio, ubi aduertent cuiusque in audiendo diligentiam, an uniuersa sunt emendata, an per incuriam aliqua neglecta. Dein sensus dicatur, tum exponantur uerba. Postea uideatur num insunt quaedam, quae alia phrasi latina, alia uernacula exprimi fuerit opus. Praeterea quae ad congruitatem spectant singula perquirantur. Denique quasdam breues loquendi formulas proponant ex ipsis uocabulis in lectione illa collectis, quae in latinum sermonem per ephebias (si uocabulo tam raro fas sit uti) uertantur⁴⁵. Ita fiet, ne statim elabantur audita, et sensim haec in summam proficient. Porro, quod fere praeterieram, mane singulis diebus ipse magister aliqua ex Donati Compendio de octo partibus orationis pueris explicet, reddenda per eos, quum iam uesper domum sit abeundum. Atque ut in hac re promouebunt, ita semper in repetendis lectionibus ad examen omnia uocari oportebit. Sunt enim cunctae partes hae non pernoscendae solum, sed fideli rerum thesauro memoriae diligenter commendandae, quarum destitutus adminiculo, nullus unquam in literis discendis quantumuis alio qui foelix et ingenio habili rem fecerit. Principia haec sunt et bases aliorum, sine quibus reliqua structura fallax, et / ruinae obnoxia sit, necesse est.

f. C3^v

21. Nam quum alia sit natura coniunctionum, aduerbiorum alia, diuersusque harum partium usus, quotusquisque amabo recte norit discernere inter coniunctionem et aduerbium? Idem sane in participiis, et nominibus maxime adiectiuis, usu uenit, unde tot soloecismos passim a multis foede committi uidemus. Etiam, iis, qui (si superis placet) sese solos omnia scire, solos sapere iactitant; quum tamen uel infantibus ipsis magis balbutiant inter loquendum, neque semel recte poterunt concepta in animo proferre. Quin omittimus istos, ut qui sordent, sordescant adhuc, et pensum absoluimus consulentes ut tu, pater ac princeps optime, iubes pro uirili nostra foelicioibus, ac qui pluris

⁴⁵ *Ephebia*, 'youths, pupils'. The word is less rare than Cox claims: it occurs in *Ortus vocabulorum* (c. 1500) and Elyot's dictionary of 1538.

20. In the third place, the teacher should point out the declensions of nouns and conjugation of verbs. Finally, if he meets any anomalous noun or irregular verb, he should ensure that the pupils make a full note of this in their books. This must not be overlooked in any circumstances; in fact the teacher should even ask the pupils, at a set time of the day, to read back what they have heard. The text should first be read aloud so the teacher can find out how carefully each pupil has been listening, and whether anything is to be corrected or has been left out through carelessness. Then the matter of the text should be related and, after that, words explained. Afterwards it should be seen whether any phrases should be expressed differently, either in Latin or the vernacular. Then, special points concerning grammatical agreement should be precisely investigated. After that the teacher is to set a few brief sentences to use words taken from the text, which the older boys or ephebia (if that rare word may be used) can translate into Latin⁴⁵. The aim is that what has been heard should not be at once forgotten, and that the boys should make gradual progress until the subject is mastered. Besides this, as I almost forgot to say, the teacher should explain to the boys a part of Donatus' *Compendium on the Eight Parts of Speech* first thing on every day, which they are to read back in the evening before they go home. And, as they will be making progress in this, lessons shall be constantly revised and students tested on all they have studied. There are entire portions which not only have to become completely familiar, but learned by heart, that is, committed to a true treasure house of knowledge. Without their help the pupil will never reach the goal of learning, however gifted and quick witted he may otherwise be. They are the bases and foundations without which the rest of the building will be unsound, and doomed to come crashing down.

21. Although conjunctions and adverbs have a different nature and function, I wonder how many people have really learned to distinguish between them. And exactly the same thing occurs with participles, especially adjectival ones, so that we are constantly meeting the ghastly grammatical mistakes which so many people make. They are made even by those who brag (why, to be sure!) that they alone know everything and they alone are wise — those who as they speak fumble for words worse than small children, and cannot express their thoughts correctly even once. If they are filthy, they can stay filthy. We finish our task as you command, Reverend Lord and Father, using our intelli-

fruges, quam glandes faciunt. Frustra enim Gryllo facundus suadebit Vlysses ut porcus esse desinat⁴⁶.

22. Post Syntaxim igitur et Isocratis Paraenesim, quando nondum capaces sunt difficiliorum tyrunculi, Catonem discant, nec nisi eum tamen, qui illustratur annotationibus Erasmi, quas aequali quoque cura doceri cupio, atque ambo, tum carmina tum explanationes menti sedulo commendari. Contaminatum ineptis aliorum lituris, ne inspicere quidem uolo. Cum Catone tradentur pro lectione pomeridiana, quae passim cum eodem opusculo impressa habentur, Dicta sapientum, Mimi Publiani, et Christiani hominis institutum⁴⁷. Nam Paraenesim Isocratis quae in fine tandem adiicitur primo legendum suasimus. Proximum ab his locum obtinebunt aurea Pythagorae carmina, et poema nobile Phocyllidis, atque cum iis Cebetis Tabula pro Publiani Mimis exponetur⁴⁸. His sane rudimentis teneros adhuc animos imbui fas est, quando [f. C4r] ut apud Platonem in primo de Rep<ublica> ait So-/crates maximum quid est principium, praesertim iuuenibus et tenero cuique⁴⁹. Maxime enim tunc formatur, induiturque figura, quam quis unicuique imprimere uelit. Ac quemadmodum scribit Fabius in primo Institutionis prosequitur haec memoria in senectutem, et impressa animo rudi usque ad mores proficiet⁵⁰.

23. Quum audita reddent pueri eandem adhiberi operam censeo, quam prius edocui. Tum quia Fabius primae memoriae non temere credendum ait, et ideo quae semel docta sunt saepius repeti, ac inculcari suadet⁵¹.

⁴⁶ Referring to Cic., *Or.* 31 (*inventis frugibus glande vescuntur*) and Plutarch's *Bruta animalia ratione uti*, where Gryllus (who has been turned into a pig) tries to convince Ulysses that animals are superior to people: *Plutarch's Moralia*, xii, ed. Harold Cherniss and William Helmbold (London, 1968), pp. 492-533. The original edition reads 'Etiam iis (qui si superis placet) sese'...

⁴⁷ *Paranaesis* = Isocrates, *Ad Daemonicum Exhortatio*, frequently published (in the translation by Rudolph Agricola) with Erasmus' *Christiani hominis institutum* and his editions of *Septem Sapientium celebra dicta*, pseudo-Cato's *Distichs* (3C A.D.), and the *Mimi* of Publilius Syrus: Louvain, 1514, 1517; Cologne, ?1514; Strasbourg, 1515, 1516; Sélestat, 1520; Basel, 1520, 1526, etc.

i. *Septem Sapientium celebra dicta* is an extract from *Vitae philosophorum* by Diogenes Laertius (3C A.D.); cf. *OCD*, 348-49; E.F. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (New York, 1953), pp. 210-11; and *Las Edades del Hombre: Libros y Documentos en la Iglesia de Castilla y León* (Burgos, 1990), pp. 355-56 (on a copy of the Sélestat edition now at Zamora).

ii. *Christiani hominis institutum*, a poem based on John Colet's *Catechizon*, is edited in

gence to the utmost of our ability for more fortunate men, who think fruit to be more valuable than acorns. Even the smooth-talking Ulysses could not persuade Gryllus to give up being a pig⁴⁶.

22. After Lily's *Syntax* and Isocrates' *Paraenesis*, therefore, if the pupils are not yet ready for anything more difficult, they should study Cato, but only in the edition with notes by Erasmus, which I would like to be taught with equal care, both the verse and its commentary being diligently learned. I do not want a Cato ruined by the stupid mistakes of others to be even glanced at. With Cato should be taught in the afternoon class the following texts generally printed with it: *Dicta Sapientum*; the *Mimi* of Publilius Syrus; and *The Education of a Christian Man*⁴⁷. I recommend that Isocrates' *Paraenesis* should be read first, even though it comes last in the printed text. Next after these will come the *Golden Songs* of Pythagoras, and Phocylides on Aristocracy. With them the *Table of Cebes* should be explained through the *Mimi* of Publilius Syrus⁴⁸. There is no doubt that these elementary texts are the right ones to be taught to minds still undeveloped, because as Socrates says in book one of Plato's *Republic*, it is the beginning that matters most of all, especially for the young, and anyone immature⁴⁹. That is the best time to shape and clothe the personality you wish to bestow on anyone. And as Quintilian writes in book one of his *Institutio Oratoria*, what is learnt then lasts until old age, and improves the behaviour of the previously rough character it is given to⁵⁰.

23. Whenever the boys recite the material they have been taught, I consider that the same practice I recommended above should be used. Quintilian says one should not put too much trust in what has been memorized only once, and advises that once something has been taught, it should be repeated frequently and drummed in⁵¹. I may

The Poems of Desiderius Erasmus, ed. Cornelis Reedijk (Leiden, 1956), pp. 304-13; cf. *The Oxford Book of Late Medieval Verse and Prose*, ed. Douglas Gray (Oxford, 1985), p. 473.

iii. Publilius Syrus (*OCD* 899) came to Rome as a slave in the 1C B.C.; in the next century, maxims from his plays (with accretions) were being used in schools.

⁴⁸ On the *Aurea Pythagorae Carmina* see Hierocles of Alexandria, *Kommentar zum Pythagoreischen goldenen Gedicht*, tr. F.W. Köhler (Stuttgart, 1983). On Phocylides (fl. 544-41 B.C.), Greek gnomic poet of Miletus (off the coast of Asia Minor) see *OCD*, 826. The poem falsely attributed to him on nobility was popular with humanists and often reprinted: cf. pseudo-Phocylides, *Sentences*, ed. Pascale Derron (Paris, 1986).

⁴⁹ Plato, *Republic*, 377B (from the second book and not, as Cox states, the first).

⁵⁰ Quintilian, *Institutio*, 1.1.36.

⁵¹ *Ib.* 1.1.31.

Operaepretium facturus uideor, si quem obseruant in gymnasiis suis morem Britanni nostri, in his quoque locis imitandum esse consulam, nempe ut singulis diebus Veneris, et Sabbatis, quae tota illa hebdomada lecta fuere repetantur. Dein statis ad hoc anni temporibus de omnibus quaecunque discipuli ante didicerunt, exigatur ab eis ratio, ut ita memoriam negligi minime sinamus, quae teste Quintiliano praecipue firmatur atque alitur exercitatione⁵². Et industria suo non defraudetur honore dum a praeceptore collaudatur, obiurgataque desidia tandem gemino exagitata stimulo, reprehensionis pariter ac indignationis dum alii praeferantur, citius possit emendari.

24. Maxime uero ne semel atque iterum audita lectione securi, alia agant inutilia plane, ac nihil minus curent quam unde certissima sequuntur commoda. Etenim sicut plantae nouiter insitae, si non crebro irrigentur, arescunt, ita documenta recenter infusa, nisi frequenti recreantur recordatione, destituta uelut suco suo, pereunt omnino, et quasi nulla fuerunt tradita protinus euanescunt.

[f. C4^v] 25. Sequentur autores modo citatos Bucolica, et Georgica Vergilii, in quibus maiorem praeceptoribus solito laborem / imponam. Neque enim satis nunc esse duco, ut sensus ipse uerborum dicatur tantum, sed auctoris institutum aperiri oportet. Tum illa quae iubet in institutione sua Erasmus⁵³. Nempe ut primo loco ad conciliandos auditores laudes eius, quem praelegendum sumunt, paucis explicant. Deinde argumenti iucunditatem utilitatemque ostendant. Deinde uocem argumenti si forte (ut faciunt pleraeque) uarios habeat usus explicant, ac distinguant. Veluti in primis de auctoris fortuna, de ingenio, de sermonis elegantia, paucis disserant. Dein quam in se habet uel utilitatis uel uoluptatis haec lectio. Dein quid eae uoces tum Bucolica tum Ecloga significant, et unde ducantur. Dein quam possunt dilucide et breuiter summam dicant argumenti. Post ordinent simplicius, dein singula fusius explicant. Post haec, siqua insignis elegantia, si quid prisce dictum, si quid nouatum, si quid graecanicum, si quid obscurius, aut longius redditum; si durior, aut perturbator ordo; siqua etymologia; siqua deriuatio, aut compositio scitu digna; siqua orthographia, siqua exornatio, siquid deprauatum diligenter admoneant, et chartis excipi curent. Loci rhetorici in aliud

⁵² Ib. 1.1.36.

⁵³ The passage following this point up to *siquid deprauatum diligenter admoneant* is lifted from Erasmus. See his *De ratione studii*, ed. Margolin, p. 137, lines 5-15, and p. 138, lines 1-3.

perhaps perform a useful service if I suggest the imitation here of the practice my fellow-Britons follow in their schools, i.e., that every Friday and Saturday the pupils should recite the material taught during the week. Then, at times of the year fixed for the purpose, the pupils are to be required to give an account of whatsoever they have learnt previously, so that their memories are given no chance to rust. Quintilian points out how the memory is wonderfully strengthened and increased if it is used frequently⁵². If a boy works hard he shall be rewarded with the teacher's praise. But idleness shall be censured and eventually driven out with a double spur, since ways can be mended sooner by a reprimand together with the sense of being nettled that comes when others get ahead.

24. It is above all vital to ensure that, once the lesson has been heard once or twice and the boys are confident of their knowledge, they do not spend time on utterly pointless activities while dismissing other things that bring quite certain benefits. Just as newly-set plants wither unless watered often, so newly-learned lessons, unless repeated from memory frequently, are (so to speak) deprived of their sap and die completely, vanishing instantly as if they had never been taught at all.

25. The authors mentioned above should be followed by Vergil's *Bucolics* and *Georgics*, with which I shall be giving more work than normal for teachers. It is now not enough, in my view, simply to translate words; we should now be discovering the writer's objective, as Erasmus says in his educational programme⁵³. First of all, to gain the interest of the pupils, the importance of the writer chosen for study should be explained briefly. Then the teacher should describe something of the art and practical value of the text. If the title happens to be ambiguous, as is often the case, the teacher should explain and underline its significance. So, for instance, he should first give a brief account of the writer's life, genius and literary style; then the practical value and pleasure of the particular text; and then the meaning and etymology of such titles as *Bucolics* and *Eclogues*. After that he should give as clear and brief an account as possible of the subject of the text; then a simple outline of its contents; and, finally, go through points in detail. After that he should diligently draw attention to and tell the boys to note down in their books any especially beautiful expressions, archaisms or neologisms, or loans from Greek, difficult or wordy passages, or anything set down in a clumsy or confused way; any etymology; any

tempus maius (*sic!*) opportunum, differuntor. Caeteraque omnia quibus non dum sat commodus esse potest locus. Meminisse enim uolo adagionis: Non omnia, nec passim, nec ab omnibus. Atque quod ibi in accipiendo facere iubentur, hic in docendo obseruare.

26. Caeterum adhortamur maxime, prauam eamque nunc inueteratam a multis annis consuetudinem relinquere, ut quum inter interpretandum inciderint in nomen aut piscis aut auis, aut similis animalis, aut herbae uel gemmae, non ita neglectim, ut hactenus fieri solet, eiusmodi uocabula tractent, piscem / dicentes tantum, aut lapidem praeciosum, speciem nuda generis nuncupatione significantes, quando talis assignatio, praeter quod ualde aliena sit, id efficit semper, ut in propriis rerum adpellationibus tam hallucinetur bona pars etiam professorum, tamque absurda pro ueris uocabulis, adde tot inter se diuersa unius atque notissimae rei effecta, usurpentur. Manifestabunt igitur proprium cuiuslibet rei uocabulum, si fieri potest, lingua uernacula. Sin id nequeant quod in illis locis non habeatur id, cuius fit mentio, saltem formam quam aptissime describant, edoceantque ubi gentium reperitur. Veluti quum explicandum sit carmen illud Maronis,

Florentem Cythisum et salices carpetis amaras⁵⁴.

Negat Marcellus Virgilius Dioscoridis interpres eam herbam in Italia inueniri⁵⁵. Curae erit itaque non segni in illis regionibus interpreti, ut ex Dioscoride ostendat Cythisum esse fruticem, eumque totum albere, et cubitales maioresue ramos emittere, circa quos exeunt folia foenograeco lotoue, aut trifolio similia, minora tantum et in mediis extante dorso; quae si digitis terantur, erucam olent. Sapore nondum maturitate siccis ciceribus simili. Dein nasci in Cythno insula una ex Cycladibus. Atque ad hunc modum in aliis eiusmodi seu plantarum seu similium rerum nominibus facere mihi uidetur operae pretium.

27. Vergilio commodissime adiungetur Terentius, quo nullus est utilior apud Latinos (Erasmio teste) loquendi autor; totus purus est, totus tersus, et cotidiano sermone proximus⁵⁶. Porro quod ad argumentum

⁵⁴ Vergil, *Eclogues*, 1.78.

⁵⁵ See the edition of the *Materia medica* of Dioscorides (fl. after 41 - before 68) by Marcellus Virgilius (Florence, 1523).

⁵⁶ Erasmus, *De ratione studii*, ed. Margolin, p. 115.

derivative or arrangement of words worthy of the canons of art; and any points of spelling, or excellencies or defects of style. Rhetorical topoi should be postponed to a more suitable time, as also all other phrases for which the time is not yet ripe. I would like people to remember the saying: not everything, not everywhere, not by everyone. And what this tells us to do as regards learning also holds for teaching.

26. I also urge teachers strongly to give up that bad old habit which has been around for years, that when amongst material to be translated they come across the name of a fish or a bird, or some other animal or plant or precious stone, they do not treat the word in the sloppy way that has been the practice until now, when they just say 'a fish' or 'a certain precious stone', giving some bare general term and not the specific name. Such a designation is more than just extremely imprecise: it always means that even many teachers talk rubbish when they have to give the exact names of things, making absurd blunders in nomenclature. They also use many different names for the same well-known living thing or gemstone. Teachers are, therefore, to give the exact vernacular name of whatever it is if they can. If they cannot do this because the plant, animal, etc. mentioned does not exist in their particular country, they should at least describe it as accurately as they can, and say which part of the world it is found in, as for example when they have to explain Vergil's line:

You will eat fresh *cytissus* and bitter willow⁵⁴.

The translator of Dioscorides, Marcellus Virgilius, says that *cytissus* is not found in Italy⁵⁵. In that country, then, the careful translator will take pains to show from Dioscorides that *cytissus* is a shrub, that it is shiny all over, and that its branches are about two feet long, with leaves growing on them like those of fenugreek or clover or trefoil, but smaller and with a central ridge at the back. He will add that, if you rub the leaves with your fingers, they smell like mustard; that they taste like immature, not yet dry chick-peas; and, finally, that this plant originated on the island of Cythnos, one of the Cyclades. In my view this particular technique is extremely valuable when applied to other names of this kind, of plants, animals, and so on.

27. The most appropriate author to link with Vergil is Terence. Erasmus remarks that there is no Latin author whose style is better for students, since his language is totally pure, polished and close to everyday speech⁵⁶. There is, besides, no need for anyone to fear the

pertinet, ne quid inde timeatur offendiculi, iam abunde prouisum est sanctissimorum autorum, quos ante nominaui, sanctionibus. Nec enim f. D[1^r] (quod / recte sentit Fabius) quispiam facile inculcatas pueris persuasiones mutabit⁵⁷. Quanquam (ut libere quod sentio dicam) non uideo, quae sunt in Terentio tam moribus iuuenum perniciose, ut non longe deteriora cotidie etiam ipsis oculis offerantur, qui quanto sunt magis improbi ad nequitiam magistri quam aures, neminem arbitror usque adeo plumbeum esse, ut non intelligat. Sed ut maxime sint in hoc scriptore, qui grauiter mores ledant, tamen cordatus praeceptor ita locos illos tractabit, ne uel tantillum formidetur periculi, quin imo certa sequatur utilitas. Nam quis aptior recte uitam instituendi modus illo quem narrat in Satyris Horatius:

Insueuit pater optime hoc me
Vt fugerem exemplis uitiorum quaeque notando,
Cum me hortaretur parce frugaliter atque
Viverem, uti contentus eo quod mi ipse parasset.
Nonne uides Albi ut male uiuat filius, utque
Barus inops, magnum documentum ne patriam rem
Perdere quis uelit. At turpi meretricis amore,
Cum deterreret Scetani dissimilis sis, etc.⁵⁸

Iam an ueris, an ex communi hominum uita fictis utamur exemplis, plane nihil interest.

28. Hoc loco pro Donati compendio figuras per Mancinellum facilibus admodum uersibus digestas, tradi suadeo⁵⁹. Sic enim absque graui labore tum in poetis tum oratoribus, quae uel orationem excusant, uel ipsam faciunt illustriorem, cognoscere pueri adsuescent. Quae magis curiosa sunt, suo tempore minime fraudabuntur. Nunc his uelut progymnasmatis quibusdam uti, magis e re tyrunculorum uidetur. Et recte f. D2^r in illis instituti, quae iam dicta sunt, leui cura fi-/guras has adsequentur. Quas ubi perdidicerint, breue illud compendium Erasmi de componendis epistolis audiant⁶⁰, quandoquidem iam tempus erit ad inueniendi

⁵⁷ Quintilian, *Institutio*, 3.1.6. 'Changing the convictions learnt in boyhood is always difficult'.

⁵⁸ Horace, *Satires*, I.4.105-12; Rudd, 58-59. The 1526 text reads 'Sectavi'.

⁵⁹ Cox refers to the popular *Carmen de Figuris* (Rome, after 1489; Venice, 1493, 1497, 1498; Milan, 1500) by the Italian grammarian Antonio Mancinelli (1452-1503). Mancinelli's work was known in medieval England: his edition of Donatus' *Grammar* was published by Caxton in 1487. In Poland, his *De componendis uersibus opusculum* and *Opusculum de poetica uirtute* were both published at Cracow in 1513.

⁶⁰ Erasmus' *Brevissima maximaeque compendiarie conficiendarum epistolarum formula*, published at Erfurt (in a pirated edition) in 1520, and reprinted at Leipzig, Mainz, Cologne

least scandal as regards the contents of his plays, as this problem has already been amply foreseen in the sanctions of the very venerable authors I have already named. There is no doubt that, once an idea has been drummed into boys, nobody will change it later, as Quintilian rightly points out⁵⁷. However, to put my own feelings frankly, I do not see what there is about Terence that is so terrible for the morals of adolescents, when every day they can see much worse things with their own eyes; how much more mischief shameless eyes teach than ears do, I trust nobody will be so mutton-headed as not to understand. But even if places in that writer which might be seriously prejudicial to morality are very numerous, the wise teacher will treat them in such a way that any danger will be less than trifling. These passages may even be beneficial. Nobody, after all, ever described how to organize one's life properly better than Horace did in these lines from his *Satires*:

My good father gave me the habit; to warn me off
he used to point out various vices by citing examples.
When urging me to practice thrift and economy and to be content
with what he himself had managed to save he used to say:
'Notice what a miserable life young Albius leads and now Baius
is down and out — a salutary warning not to squander
the family's money'. Steering me away from a squalid attachment
to a whore he would say: 'Don't be like Scetanus!'⁵⁸

In the end, whether we use true examples, or invented ones taken from everyday life, doesn't matter in the slightest.

28. At this point I would recommend that, instead of Donatus, the master should teach rhetorical expressions as set out in very easy verses by Mancinelli⁵⁹. This way the boys will, without undue effort, become used to recognizing these expressions in poets and orators, which either explain or enhance what they say. More detailed figures of speech will not be forgotten when the time comes. But at this stage beginners will probably find Mancinelli's 'warming-up exercises' more useful. When they have been properly drilled in them, the pupils will understand these expressions without difficulty. After learning them completely, the boys are to listen to a reading of Erasmus' brief summary on how to write letters, as it will now be time to prepare young minds to understand composition with the help of whatever treatise is worthwhile for brevity and clarity in presentation of learning material⁶⁰. And

and Cracow (1527), is discussed in J.D. Tracy, "On the Composition Date of Seven of Erasmus' Works", *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, xxxi (1969), 355-364. It is an earlier draft of the *Libellus* cited below.

facultatem aliquo quocunque tractatu teneros animos parari, quem et breuitas, et lucidus eorum quae docentur ordo, commendet. Atqui tale est (si ullum aliud) potissimum hoc opusculum.

29. Porro quum exercitatio sine regulis saepe efficax est, praeceptionis ratio, nisi usum adhibueris, frustra suscipitur, mox a regulis hisce, utilissimum fuerit selectas quasdam in unoquoque genere epistolas ab optimis quibusque autoribus excerptas interpretari; atque diligenter quicquid in eis artificii lateat aperire, festisque diebus argumento conuenienti proposito, ut suam quisque scribat epistolam discipulos cogere. Ne labor iste uel mediocriter eruditis praeceptoribus difficilis ulla in re sit, abunde negotio uniuerso satisfecit optimus Erasmus, in altero illo de condendis epistolis libro⁶¹. Vbi et quomodo proponi decet argumentum, et quibus innitendum est archetypis, copiose iuxta ac dilucide, uir ille, literis in sublimem locum ac pristinum decus, incuria quorundam, et temporum iniquitate, olim amissum, restituendis, natus, pari cum opera foelicitate docet.

30. Non tamen opus ipsum uere aureum adhuc satis opportunum quod pueris tradatur, ob id censeo, quod altiora quaedam continet, quam ut illis rite percipiendis rudior in literis aetas sufficiat. Prudentem uero magistrum illud in discipulis considerare fas est, quod poetae iam scripturo suadet Horatius, nempe

Versare diu quid ferre recusent
Quid ualeant humeri⁶².

- f. D2^v 31. Post Georgica et Terentium una cum Aeneide, Ciceronis / Officia, atque de Amicitia et Senectute Dialogi, tum libellus Paradoxon, quanta par est diligentia, ac illa cura, quam ante docuimus, tractentur, nisi quod in adnotandis quae ad rem grammaticam spectant, locus uideatur consulendi certum aliquem huius facultatis autorem, apud quem licebit quae prius ex lectionibus obseruata sunt, suis quaeque titulis digesta citra magnum laborem intueri. Idque (modo ne nimium obtusa sint ingenia) nullo praeunte magistro. Et me hercule nunc ratio studiorum ipsorum exigit, ut sine cortice tandem nare discant. Iuuabit quoque iam adolescentulos hic, fructus gustum non modicum accipere, dum absque

⁶¹ Erasmus, *Libellus de conscribendis epistolis* (Cambridge [in a pirated edition], not before 1521; Basel, 1522; Cracow, 1523). See his *Opera Omnia*, I/2 (1971), pp. 153-579. The relation of the *Libellus* to the above is noted at p. 160, p. 165.

if any book accomplishes these conditions, it is this little one by Erasmus.

29. Then, since practising exercises without imitating examples often produces good results, while teaching theory without putting the rules into practice doesn't, straight after those examples it will be extremely helpful to go through a selection from standard authors of each type of letter; to explain with great care the more subtle points of their art; and have each boy write his own letter on some appropriate subject on days when there are no classes. Our master Erasmus, in his second book on letter writing, has amply ensured for every subject that this task will present no difficulty of any kind even for teachers of average educational attainments⁶¹. He teaches with equal detail and lucidity when best to bring a subject forward, how to present it, and on what texts to model it, — a man born to restore letters, with like diligence and success, to their lofty pinnacle and ancient glory, once abandoned through the neglect of many and the evil of the age.

30. However, his quite magnificent work itself is, in my view, not really suitable to be placed in the hands of children because it contains some thoughts which are too profound to be understood properly by young boys still unused to learning. A wise teacher must consider for his pupils what Horace told the intending poet,

giving lengthy thought to what your shoulders are built for
and what they aren't⁶².

31. After the *Georgics* and Terence, the texts to work through with as much diligence and accuracy as for those mentioned above are the *Aeneid*, Cicero's *De Officiis*, his dialogues *De Senectute* and *De Amicitia*, and then his essay *Paradoxa Stoicorum*, except that in the discussion of grammar it should be possible to refer to a standard author on this subject, in whom points noted in reading can without undue difficulty be studied separately, set out under their headings. The boys (provided they are not too dim-witted) should be able to do that without the teacher telling them. And heaven knows that at this level of study they must finally be able to swim without a cork float. Besides, the boys will now be finding pleasure in reading and understanding authors confidently, and without the teacher's help: enjoying fruit in large amounts.

⁶² Horace, *Ars poetica*, 39-40; Rudd, 191.

praeceptoris opera, autores tuto simul euoluant ac intelligant. Nam quid, amabo, sese legentibus temere offerat grammatices ratione disquirendum, quod in euolutis iam scriptoribus, aut non adnotatum fuit, aut saltem quo iam referatur in ordinem suum, ac ubi uelut in nido quaeratur facil<1>ime sciri ex illa partium obseruatione non potuerit, etiam mediocri praeditis acumine. Quocirca bonis auibus, ad altiora, et in quibus manifestum eniteat ingenii lumen, iuuentus sic erudita promoueat, ac epistolarum uice, dicendi modum foelici omine, uel in Rhetoricis ad Herennium auspicetur, uel ex quocunque alio disciplinae huius professore. Quamquam et in Rhetoribus delectum eumque haud neglectim haberi mauelim, ut is praecipue sumatur in manus qui plane ac quantum res ipsa fert breuiter omnia tradat. Demum auditis sedulo regulis artificii, ne desit usui imitatio cuius utilitas tam late patet, ut sine illa nullus temere quantauis animi dexteritate perueniat ad ullius scientiae frugem, praelegi debent tres, aut plures diuini Ciceronis orationes /
f. D3^r e quibus et certum initae iam uiae ducem habeant, et quae praeceptiunculis obscure prius accepta sunt, ceu tabulis depicta clarius ante oculos ponantur.

32. Multa mihi hoc loco monendi essent didascali qua uidelicet cura pueros educare in hac artium omnium (absit inuidia uerbo) praeclarissima, ipsorum incumbit officio, sensimque mox ab initio talis doctrinae eos adsuefacere praeludiis non ineptis instituto, futurisque declamandi certaminibus. Sed ab hac me sollicitudine liberum fecit ter maximus Encyclopaediae Antistes Erasmus noster, a quo in libellulo *De Pueris instituendis* ea fide ea felicitate sunt exposita ut, quisquis credat se in hoc laboris itinere saltem aequis passibus incedere posse cum uiro omnium excellentissimo, is quoque (si Diis placet) eadem opera, solis ascenso curru, quemadmodum de Phaetonte fabulantur poetae, lumen mundo praebere conetur parem haud dubie cum infoelici nimium puero audacis incoepti exitum habiturus⁶³. Ab Erasmo igitur quicquid sui muneris est in hac prouincia subeunda, ludimagistri totum hauriant, a nullo nec melius nec breuius nec planius (quod tamen raro breuitati connectitur) accepturi.

⁶³ Referring to Erasmus' *De pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis* (ed. J.-Cl. Margolin, *Opera Omnia*, I/2, Amsterdam 1971, ppp. 1-78), and Ovid, *Metam.* II 1-328 (Phaethon's story). Erasmus' *De pueris* was not printed until 1529, but manuscripts circulated in England from about 1509/10. Unless we assume that Cox applies the title *De Pueris Instituendis* to another work, viz. *De ratione studii*, he must have known of the unedited treatise.

For I wonder if a point of grammar worth investigating is noticed by students casually reading on their own, if in the writers they read before it was either not commented on, or if even the tolerably intelligent student cannot, because of patchy grammatical commentary, recall very readily what category it belongs to, and where to find it described in the grammar? And so may young people who have been taught well go under fair auspices to excellence, where the light of understanding can shine out plainly, and (if they show promise) begin studying the rules of oratory (instead of letters) in *Rhetorica ad Herennium* or some other text on this discipline. I would none the less recommend a very careful selection from the various orators, and would particularly recommend using a writer who writes simply and (as far as the subject permits) briefly. Finally, after the rules of the art have been carefully explained, so that no chance is lost of practising something whose usefulness is so obvious that nobody, however nimble-witted, will master any branch of knowledge without it, the boys should study three or more speeches of the divine Cicero. In them they will find a trustworthy guide for the journey they have begun, while the things that they previously accepted without understanding in footling little rules suddenly appear before their eyes plainer than a picture.

32. At this point there would be many matters on which I should admonish teachers as to how the scrupulousness with which they teach the boys this most noble (may the word give no offence) of all arts is one of their duties, and how, from the moment teaching begins, they should use suitable exercises gradually so as to accustom the boys both to the course, and to future public-speaking contests. Fortunately our three-fold master of universal learning, Erasmus, relieves me of this trouble. In his pamphlet on boys' education he has set out these matters reliably and with success, so that the man who thinks that on this arduous journey he can even keep up with the strides of that greatest of men, he too (God willing) attempts to do the same as Phaethon did when (as the poets tell us) he brought light to the world by climbing into the Sun's chariot, but certainly due for the same end as the too-wretched lad of that rash venture⁶³. So from Erasmus, then, teachers may draw all they need for their professional duties here, nobody doing it better or more briefly or clearly (clarity and brevity rarely going together).

33. His rebus instructa pubes carminum leges postremo discat, in quibus describendis quum multi non contemnendam nauarint operam, Valentinus Ecchius (mea opinione) unus erit, quem primo artis huius aditu studiosi manibus conterent⁶⁴. Atqui ne hoc ita quispiam interpretetur, quasi amicitiae⁶⁵ id nostrae donatum putet. Fateor equidem arcta me uiro doctissimo pariter ac humanissimo familiaritate coniunctum, sed hanc certe necessitudinem cum eo nil aliud quam studiorum ardor peperit, neque iudicio in hac parte / nostro imposuit amor, imo hercule amorem hunc, quantus quantus est, effecit iudicium.

f. D4^v

34. Quod autem ad rem, quam nunc agimus spectat, multum interesse opinor, qua dexteritate cuiuslibet rei principia adgrediamur. Nam quanto faciliora docemus, tanto citius et lubentius ea iuuenes admittent, contra ut quaeque grauissima sunt, aut longa nimis, uel respuunt omnino, uel (quod fere nihilo melius est) summa cum desperatione, aut saltem taedio grauissimo discunt. Porro liber iste Ecchii mei (quod nemo aequus arbiter negare potest) ita succinctus est ut singulis tamen (liceat mihi cum Diomede loqui) suam contineat breuitatem, ita planus ut ne tantillum quidem obscuritatis insit; nec apertiore in aliis (quid enim uetat manifeste uera loqui?) nec lucidum magis ordinem haberi, uel Momus ipse calumniatur⁶⁶.

35. In hexametris quem imitentur Vergilium iam didicere. In elegia cultissimus est Tibullus. Proponere autem suis quem uelint professores libere eligant. Ouidii tamen Fasti propter fabularum cognitionem, sine quibus non constat poesis, mihi probantur maxime⁶⁷. In lyricis primas Horatius tenet.

36. Haec meta laborum didascalis, et instituti nostri tuis, Amplissime Praesul, mandatis suscepti, tua bona uenia nobis esto. Hoc etenim modo informata adolescentia, et latinae linguae non ignara erit, facilemque ad reliquos autores proprio Marte intelligendos accessum

⁶⁴ Valentinus Eck (c. 1494-1556), Swabian humanist, professor at Cracow, and Cox's successor at Bardejov in Slovakia. Cox refers to Eck's *De versificandi arte opusculum* (Cracow, 1515; repr. 1521).

⁶⁵ The original edition erroneously prints 'amiticiae'.

⁶⁶ Diomedes (late 4C A.D.; *OCD* 349), Roman grammarian. See his *Artis grammaticae libri III*, 12-13, in *Grammatici Latini*, ed. Heinrich Keil, I (Leipzig, 1857): *quae quidem in tribus divisionibus quamvis patula sit, tamen in singulis suam continet breuitatem*. Momos, the Greek god of criticism. mockery and irony, fault-finding personified, appears in Hesiod, Callimachus and Lucian: *OCD*, 697-98. The original edition erroneously puts the first bracket before 'ut singulis'.

33. Finally, once they have learnt this, the boys should learn the rules of lyric poetry. And although many have written accounts of this with a fair measure of success, Valentinus Eck is, in my view, the only one whose book should be read to tatters by students approaching this subject for the first time⁶⁴. Nobody should think I say this just because he is a friend of mine. Of course, I admit that I am a very close friend of that man, as erudite as he is generous, but there is no doubt that our friendship came about from a zeal for learning, and the fact that we were friends had no influence here on what I thought about him — in fact, it was what I thought about him that made us friends!

34. As for other things regarding the matter at hand, much also in my view depends on the skill with which we approach the introduction to any subject. The better we teach the rudiments, the quicker and more willingly the pupils accept them; but what is very difficult or too long, on the other hand, they either reject outright, or learn with the deepest despondency or at the very least with utter loathing, which is hardly any improvement. No impartial critic can deny, however, that the textbook of my good friend Eck is so concise, that (to use Diomedes' phrase) it remains concise even in details; and so clear it does not contain a speck of obscurity; and even if Momus himself tried to abuse the book, he would not (to speak the truth plainly) find others arranged more accessibly or lucidly⁶⁵.

35. The boys have already learned that in hexameters they are to imitate Vergil, while the most polished writer of elegy is Tibullus. Although teachers are free to choose whoever they like for their pupils, I myself would strongly recommend Ovid's *Fasti* because of its knowledge of mythology, without which no poetry exists⁶⁷; but in lyric, Horace is the master.

36. May this, most reverend Father, with your gracious permission, be the finishing-line of the teacher's labours and of this essay begun at your command. For once young people have received instruction in this way, they will be familiar with the Latin language, and will find it easier to start working on the remaining authors they have to study on their

⁶⁷ The popularity of Ovid's *Fasti* in the middle forms of Winchester College and Westminster and St Paul's schools during the sixteenth century is noted by Nesta Lloyd in *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, xxiv (1970-72), 45-58, citing T.W. Baldwin, *William Shakspeare's Small Latine and Less Greeke* (Urbana, Illinois, 1944), I, p. 132, p. 339, p. 387.

nanciscetur. Tum, quod uel unum hactenus magnam fuisse profectui studiorum remoram nemo nescit, non sic miscendo artes ingenia confundentur. Quod si cupidis meliorum literarum nostra opera tuae paternitati uidebitur aliquando profutura, quod uolui, consequutus sum. Eantque tuis munitae / titulis in manus hominum nostrae uigiliae, ut hoc nomine non minora debeant Poloni suo Thomitio, quam uel Warhamo mei Angli, seu Poncherio Galli, seu Buslidio Flandrenses, quorum benigno fauore nunc passim in illis locis bonas literas antiquo decori restitutas esse constat⁶⁸. Nam et si non usque adeo magna sunt, quae nos attentauimus, non ob id tantum aspernari decebit, sine quibus ad altiora nequaquam aditus pateat. Quando ut illud Iuuenalis ita uertere in meum usum permittatur, “Nemo repente fit doctissimus”. Et sua literis infantia caeteraeque aetates sunt. Atque quod Naso recte dicit: “Omina principii inesse solent”; quae si bona erunt, magnam haud absimilis exitus spem praebent. Probe ergo canit Horatius, “Dimidium facti qui coepit habet”⁶⁹. Neque imbibitum a lana colorem facile datur eluere, nec iis rationibus educati haustam semel latinitatem exuent⁷⁰. Tum ut nulla alia inde gloria proueniat, non erit infima laus instigasse nostro conatu doctiores, quos in bono numero habet Sarmatia, ut illi meliora quandoque ferant in medium. Dabit quoque nobis forsitan aliquando Deus maiorem in studiis foelicitatem, ut tunc maiora magisque grata e penu nostro studiosis per tuam Amplitudinem foti, poterimus (si haec non penitus displicere uiderimus) propinare.

⁶⁸ Cox here refers to William Warham (c. 1450-1532), Archbishop of Canterbury; Étienne Poncher (1496-1524), politician and diplomat, at his death archbishop-designate of Sens, 70 miles SE of Paris; and Hieronymus Busleiden (1470-1517), politician and cleric, who bequeathed his fortune to found the collegium trilingue at the University of Louvain.

own. Besides this, knowledge will not be so muddled by confusion in people's minds, something which till now has been a great hindrance to progress in education, as everyone knows. And if it seems to your Eminence that the present work will to some extent be useful to those eager for higher standards in learning, I shall have achieved what I set out to do. The fruits of our labours may go forth into men's hands defended by your authority, so that in this way the Poles may owe no less to their Tomicki than my fellow-Britons do to Warham, the French to Poncher, or the Flemish to Busleiden, by the liberal support of all of whom civilized learning is universally agreed to have been restored throughout those lands to its ancient glory⁶⁸. And if these present endeavours fall short of what I have striven for, it would be wrong on that account to reject that without which there is no access to more advanced studies. If I am allowed to adapt Juvenal's phrase for my own purposes, "Erudition comes by degrees"; learning has a time when it is in its infancy and in its other ages; Ovid rightly says the omens are present even in the beginnings of things; and if they are good, they provide a great hope that the ending will be good as well, so that Horace puts it well, saying "Well begun is half done"⁶⁹.

It is not easy to wash out the dye from wool; and once boys have absorbed Latin in the ways described here, they will not lose it⁷⁰. Even if no other fame comes from it, it will not be the worst praise to say that by this undertaking I stimulated the more learned, of whom Poland has many, so that when they came to publish, they published better things. God will perhaps at some time grant us greater success in our studies so that, with the support of your Eminence, I may then from my provisions hand over greater and more attractive things to my pupils, if I see that this present work does not meet with entire condemnation.

⁶⁹ Adapting Juvenal, *Satires*, II.83: *Nemo repente venit turpissimus*, 'Corruption comes by degrees', and quoting Ovid, *Fasti*, 1.178: *Omina principiis, inquit, inesse solent* (The original edition erroneously prints 'omnia'), and Horace, *Epistles*, 1.2.40, tr. Rudd, 134.

⁷⁰ Quintilian, *Institutio*, 1.1.5; *nec lanarum colores, quibus simplex ille candor mutatus est, elui possunt*.

APPENDIX

Title-page, Praeliminaria and Colophon
of the 1526 Edition.

1. Title-Page (f. Ai^r)

LIBELLUS DE ERUDI-
ENDA IVVENTVTE
PER LEONAR-
dum Coxum An-
glum.

γράμματα μαθεῖν δεῖ, καὶ μαθόντα νοῦν ἔχειν
ἅπαντας ἢ παιδευσίς ἡμερους ποιεῖ.
ὁ γραμμάτων ἄπειρος οὐ βλέπει βλέπων.

2. Praeliminaria

(f. Aii) REVERENDISSIMO IN Christo Patri ac D<omi>no
D<omino> Petro Thomitio Divina perrmissione Episcopo Craco-
viensi, Regni Poloniae Vicecancellario, & Cancellario Academiae Cra-
coviensis, praecipuo studiorum Mecoenati, Matthias Pyrserius S.D.

Quum haud parum referre videatur, Reverendissime Antistes, quo
pacto, quibusque praeceptoribus illa prima aetas quovis flexibilis mox
ab initio formetur, instituaturque, quando nulla senectus remove-
re, abolereque potest, quae teneri imbiberunt anni, iuxta Horatianum
illud:

Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem
Testa diu,

placuit primoribus huius Gymnasii Coxo nostro hanc provinciam dare,
ut de pueris instituendis, post tot alios, ille quoque scriberet. Quae res
etsi homini visa est (f. Aii^v) subdifficilis, non licuit tamen quicquam
tantis viris, tamque honesta petentibus, atque adeo per autoritatis tuae
maiestatem, denegare. Scripsit igitur, & ita scripsit, ut minime frustra
laborem hunc suscepisse a quovis docto potuerit existimari. Quod opus
non immerito Amplitudini tuae dicavit, nempe cuius liberalitate, bonas
litteras in inclyta hac Academia studiosis publice interpretatur. Quum
autem mea opera & cura, Vietoris nostri praelo committeretur, volui

meo epistolio, iterum Reverendissimae paternitati tuae commendare, ut solidum hoc beneficium Amplitudini tuae studiosi acceptum referre debeant. Suscipias igitur, praesulum decus, quod tibi uterque nuncupamus, & deditiss<ima> Celsitudini tuae mancipia, pro tua in doctos summa humanitate, fovere pergas. Reverendiss<imam> Dominationem tuam Regno & studiis incolumem in annos Nestoreos servet omnium servator Christus.

Cra-(f. Aiii)coviae ex officina Hieronymi Vietoris, pridie Calendas Martias, Anno a nato Servatore Millesimo Quingentesimo Vigesimo sexto.

ANTONINUS MEDICUS

- Vt volvas licet omnium libellos,
 Qui mollem pueris viam pararunt,
 Qua vel impenetrabiles recessus
 Musarum subeant, repente docti,
 5 Inter praecipuos duces, libellus
 Hic est; quem Cicero Maroque laudet,
 Nec damnet Fabius calente lite
 Num parvus tener & σοβὰρ Iulus
 Hax Coxi facili indicatione
 10 Possit quaerere mel novem sororum;
 Quod si linxerit, amplius repulsa
 Omni barbarie, probatiores
 Ad linguam sitiāt dein liquores.

(f. Aiii^v)

AD REVERENDISSIMUM DOMINUM
Episcopum Cracoviensem

Stanislai Hosii Servi deditiss<imi> Epigramma.¹

*Antistes cuius volitat super aethera nomen,
 Qui verum patriae diceris esse decus,
 Cui vultum Charites formarunt, pectora Pallas
 Occupat, & Maiæ natus in ore sedet,*

¹ This poem by the young Hosius (1504-1579), who as Cardinal brought about the Polish Counter-Reformation, is discussed by Fr Marian Borzyszkowski, "Epigramy Stanisława Hoziusza", *Studia Warmińskie* 7(1970), 324-325.

- 5 *Qui superas alios, quantum astra micantia Titan,
Munere fortunae, & dotibus ingenii,
Antistes celebris, Moecenas optime, laeta
Quae tibi dat Coxus munera fronte cape,*
10 *Quae tibi dat Coxus, nostrae spes una iuventae,
Atque admirator nominis usque tui.
Qui quoniam superis solitos scit farre litare,
Qui nil thuris habent, & saliente mica,
Haec fore grata tibi, quamvis sint parva, putavit,*
15 *Qui metiri animum, non data dona soles;
Et tamen ut scierit parva haec accepta fuisse,
Exiguo posthac tempore magna dabit.*

[f. Aiv^r]

ELEGIDION IOHANNIS RULLI CRA-
coviensis, in *Autoris ac Libelli Commendatio-*
nem ex tempore aeditum, inscriptumque
Candidis ingeniis, & iis, qui bonis
literis sunt iniciati.

- Si licet ingenue, quod res est ipsa, fateri,
Quam pauci, recta qui ingrediantur, erunt.
Alter enim prorsus temnit rudimenta Latinae
Grammatices, aut mox discruciat ibi.*
5 *Alter ad exemplum vulgi, discrimine nullo,
Nunc hoc, nunc illud, noscere vultque semel.
Sunt qui perpetuis discunt garrire diebus
Nescio quas nugas, praetereaue nihil.
Queis cur non ausim nihil esse superbius ipsis*
10 *Dicere, cum prae se temnere quemque solent?
Adde etiam mores quotus est, cui maxima pulchrae
Paediae pulchros iungere cura foret?
Optimus, ut tandem dicam finaliter, ordo
Negligitur passim (proh pudor) inque Scholis.*
15 *Pressius iam postquam Proceres videre beati,
Nomina mox quorum pagina prima tenet,
Indignum, si per Labyrinthos, totque putarunt,
Huc, illuc, iuvenis non bene cautus, eat.
Recte illi. Quoniam Respublica pendet ab isto*
20 *Aetatis veluti flore, futura statim.*

- Dispiciunt ergo, cui cognita cura medendi
Huic foret adscito saepe diuque malo.*
- [f. Aiv^v] *Dispiciunt & qui praescribere singula verbis,
Stultam & qui pubem ducere rite queat,*
- 25 *Quique etiam methodo, Doctrinae ducat ad arcem,
Dispiciunt, magna cum pietate viri.
At nullum Coxo (quid enim rogo doctius ipso est?)
Cracoviae invenias, qui antefendus erat.*
- 30 *Quocirca huic uni commissa negocia curae
Esse vides merito, Lector amande, viro.
Hunc ego (si credis) tantum praestare docendo,
Nemo alius quantum, dicere non dubito.
Desere, te moneo tandem, studiosa iuventus,
Perversum studiis, qui statuere modum.*
- 35 *Ast hunc, tam doctum tam facundumque Magistrum
Diligito, in cunctis et venerator eum.
Quemque dedit parvum gratus iam sumito librum:
Nil aedit magnis nanque voluminibus.*

Distichon eiusdem.

*Ne posthac tot coelo, quod dicitur, erres,
Hunc doctum Coxi perlege saepe librum.*

Osoribus

*Quid te Livor edax iuvat hos carpsisse labores?
Desine, ni poenas mox dare forte velis.*

Πρὸς τὸν σου λεώναρδον κόξον

Κρακόβιαν λείπειν μητηρ 'σ ἡμῶντε λύκειον
'Ουκ ἔθειλει πέτρος μήτε ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς
ῥούλλος ἐποίει.

3. Colophon [f. D4^v]

*Excusum Cracoviae per Hieronymum Vietorem
Anno a Christo nato Millesimo Quin-
gentesimo Vigesimo sexto.
Mense Aprili.*

I.P. BEJCZY

GERARD GELDENHOUWER OF NIJMEGEN
EPISTOLA DE OFFICIO CHRISTIANI PRINCIPIS (1538)
ENCHIRIDION PRINCIPIS AC MAGISTRATUS CHRISTIANI
(1539)*

PREFACE

The humanist Gerard Geldenhouwer or Geldenhauer (Nijmegen, 1482 - Marburg, 1542) is a rather underexposed character. This may partly be due to his own shyness: also in his own esteem, he was largely overshadowed by the great Erasmus. Yet, Geldenhouwer is an important exponent of humanism in the Low Countries and belongs, along with Petrus Canisius, to the greatest sixteenth-century minds born in Nijmegen. This edition brings out two smaller works of his for the first time: the *Epistola de officio christiani principis* and the *Enchiridion principis ac magistratus christiani*. Apart from some of his letters, Geldenhouwer's works are not available in critical editions, nor have these two specific works been transcribed in Prinsen's *Collectanea*.

It has been my only intention to render a text to the public, not to write a study on Geldenhouwer or his works. On behalf of those who want to go more deeply into Geldenhouwer's life or works, a bibliography is listed below.

INTRODUCTION

The *Epistola de officio christiani principis* is dated May 1, 1538. At that time, Geldenhouwer was a professor of New Testament theology

* I should like to express my gratitude to Prof. G.J.M. Bartelink, Drs J.G.M. van Dijk, Dr C.H. Kneepkens, Prof. J.C.P.A. van Laarhoven, and Prof. A.G. Weiler for their comments on this edition. I am especially indebted to Drs K. Schepers of the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, to Mrs J.J.M. van de Roer-Meyers of the Gemeentebibliotheek, Rotterdam, and to Miss R. Bentzen of Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen. Obviously, the responsibility for this edition rests entirely with me.

at the Lutheran university of Marburg. The *Epistola*, like the *Enchiridion*, is addressed to William, duke of Geldenhouwer's native country Guelders, and hereditary prince of the neighbouring duchies Cleves [Kleve]-Mark-Ravenstein and Juliers[Jülich]-Berg-Ravensberg. Geldenhouwer himself described his letter (in the table of contents of the 1541 edition, fol. 1^v.) as 'gratulatoria' and 'admonitoria'. 'Gratulatoria' because the duke, recently installed in Guelders, was congratulated on his new dignity, and 'admonitoria' because the work was intended to teach the then 23-year-old William how to exercise his task in a responsible manner. The emphasis is put on the last, so that the *Epistola* may without any doubt be counted to the genre of the *speculum regale* ('mirror of prince').

The *Enchiridion christiani principis ac magistratus*, dated April 7, 1539, covers the same ground as the *Epistola*. It should be considered an extra to the latter, as Geldenhouwer himself stated. From its preface it can be inferred that the *Enchiridion* was originally compiled by two Antwerp humanists known by Geldenhouwer from his days as a student of philosophy in Louvain, Petrus Aegidius or Pieter Gillis (1486-1533) and Cornelius Scribonius or Graphaeus, alias Cornelis de Schrijver (1482-1558). Geldenhouwer called the two of them 'amici'. Not much is known about his relation with Petrus Aegidius, rather more about that with Cornelius Scribonius. In 1522 Scribonius spent some time in prison because of his Lutheran sympathies; in his cell he wrote his *Quaerimonia*, a work he dedicated to Geldenhouwer. When in 1527 Geldenhouwer, after his conversion to Lutheranism, stayed in the Low Countries for the last time, Scribonius accommodated him in Antwerp. The original *Enchiridion* has been lost; the work is only known in the redaction of Geldenhouwer.

The distinctions between *regimen sui ipsius*, *regimen domus* and *regimen regni*, made in many medieval and Renaissance *specula regalia*, have not been used in either of the works. The instructions given to the prince have a bearing on his more private behaviour as well as on government. The *Epistola* contains several protestant elements, the Old Testament being referred to profusely. The *Enchiridion*, containing mainly quotations of ancient authors, gives a more worldly impression. In neither of the works reference is made to medieval authors, although a few phrases in the *Epistola* seem to have been drawn from the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury.

For the purpose of this edition, three prints were used:

F: EPISTOLA // DE OFFICIO CHRISTIANI // PRINCIPIS AC MAGISTRATVS. AD ILLV- // strissimum Principem Vuilhelmum, Ducem Cliuen // sem, Iuliacensem, Montensem. Comitem // Marchiae & in Rauenspurg. Do- // minum a Rauenstein &c. // Gelriae Ducem, & // Zutphaniae Comitem de- // signatum. Autore Gerardo // Geldenhaurio No // uiomago. // [signet of Egenolff] // FRANCOFORTI, apud Christ. Egen.

fol. 1^v: [blank]

fol. 2^r-8^r: *Epistola de officio christiani principis* [running title: idem, capitalized]

4^o, 16 pages.

Section numbering, no page numbering. Fol. 1^v and 8^v blank.

A-B(4).

The work was printed by Christian Egenolff in Frankfurt am Main. No date of printing is given but the year must be 1538, since Duke William is addressed as duke designate of Guelders. I know of only one copy: that of København, Det Kongelige Bibliotek. It is preserved there as an unbound pamphlet. It might earlier have been bound with other items that are unascertainable now. Note, however, that no mention is made of other titles on the first and second pages.

M: EPISTOLA // DE OFFICIO CHRI- // STIANI PRINCIPIS AC MAGI // stratus, Ad Illustriss. Principem, D. // VVILHELMVM Gelriae // & Iuliae &c. Ducem, & // Zutphaniae Comite<m> // designatum. // Autore // GERARDO GELDENHAURIO // NOVIO-MAGO // ☞ // HISTORIA BATA- // uorum, ex optimis autoribus // collecta aucta & recognita, // cum multis alijs // *ante hac numquam excusis*. // CATALOGUM VERSA // pagella indicabit // ANNO M.D.XXXVIII.

fol. 1^v: [index of works contained in this print apart from those named on the front page].

fol. 2^r - 11^v: *Epistola de officio christiani principis* [running title: idem, capitalized]

fol. 12^r: beginning of the *Historia Batavica*.

8^o, 200 pages.

Section numbering, no page numbering. Last page blank.

A-M(8)N(4).

The work was printed in Marburg by Eucharius, 1538. Copies of it could be found at the following locations:

- Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek
- Eichstätt, Universitätsbibliothek
- Gießen, Universitätsbibliothek
- København, Det Kongelige Bibliotek
- Rotterdam, Gemeentebibliotheek
- Philadelphia, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Krauth Memorial Library
- Torun, Biblioteka Główna Uniwersytetu
- Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

C: HISTORIA BATAVICA // EX OPTIMIS QUIBUSQUE // AUTORIBUS, // Autore Gerardo Geldenhaurio Nouiomago, // collecta. Cum nonnullis alijs uersa // pagella demonstrandis, // antehac non uis. // [blazon of Duke William] // Coloniae, ex officina Eucharij Ceruicorni. // Anno M.D.XLI.

fol. 1^v: *Epistola elegantissima ad illustrissimum // principem Gulielmu <m> Gelriae &c. du // cem, Zutfaniae &c. comitem, gratula // toria de horum principatuu <m> adeptio // ne, & admonitoria officij principis. // Enchiridion eiusdem fere argumenti De // officio principis ac magistratus Chri // stiani, ex optimis autoribus collectu <m> // ...*, [four titles of works on Dutch history] //.

fol. 2^r - 7^v: *Epistola de officio christiani principis* [running title: DE OFFICIO CHRISTIANI PRINCIPIS, EPISTOLA].

fol. 8^v - 12^v: *Enchiridion christiani principis ac magistratus* [running title: CHRISTIANI PRINCIPIS ENCHIRIDION].

8°, 136 pages.

Section numbering. Twelve leaves without page numbering (fol. 8^r blank) + 55 leaves numbered 1-110 + one blank leaf.

A(8)A(4)B-H(8).

Copies of this work printed in Cologne by Eucharius Cervicornus in 1541 are retained at the following locations, as far as I know:

- Bern, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek
- Brussel, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I
- Cambridge, Corpus Christi College
- Denée, Abbaye de Maredsous, Bibliothèque
- Düsseldorf, Nordrhein-Westfälisches Hauptstaatsarchiv
- Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland
- Freiburg, Universitätsbibliothek
- 's-Gravenhage, Koninklijke Bibliotheek (two copies)

- Groningen, Universiteitsbibliotheek
- Helsinki, Helsingin Yliopisto Kirjasto
- 's-Hertogenbosch, Gemeentebibliotheek
- Leningrad, M.E. Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library
- Liège, Bibliothèque de l'Université
- Marburg, Universitätsbibliothek
- München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
- Nijmegen, Gemeentearchief
- Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (two copies)
- Roma, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana
- Rotterdam, Gemeentebibliotheek
- Solothurn, Zentralbibliothek
- Tilburg, Universiteitsbibliotheek
- Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek
- Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
- Wien, Universitätsbibliothek
- Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek
- Wrocław, Zakład Narodny im. Ossolińskich PAN. Biblioteka.

F and *M* contain only the *Epistola*, *C* the *Epistola* as well as the *Enchiridion*.

In spite of the fact that no date of printing is given in *F*, I consider it the earliest version. Both *F* and *M* date from 1538. Now *F* is likely to be a separate print of the *Epistola*, *M* is certainly not; *F* may have been printed directly after Geldenhouwer's finishing this work. Moreover, *F* consists of quarto leaves, *M* and *C* of octavo leaves, and *F* makes the best impression as far as production is concerned. All this points to *F* being a special edition of the *Epistola*, published shortly after its completion on the occasion of Duke William's assuming authority. The few variations in the text point to the same conclusion. *F* contains a whole sentence and a short clause that are found neither in *M* nor in *C*; it would be strange if those words had been added to the text in the second edition, but left out again in the third.

It is doubtful whether the *Enchiridion*, written 1539, did appear before 1541. There do not exist any bibliographical indications in that direction. Nevertheless, the preface of the *Enchiridion* makes it likely that Duke William did set eyes on it in 1539 already. Perhaps a manuscript is involved? The ducal archives in Arnhem and Düsseldorf, however, do not have anything of the kind available.

All three versions are printed in Roman type. The *Epistola* in *F* is designed in a pretty, larger lettering. Its spelling is as good as classical. *M* is also quite satisfying from an aesthetic point of view; on the other

hand, the spelling is less consistent and less classical. *C* looks less pleasant, but as far as orthography is concerned, it is preferable to *M*. *F* contains a few more words than *M* and *C*; *M* and *C* are, apart from the salutation and one further little exception, word for word equal.

For the edition, the instructions of J. IJsewijn (*Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*, first edition, Amsterdam/New York/Oxford 1977) are generally applicated. Standard classical orthography has been chosen for. U and V are distinguished, I and J are not. Only a few consistently deviating spellings like 'autor[itas]', 'caeterus', 'imo' and 'literae' are maintained. Apart from proper nouns, only appellations of God and the Bible are capitalized. A modern punctuation has been applied. The *Epistola* has not been divided in chapters, as it is not too long a text, though a division in paragraphs has been added. The *Enchiridion* was divided in several chapters by Geldenhouwer himself.

The English translation has no intrinsic value. It has only been added to help the reader understand the Latin text. Quotations from the Bible are rendered according to the authorized King James version. Geldenhouwer's text made it necessary to depart from that version occasionally; all deviations are italicized.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- C. Augustijn, "Gerard Geldenhouwer und die religiöse Toleranz", *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 69 (1978), 132-156.
- O. Hendriks, "Gerardus Geldenhouwer Noviomagus", *Studia Catholica* 4 (1956), 129-149 and 176-196.
- M.E.H.N. Mout, "De humanist Gerard Geldenhouwer als raadgever van vorsten", *De Nederlanden in de late middeleeuwen*, D.E.H. de Boer en J.W. Marsilje (red.), (Utrecht 1987), pp. 142-154.
- J. Prinsen, *Gerardus Geldenhauer Noviomagus. Bijdrage tot de kennis van zijn leven en werken*, diss. Leiden ('s-Gravenhage 1898).
- J. Prinsen, *Collectanea van Gerardus Geldenhauer Noviomagus, gevolgd door den herdruk van eenige zijner werken*. Werken uitgegeven door het Historisch Genootschap III 16 (Amsterdam 1901).
- A. Ramaekers, "De Kruisheren en de Leuvense Universiteit", *Clairlieu* 40 (1982), 25-136; 41 (1983), 13-138.
- B. Singer, *Die Fürstenspiegel in Deutschland im Zeitalter des Humanismus und der Reformation*, (München 1981): on Geldenhouwer, pp. 89-90.
- K. Tilmans, *Aurelius en de Divisiechroniek van 1517. Historiografie en humanisme in Holland in de tijd van Erasmus*. Hollandse Studiën 21 (Hilversum 1988).

Prinsen 1901 contains annotated reprints of several of Geldenhouwer's works. Some of his letters are edited in:

P.S. Allen (ed.), *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami* (Oxford 1906-1947); H. de Vocht (ed.), *Litterae virorum eruditorum ad Franciscum Craneveldium 1522-1528*, (Louvain 1928); some new letters are found among the *Litterae ad Craneveldium Balduiniana* acquired in 1989 by the Belgian King Baudouin Foundation and now in the University Library of Louvain. See *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 39 (1990), 369-374.

Geldenhouwer's poem *De Utopia*, printed in most sixteenth-century editions of Thomas More's *Utopia*, is edited and translated in E. Surtz and J.H. Hexter (eds.), *Utopia*. The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More, 4 (New Haven - London 1965), pp. 30-31.

1. EPISTOLA

Gerardus Geldenhausius Noviomagus clementissimo principi suo D. Wilhelmo, Gelriae ac Iuliae etc. duci, et Zutphaniae etc. comiti designato S.D.^a

Posteaquam, clementissime^b princeps, constanti et certa fama divulgatum est, te concordibus votis atque suffragiis nobilitatis, civitatum, populi que Gelriensis, designatum esse ducem Gelriae, Zutphaniaeque comitem, explicari vix poterit, quanta animus meus laetitia exultaverit. Quare etiam immortales merito gratias ago Deo caelesti^d patri, qui solus transfert et constituit regna, quod post tot annorum cruentissima bella, tandem dulcissimae patriae meae pacis quaedam tranquillitas illuxerit, quam, divina favente clementia, te principe nostro, futuram speramus perpetuam.

Quod ut fiat, supplicibus precibus^e a Deo orandum et tibi et populo tuo. Absque enim divini numinis auxilio, rempublicam quampiam feliciter^f administrare impossibile est. Per aeternam enim sapientiam reges regnant, et legum conditores iusta decernunt¹. Quam sententiam Servator noster Iesus Christus, Sapientia, Sermo, Filius aeterni Patris, non solum per prophetas suos Iob, Daniele, Solomonem regem sapientissimum, verum etiam per seipsum orbi declarare dignatus est, dicens ad Pilatum: "Non haberes in me potestatem, nisi data esset tibi e supernis"². Et ne ullam huius rei ignorantiam superbi homines praetexerent, divus quoque Paulus eandem explicat, Romanis scribens: "Omnis potestas a Deo est"³.

^a Illustrissimo principi ac domino, D. Gulielmo Duci Gelriae, Iuliae, Cliviae, et Bergiae, comiti Marchiae, Zutphaniae, ac Rauensburgi, dominoque in Rauenstein, Gerardus Geldenhausius Noviomagus S.D. C. — ^b clementissime *M.* — ^d coelesti *FM.* — ^e praecibus *M.* — ^f feliciter *M.* —

¹ Prov. 8:15. — ² Ioh. 19:11. — ³ Ad Rom. 13:1. —

especially for Nijmegen, glorified by him in several poems. In 1540, two years before his death, he tried in vain to be stationed as the Hessian ambassador to Duke William of Guelders.

1. LETTER

Gerard Geldenhouwer of Nijmegen greeting his most clement prince, William, duke designate of Guelders, Juliers etc., count designate of Zutphen etc.

As had been divulged with a constant and certain message that you, most clement prince, unanimously and with universal approbation of the nobility, the cities, and the people of Guelders, had been designated duke of Guelders and count of Zutphen¹, it almost could not be explained with what joy my soul exalted². Because of this I thank justly God our heavenly Father, the only one who transfers and constitutes reigns, that after so many years of very bloody wars³, eventually some rest of peace has come over my very sweet fatherland⁴, a rest which we hope to last forever, now that you are our prince, with the aid of divine clemency.

That it may happen this way has to be begged from God by you and by your people with humble appeals. For without the help of divine power, it is impossible to rule any state at all in a prosperous way. It is indeed by eternal wisdom that kings reign and princes decree justice. Our Saviour Jesus Christ, the Wisdom, the Word, the Son of the eternal Father, deigned to explicate this rule to the world, not only by means of his prophets Job, Daniel, and the very wise king Solomon, but even by himself, saying to Pilate: "Thou couldest have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above". And in order to prevent proud men to feign any ignorance of this matter, also the divine Paul explicated the same thing to the Romans, writing: "There is no power but from God".

¹ William had been appointed as successor of Duke Charles by the Guelders diet in January, 1538. In February, William was already inaugurated, while Charles withdrew in his residence in Arnhem. At the time of writing this letter, Charles was still alive: he died June 30.

² Geldenhouwer's explicit joy at the installation of Duke William is likely to have been sincere. Probably he did not only hope for the war against the Habsburgs to end but also expected church reforms from the Lutheran-minded duke. After the uncompromising proceedings against heretics by Duke Charles, against which Geldenhouwer sharply protested in a letter of 1526, William's assuming authority must have been a relief to Geldenhouwer.

³ A reference to the incessant struggles of Duke Charles against the Habsburgs, who intended to incorporate Guelders into their domains.

⁴ During all his lifetime, Geldenhouwer felt homesick for his native soil Guelders,

Haec cum ita se habeant, neque aliter se habere possint, flectenda sunt genua cordis⁴ et corporis nostri coram Rege regum et Domino dominorum⁵, dicendumque in primis tibi, et omnibus a consiliis tuis, cum Solomone: "Domine, tu me fecisti regem super populum tuum; da mihi sapientiam et intelligentiam, ut ingrediar et egrediar coram populo tuo. Quis enim potest hunc populum tuum, qui tam grandis est, digne iudicare?"⁶ Ex hac regiae precationis formula, habes quod iam diximus, Deum reges facere, populum non esse principaliter regum, sed Dei, ut perpetuo cogitet princeps, se esse populi fratrem, quantumvis aliis fratribus praelatus sit, ad cuius curam fratrum commoditas felicitasque^a provehenda pertineat, ne umquam^b tyrannidem exercere audeat in caelestis¹ Patris filios, et communes fratres suos. Id quod divus quoque Paulus magistratum definiens, apertissime confirmat, ubi magistratum Dei ministrum, ad bonorum tutelam et malorum exterminium, esse declarat⁷.

Et ut rem cognitu factuque tam necessariam altius repetamus, Dominus per Mosen fidelem famulum suum, regibus et magistratibus praescribit hanc legem observandam sedulo. Cum fuerit rex, inquit, constitutus, "non multiplicabit sibi equos", etc. "equitatus numero sublevatus, non habebit uxores plurimas quae alliciant animam eius, neque argenti et auri immensa pondera. Postquam autem sederit in solio regni sui, describet sibi Deuteronomium legis huius in volumine, accipiens exemplar a sacerdotibus Leviticae tribus, et habebit secum, legetque illud omnibus diebus vitae suae, ut discat timere Dominum Deum suum, et custodire verba et ceremonias eius, quae in lege praecepta sunt. Nec elevetur cor eius in superbiam super fratres suos, neque declinet in partem dexteram vel sinistram, ut longo tempore regnet ipse et filii eius" etc⁸.

Scio, clementissime¹ princeps, non ingratum tibi fore, si hanc legem aliquanto fusius enarraverimus⁹.

Prohibetur equitatus, non ille necessarius ad populi tutelam, sed qui impensis superfluis populum gravet, qui principis animum, quovis

^a foelicitasque *M.* — ^b unquam *FMC.* — ¹ coelestis *F.* — ¹ clamentissime *M.* —

⁴ Or.Man. 11. — ⁵ 1 Tim. 6:15, Apoc. 17:14, 19:16. — ⁶ 2 Par. 1:9-10. — ⁷ Ad Rom. 13:6. — ⁸ Deut. 17:16-20. — ⁹ Cf. Ioh. Sarisb., *Policrat.* IV, 4-10. —

Because things stand this way and could not stand otherwise, we have to bend the knees of our heart and of our body to the King of kings and the Lord of lords, and in the most important cases and with regard to all your decisions you have to say with Solomon: "Thou hast made me king over *thy* people; give me now wisdom and knowledge, that I may go out and come in before *thy* people: for who can judge *rightly* this *thy* people, that is so great?" From this formula of royal prayer you get what we have already said, that God makes the kings, that the people do not belong to kings in the first place, but to God, in order that the prince constantly keeps in mind that he is the brother of the people, however much he is at the head of his brothers; the pursuit of his brothers' benefit and happiness should pertain to his care, lest he ever dare to exercise tyranny over the sons of the heavenly Father and his common brothers. This is also in a very distinct way confirmed by the divine Paul, defining the magistrate, when he declares that the magistrate is a servant of God at the protection of the good and the extermination of the bad.

And to repeat in a more pervasive way something so necessary to know and to do, the Lord prescribed by means of his faithful servant Moses to the kings and magistrates that this law should carefully be observed. When the king, he said, will be appointed, "he shall not multiply horses for himself", etc., "*made proud by the number of his horsemen*, neither shall he multiply wives to himself, that his heart turn not away: neither shall he greatly multiply to himself silver and gold. And it shall be, when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of this law in a book out of that which is before the priests the Levites; and it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life: that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, to keep all *his* words and *his* statutes, *that are laid down in this law*. That his heart be not lifted up above his brethren, and that he turn not aside from the commandment, to the right hand, to the left, to the end that he may prolong his days in his kingdom, he, and his children" etc.

I know, most clement prince, that it will not be unpleasant to you when we shall have treated this law at some length.

The cavalry is forbidden, not the one necessary to the people's protection, but the one charging the people with superfluous expenses, inciting the prince's soul to oppress his neighbour after seeking some

quaesito colore, ad opprimendum proximum incitet, ut incipiat iam non tam Deo, quam suis viribus confidere.

Prohibentur uxores plurimae, quae tamen pro tempore Mosaicae legis permissae erant, sed interea prohibitionis causa additur, ne videlicet forma, venustate, blanditiis, technis muliebribus ad voluptates vetitas illectus, minus timere Deum incipiat, et subiectam plebem aut negligat, aut huius curam in rapacium praefectorum humeros somnolentus pastor reiiciat. Quod si uxorum legitimarum^k multitudo in rege vituperatur, quam rationem reddituri sunt Deo principes impuri, scortatores, adulteri, qui pro effreni et indomita libidine omnes omnium domos prece, pretio^l, vi denique violant atque conspurcant?

Prohibentur argenti et auri immensa pondera, non quod haec possidere ad omnem necessitatem et honestatem malum sit, verum ut si divitiae affluent^m non apponaturⁿ cor; non in his, sed in solo Deo confidamus. Id quod clarissima multorum sanctorum principum et regum exempla declarant, qui divitias quidem habebant ut prudentes et fideles dispensatores, attamen a divitiarum turpi cupiditate procul aberant.

Iubetur rex iudicaturus populum Dei, habere Deuteronomium legis Dei, omnibus diebus vitae suae, ut discat timere Dominum Deum suum, et custodire praecepta Dei sui. Vides, clementissime^o princeps, cuius rei studium, lectio, assidua meditatio a rege potissimum requiratur, nempe legis Dei. Neque frustra additur: omnibus diebus vitae suae, ne quis putet satis esse semel, et id in transitu, rem sacratissimam attigisse.

Accipiens exemplar a Leviticae tribus sacerdotibus, ne videlicet per subdolos legis interpretes, enarratores, doctores, a vero legis intellectu et usu abducatur in doctrinas varias et peregrinas et in^p inextricabiles errores, sed accipiet a sacerdotibus, quorum labia custodiunt scientiam¹⁰ Dei, in quorum corde et ore lex Dei est¹¹, qui in ea die ac nocte meditantur¹², imo, ne ullo modo errare possit noster princeps, exemplar legis accipiet a summo sacerdote Iesu Christo, qui verbo et opere

^k legitimarum *M.* — ^l pretio *FC* praecio *M.* — ^m adfluant *FMC.* — ⁿ adponatur *M.* — ^o clementissime *M.* — ^p in] *deest C.* —

¹⁰ Cf. Mal. 2:7. — ¹¹ Ex. 13:9. — ¹² Ps. 1:2. —

occasion, so that he begins in fact to take confidence in his powers rather than in God.

More women are forbidden, who were allowed, however, in the time of Mosaic law; but in the course of time the cause of prohibition is added, lest, plainly, tempted to forbidden delights by their appearance, their charm, their enticements, their female tricks, he begins to fear God less, and neglects the subject people, or unloads the care for them on the shoulders of rapacious prefects, as a somnolent shepherd⁵. But if a multitude of legitimate wives is blamed with regards to the king, what account will be rendered to God by impure princes, whoremongers, adulterers, who, for the sake of their unfettered and indomitable lust, will amicably, by spending money, and forcibly in the end, violate and pollute the houses of all men?

Great amounts of silver and gold are forbidden, not because possessing them to supply for all needs or to keep up a good name is evil, but that the heart may not get involved if riches come flowing on; not in these, but in God alone we may trust. This is demonstrated by very clear examples of many saints and princes and kings, who indeed possessed some riches as prudent and faithful stewards, but nevertheless kept far from the infamous greed of riches.

The king who will judge the people of God is ordered to have the Deuteronomy of God's law all the days of his life, that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, and to keep the precepts of his God. You see, most clement prince, on behalf of which cause studying, reading and incessant attention is preferably required from the prince, viz., the law of God. And not in vain is added, "all the days of his life", lest someone might think that one time having touched this most holy matter in passing will be enough.

Writing him a copy out of that which is before the priests the Levites, lest, plainly, he will be led away by cunning interpreters and narrators and doctors of the law from a true understanding and use of the law to various and strange doctrines and to inextricable errors, but he will have it from the priests, whose lips guard the learning of God, in whose heart and mouth is the law of God, who meditate about these things night and day: yes, lest our prince may be able to err in any way, he will have a copy of the law from the supreme priest Jesus Christ, who

⁵ This passage gains in importance if one realises that Geldenhower's patron at the time, landgrave Philip of Hesse, advocated polygamy and tried to win the leaders of the Reformation over to this institution.

totam legem implevit, et quomodo intelligenda implendaque sit, edocuit.

Ideo autem legis librum legere iubetur, non ut arrogantior theologica hac exercitatione reddatur, sed ut discat timere Dominum. Timor enim Domini initium sapientiae est¹³, et custodire praecepta Dei sui, ne umquam^a aut vivat impie, aut iudicet iniuste, suae prudentiae innitendo, aut fratres suos superbe contemnendo, atque ad dexteram vel ad sinistram, deserta iustitiae via regia, deflectendo.

Et ne reges et principes ab horum praeceptorum difficultatibus et laboribus abhorreant, pollicetur divina liberalitas, quae neminem fallere potest, amplissimam mercedem, et in futuro et in praesenti saeculo^r, videlicet ut regnent longo tempore ipse et filii eius. En ultro offert liberalissimus Pater caelestis^s, regibus timentibus se, quod multi principes olim ac etiam hac nostra memoria, confoederationibus, affinitatibus, consanguinitatibus assequi frustra conati sunt. Nolo hoc in loco esse ambitiosior, alioqui vivis exemplis haec declarare facile possem.

Postquam autem Dei gratia, clementissime^t princeps, epistola hac ad principum et magistratuum officia^u vel paucis indicanda deveni, non abs re erit, consiliarium vicariumque, quorum opera principales curae sublevari debent, officia ex Sacris Literis ascribere^v. “Provide”, inquit ad Mosen Iethro^w, divino nimirum afflatus numine, “de omni plebe viros sapientes et timentes Deum, in quibus sit veritas, et qui oderint avaritiam^x, et constitue ex eis tribunos et centuriones, et quinquagenarios et decanos, qui iudicent populum omni tempore. Quicquid autem maius fuerit, referent ad te, et ipsi minora tantummodo iudicent, leviusque sit tibi, partito in alios onere. Si hoc feceris, implebis imperium Domini”¹⁴. Et Deuteronomii cap.^y I. haec paulo disertius explicantur. Dixit Moses ad populum: “Date ex vobis viros sapientes et gnaros, quorum conversatio sit probata in tribubus vestris, et ponam eos vobis principes”¹⁵. Et post pauca subiungit: “Praecepique eis dicens: Audite illos, et quod iustum est iudicate. Sive civis sit ille, sive peregrinus, nulla erit distantia personarum. Ita parvum audietis ut magnum, nec accipietis cuiusquam personam, quia Dei iudicium est. Quod si difficile visum vobis aliquid fuerit, referte ad me, et ego audiam”¹⁶.

^a unquam *FMC*. — ^r saeculo *C*. — ^s coelestis *F*. — ^t clementissime *M*. — ^u officia *M*. — ^v adscribere *FMC*. — ^w Ietro *FM*. — ^x avariciam *M*. — ^y cap.] *deest MC*. —

¹³ Ps. 111(110):10, Ies. Sir. 1:16. — ¹⁴ Ex. 18:21-23. — ¹⁵ Deut. 1:13. — ¹⁶ Deut. 1:16-17. —

fulfilled the whole law by word and by act, and taught how it should be understood and fulfilled.

For that reason he is ordered to read the book of the law, not that he may be rendered more arrogant by this theological exercise, but that he may learn to fear the Lord. For the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and keeping the precepts of his God, lest he ever lives undutifully, or judges in an unjust way, leaning upon his prudence, or by proudly disregarding his brothers, and deflecting to the right or to the left, the *via regia* of justice having been deserted.

And lest the kings and princes averse from the difficulties and trouble of these precepts, divine liberality, which can disappoint nobody, promises a very ample reward, in the future as well as in the present, viz., that he himself and his sons will rule for a long time. Behold, from his part the most heavenly Father offers kings who fear him what many princes in former times and in our own days as well tried in vain to attain by confederations, affinities and consanguinities. I do not want to be too ambitious in this place, otherwise I could easily illustrate these things with vivid examples.

After arriving by the grace of God, most clement prince, with this letter at the tasks of the princes and magistrates that are to be explained, albeit with a few words, it will not be without reason to elucidate from the Holy Scripture the tasks of the counsellors and the vicars, by whose efforts the principal cares are to be alleviated. "Thou shalt provide", said Jethro to Moses, certainly inspired by divine power, "out of all the people able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness; and place such over them, to be rulers of thousands, and rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens: And let them judge the people at all seasons: and it shall be, that every great matter they shall bring unto thee, but every small matter they shall judge: so shall it be easier for thyself, and they shall bear the burden with thee. If thou shalt do this thing, *thou shalt fulfill the command of the Lord*". And these things are quite clearly explained in Deuteronomy, 1. Moses said to the people: "Take you wise men, *whose conduct has been approved of* among your tribes, and I will make them rulers over you". And somewhat later he adds: "And I charged *them* saying, Hear the causes between your brethren, and judge righteously. *Whether he is one of yours or a stranger*, ye shall not respect persons in judgment; but ye shall hear the small as well as the great; ye shall not be afraid of the face of men; for the judgment is God's: and the cause that is too hard for you, bring it unto me, and I will hear it".

Utinam haec legerent et intelligerent consilarii et iudices omnium principum, et dedicerent abuti principum autoritate^z ad gloriam quaestumque suum. Quotusquisque est hoc tempore iudicum, cuius conversatio probata sit in populo, qui non privata aliqua, aut ambitione aut commendatione, huic divino officio praefectus sit, qui sapiat, quae sunt Iesu Christi in timore Dei, qui veritatem omnibus carnis affectibus praeferat, qui avaritiam^{aa} oderit, qui omni tempore paratus sit iudicare causas populi Dei, qui graviores quaestiones^{bb} ad principem, seposito aliquantisper personarum respectu, bona fide referat? Hinc fit, clementissime princeps, ut tantis turbis, seditionibus, calamitatibus, bellis, caedibus, populus Dei affligatur, quia neglecta Dei lege tam principes quam principum consilarii, vicarii, iudices, tam populus quam sacerdotes, ambulant post concupiscentias carnis suae¹⁷ et avaritiae, fastuique a maximo usque ad minimum student omni tempore.

Quoniam vero exempla multos magis movent quam praecepta, aliquot sanctorum ducum et principum vitae compendia imitationis ergo subiungam.

De Mose sanctissimo duce legimus, quod fuerit “eruditus in omni sapientia Aegyptiorum”¹⁸, quod educatus in aula regia, nihil tamen aulicae impietatis aut licentiae contraxerit¹⁹, quod maluerit cum Dei populo inter servos annumerari, quam inter purpuratos Aegyptios triumphare²⁰, quod fuerit mitissimus, quod pro peccatis populi Deum exoraverit, quod pertinaces et pervicaces mandatorum Dei transgressores iuste punierit. Haec et huiusmodi multa de sanctissimo hoc duce Scriptura^{cc} commemorat, commemorandoque quales principes esse debeant, ostendit. Aegyptiaca eruditio tantum abest ut Mosi^{dd} obfuerit²¹, ut etiam ad validius confutandam Aegyptiorum abominandam idolatriam mirum in modum ei profuerit²². Quare hoc exemplo monentur principes, ne saecularem^{ee} (ut ita loquamur) eruditionem negligant, verum ea non abutantur, sed omnem cognitionem humanam ad divinam sapientiam dirigant, ut in timore Domini tam ipsi quam subiectus populus promoveant, atque tandem perficiantur. In aulicae quoque vitae licentia absque aulicorum vitiis, multi boni viri versati sunt, verum ubi quis senserit adeo corruptam esse aulam, ut nulla spes melioris conversationis in ea appareat^{ff}, relicta aula, ad Dei populum, quantumvis humilem et abiectum, sese conferat. Quam vero mitis conservatio principi viro necessaria sit, etiam ethnici philosophi literis commenda-

^z autoritate *M.* — ^{aa} avariciam *FM.* — ^{bb} questiones *M.* — ^{cc} Scriptura] *deest F.* —

^{dd} Moisi *M.* — ^{ee} saecularem *FC.* — [†] adpareat *FM.* —

If only the counsellors and the judges of all princes would read and understand these things and unlearn to abuse princely authority for their own glory and profit! How exceptional is the judge in our time, whose conduct has been approved of among the people, who is not appointed to his divine office by some private ambition or recommendation, who knows what matters belong to Jesus Christ in fear of God, who prefers the truth to all commotions of the flesh, who hates covetousness, who is ready at any time to judge the causes of the people of God, who refers in good faith the more serious questions to the prince, the respect of persons having been put aside for a while. That is why it happens, most clement prince, that the people of God is afflicted by so many agitations, riots, calamities, wars, and slaughters: because by neglecting the law of God, princes as well as the princely counsellors, vicars and judges, the people as well as the priests, walk after the desires of their flesh and their avarice, and are bent on pride at any time and to all lengths.

Since examples strike many people more than precepts, I shall add some compendia from the lives of saints, leaders and princes for the sake of imitation.

About the most holy leader Moses we read that he was "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," that he, however educated at the royal court, did not get involved with courtly undutifulness or licentiousness, that he liked better to be counted with the people of God to the slaves, than to make good cheer among the purpled Egyptians; that he was very mild, that he made God relent for the sins of the people, that he punished justly the obstinate and stubborn transgressors of God's mandates. The Scripture reminds us of these and many similar things about this most holy leader, and by doing so it shows how princes should be. Egyptian learning is only absent as far as it was harmful to Moses, as it was in a wonderful way to his advantage as well, to oppress more strongly the abominable idolatry of the Egyptians. To this end the princes are urged by this example, that they do not neglect the secular (to put it that way) learning, to be sure do not abuse it on the other hand, but direct all human knowledge to divine wisdom, that

¹⁷ Cf. 2 Pet. 2:10. — ¹⁸ Act. 7:22. — ¹⁹ Cf. Phil. Iud., *De vita Mosis* I, 25. — ²⁰ Cf. Ex. 2:10-11; Act. 7:21-23. — ²¹ Cf. Phil. Iud. I, 24. — ²² Cf. *ibid.* II, 161-162. —

runt. Legimus quoque apud poetas et historicos, principes pastores et patriae patres dictos²³, non alia de causa, quam ut in omnibus paternum erga populum gerant affectum, imo exemplo Mosis pro populo Deum crebro orent. Interea tamen ita amplectenda est mitis animi clementia²⁴, ut iustitiae non obliviscaris: ita haec²⁵ virtutes temperandae, ut iusta sit clementia²⁶, et clemens²⁷ iustitia²⁸. Haec de Mose clarissimo duce pro epistolari angustia paucis perstrinximus.

Qualem autem tantus dux, oraculo admonitus, successorem sibi designaverit²⁹, videamus: Iosue videlicet, de quo Scriptura testatur, quod fuerit verax³⁰, fortis, plenus spiritu sapientiae et pietatis. Tales enim decet esse omnes imperatores et principes, ut populum Dei recte gubernent, iuste iudicent, in vero Dei cultu contineant, et corroborent, rebelles ad multitudinis aedificationem³¹ puniant.

Addatur his duobus ducibus tertius dux et iudex Samuel. Is ab ineunte aetate³² consecratus Domino, a summo sacerdote Domini educatus et institutus, ita populum rexit et gubernavit, ut omni posteritati sit merito regula quaedam iuste imperandi atque iudicandi. Quare Sacrae Scripturae testimonium de tam sancto iudice penitus introspeciamus: “Iudicabat Samuel Israel³³ cunctis diebus vitae suae, et ibat per singulos annos, circumiens Bethel et Galgala et Masphat, et iudicabat Israelem³⁴ in supradictis locis”³⁵. Et expostulavit Samuel cum populo, dicens: “Loquimini de me coram Domino et coram Christo eius, utrum bovem cuiusquam tulerim aut asinum, si quemquam³⁶ calumniatus sum, si oppressi aliquem, si de manu cuiusquam munus accepi; et contemniam illud hodie, restituamque vobis”³⁷.

²³ clementia M. — ²⁴ haec FM. — ²⁵ clementia M. — ²⁶ clemens M. — ²⁷ ferax M. — ²⁸ edificationem M. — ²⁹ etate M. — ³⁰ Israhel M. — ³¹ Israhelem M. — ³² quenquam FC. —

²³ “Pater patriae”: cf. Ovid., *Fast.* II, 637 (Augustus); Iuven., *Sat.* VIII, 244 (Cicero). “Pastor”: cf. Quintil., *Instit. orat.* VIII, 6, 18. — ²⁴ Cf. Ioh. Sarisb., *Policrat.* IV, 8; Ambros., *De ob. Theod.* 25. — ²⁵ Cf. Num. 27:18-23. — ²⁶ 1 Sam. 7:15-16. — ²⁷ 1 Sam. 12:3. —

they themselves as well as the subject people may progress in fear of God, and are eventually perfected. Many good men are involved in the licentiousness of courtly life as well, without the faults of the courtiers; indeed, when someone would feel that the court is so corrupted that no hope for a better conduct will appear there, he should, after leaving the court, join the people of God, humble and undistinguished though it may be.

How much a mild conduct is necessary for a prince is written down even in the literature of the gentile philosophers: we read with poets and historians, too, that princes are called shepherds and fathers of the fatherland, for no other reason than that they may foster paternal feelings towards the people in all matters, yes, often pray to God for the people after the example of Moses. Meanwhile the mild clemency of the mind should be embraced in such a way, that you will not forget justice: these virtues should so be tempered that clemency may be just, and justice may be clement. For the sake of this letter's brevity, we have touched upon these matters about the most illustrious leader Moses with a few words.

Now let us see what successor the so great leader designated for himself, exhorted by an oracle: viz., Joshua, of whom the Scripture testifies that he was truthful, strong, and with a spirit full of wisdom and sense of duty. For that is how all emperors and princes should be, so that they govern the people of God rightly, judge it justly, contain and corroborate it in the true worship of God, and punish the rebels to edify the masses.

To these two leaders, a third leader and judge Samuel might be added. He, from his young days dedicated to the Lord, educated and instructed by the Lord's high priest, ruled and governed the people in such a way that all posterity may rightly have some rule of just command and judgment. Let us therefore pursue the testimony of the Holy Scripture of this so holy judge a little further: "And Samuel judged Israel all the days of his life. And he went from year to year, in circuit to Beth-el, and Gil-gal, and Miz-peh, and judged Israel in all those places". And Samuel complained to his people, saying: "Witness against me before the Lord, and before his anointed: whose ox have I taken? or whose ass have I taken? or whom have I defrauded? whom have I oppressed? or

Ibat Samuel, inquit Scriptura, et singulis annis circumibat Israeliticam^{aa} regionem, iusque dicebat. Non desidebat in amoeno palatio, tranquillitati suae consulens, sed in tribus locis ad hoc opportunis^{rr}, ne populus itineris labore et impensis gravaretur, audiebat, decernebatque lites, non differens miserae plebis querulas in menses et annos, non aucupabatur munera, non excusabat senium, non officium suum in vicarios reiciebat, ipse interim suae quieti, suis commodis, suae voluptati, quantumvis licitae, inserviens; sed cunctis diebus vitae suae, publica privatis, sacra prophanis, divina humanis, inter multas quoque vitae laboriosae insidias atque pericula praeferebat. O sanctum iudicem, o ter venerandum principem. Quis non huiusmodi principi in omnibus oboediret^{ss}, et pro talis principis salute omnia sua lubens exponeret? Conqueruntur plerique nostri temporis principes, plebem subiectam tacite tumultuari, nonnumquam^{tt} aperte meditari defectionem, et^{uu} interea non cogitant sese horum malorum magna in parte causam esse. Nam officio suo funguntur negligentissime, populum vero exactionibus onerant gravissimis; quum revera nullus sit pretiosior^{vv} principum thesaurus, nulla arx munitior, nullus exercitus instructor, opibus amantis principem populi. Ubi enim non luxus, sed honestas vel necessitas id postulaverit, non solum opes, sed et corpora pro miti, clemente^{ww}, iusto principe periculis exponere populus paratus est.

Ex his quae ex Sacris Literis hactenus annotata sunt facile colligitur, quod initio huius epistolae, qua et tibi et patriae meae atque tuae congratulari utcumque^{xx} conor, dixi, principem scilicet esse Dei et fratrum suorum ministrum, ad bonorum protectionem, laudem et gloriam, malorum vero terrorem, infamiam, poenam. Quare ante omnia officii sui semper meminerit princeps, id est, se esse (ut id repetam) ministrum Dei, cuius iussis pareat, cultum promoveat, gloriam evehat necesse est. Ergo doctrina Dei, a qua vera religio numquam^{yy} avellitur, vita sua ac suorum, ad praescriptum mandatorum Dei, nostro principi curae sit oportet. Huiusmodi autem doctrina, religio, vita, clare et

^{aa} Israeliticam *M.* — ^{rr} oportunis *FM.* — ^{ss} obediret *FMC.* — ^{tt} nonnumquam *F* nonumquam *M.* — ^{uu} et] *deest FM.* — ^{vv} pretiosior *FMC.* — ^{ww} clemente *M.* — ^{xx} utcumque *FMC.* — ^{yy} nunquam *FMC.* —

of whose hand have I received any bribe? *and I will scorn that today, and I will restore it to you*".

Samuel went, says the Scripture, and he went around from year to year in the country of Israel, and he did justice. He did not sit down in his agreeable palace, contented with his quietness, but he heard and arranged the disputes in three appropriate places — lest the people were burdened by the trouble of travelling and making expenses — not adjourning the charges of the miserable people for months and for years, he did not lie in wait for bribes, he did not excuse his old age, he did not unload his task on vicars, meanwhile giving way to his rest, his commodities, his pleasure, however allowed; but all the days of his life he preferred public to private matters, sacred to profane ones, divine to human ones, in the midst of many attempts on his industrious life and other dangers. O holy judge, o prince to be hallowed thrice! Who would not obey such a prince in all matters, and put willingly all his goods at disposal for the benefit of such a prince? Most princes of our days complain bitterly that the subject people are agitating in the quiet, sometimes are even outright meditating defection; and meanwhile they do not recognize that they are for a great part the cause of these evils themselves. For they are functioning in their office in a most careless way, and they charge the people with very grave exactions; but truly no treasury of princes is more precious, no stronghold is more solid, no army is more skilled, than the abilities of a people loving the prince. For when instead of luxury, honourableness or necessity require it, the people are ready not only to dispose their abilities to danger, but also their bodies, on behalf of a mild, clement, just prince.

From these matters out of the Holy Scripture that are explicated thus far, one can easily gather what I said in the beginning of this letter, with which I, as best I can, try to congratulate you and my fatherland, viz., that the prince is a servant of God and of his brothers, at the protection, the praise and the glory of the good, on the other hand at the terror, the infamy and the punishment of the bad. That is why the prince should always keep his task in mind above all things, that is to say, that he is (to repeat it) the servant of God, whose orders he has to

diserte expressa est in Bibliis Sacris, quae Davidis regis servi Dei exemplo, nocturna diurnaue manu versandae^{zz} sunt. Horum autoritate et armis, omni imposturae, omni falsae doctrinae, omni fucatae religioni, quacumque^a specie et imagine innocentiae ac pietatis, sese adonet: resistendum, et veritas promovenda.

Id quod optimos quosque reges fecisse legimus, et inter caeteros Iosaphat regem, qui misit principes et sacerdotes, qui “docebant populum in Iuda, habentes librum legis Domini, et circumibant cunctas urbes Iuda, atque erudiebant populum”²⁸. Tam pium regis studium, etiam Dominus temporali felicitate^b provexit. Addit enim Scriptura: “Crevit ergo Iosaphat, et magnificatus est usque in sublime”²⁹.

De Ezechia quoque, ad omnium principum doctrinam, scriptum est, quod praedicatores miserit in omnem Israel, ut reverterentur ad Dominum Deum patrum suorum³⁰. “Ipse dissipavit excelsa”, non absteritus longi temporis praescriptione, aut magnorum regum, maiorum suorum, errore; “et contrivit statuas, et succidit lucos, fregitque serpentem aeneum^c, quem fecerat Moses”, “et in Domino Deo^d Israel speravit”³¹. “Unde erat Dominus cum eo, et in cunctis ad quae procedebat, sapienter se agebat”³².

Eadem de Iosia rege leguntur, qui omne genus falsae doctrinae et superstitionis e regno suo, iuxta legem Domini, radicitus extirpavit, ita ut “similis ei non fuerit ante eum rex, qui reverteretur ad Dominum in omni corde suo, et in tota anima sua, et universa virtute sua, iuxta legem Mosi, neque post eum surrexit similis illi”³³.

Si ergo, illustrissime ac nobilissime princeps, vis vere esse quod audis, videlicet minister Dei, pastor, frater, pater populi Dei, si vis coram Deo et hominibus magnificari, si vis in omnibus rebus tuis sapienter agere, si vis omnes alios principes pia quadam magnanimitate superare: en habes praecepta, en habes exempla, quae te docebunt, incitabunt, deducunt ad optatum finem. Plura ipse observabis in Sacris Literis, quae ad tuam populique tui omnimodam salutem pertinent. Dedit enim tibi Dominus praeceptorem^f egregium D. Conradum Heresbachium, a

^{zz} uersanda *FM*. — ^a quacunque *FMC*. — ^b foelicitate *M*. — ^c eneum *M*. — ^d de *F*. — ^e illij *deest F*. — ^f preceptorem *M*. —

²⁸ 2 Par. 17:9. — ²⁹ 2 Par. 17:12. — ³⁰ 2 Par. 30:1 sqq. — ³¹ 2 Reg. 18:4-5. — ³² 2 Reg. 18:7. — ³³ 2 Reg. 23:25. —

obey, whose worship he has to promote, whose glory he has to elevate. So the doctrine of God, from which true religion is never separated, has to be of concern to our prince, in his life and that of his men, by the precept of God's mandates. Now, such doctrine, religion and life is clearly and eloquently expressed in the Holy Bible, that should be kept in the hand night and day, after the example of king David, the servant of God. With its authority and arms, he should be on the alert for every imposture, for every false doctrine, for every embellished religion, whatever its style or appearance of innocence and piety: resistance should be offered, and truth should be promoted.

We read that the very best kings did the same thing, among whom king Jehoshaphat. He sent forth princes and priests, who "taught *the people* in Judah, and had the book of the law of the Lord with them, and went around throughout all the cities of Judah, and taught the people". The Lord has advanced such a dutiful intention in temporal happiness either. For the Scripture adds: "And Jehoshaphat waxed great exceedingly".

Also about Hezekiah it has been written, to the instruction of all princes, that he sent forth preachers in all Israel, that they may return to the Lord God of their fathers. "He removed the high places", undeterred by the pretext of tradition or by the error of great kings, his ancestors, "and brake the images and cut down the groves, and brake in pieces the brasen serpent that Moses had made", "*and* he trusted in the Lord God of Israel". "And the Lord was with him; and he prospered whithersoever he went forth".

The same things are read about king Joshua, who teared out root and branch every kind of false doctrine and superstition in his kingdom in accordance with the law of the Lord, so that "like unto him was there no king before him, that turned to the Lord with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his might, according to all the law of Moses; neither after him arose there any like him".

If you then, most illustrious and most noble prince, really want to be what you hear, viz., servant of God, shepherd, brother and father of the people of God, if you want to be glorified with God and the people, if you want to act wisely in all your affairs, if you want to outshine all other princes in some dutiful magnanimity: here you have the precepts, here you have the examples, that will teach you, urge you, and lead you to the desired end. In the Holy Writ you will observe more yourself, that tends to the perfect salvation of you and your people. For the

quo magno Dei munere ita institutus es in bonis moribus et literis, ut mea admonitione opus tibi non sit. Attamen quia (ut divinissimus Paulus ait) "neque qui plantat est aliquid, neque qui rigat, sed qui incrementum dat Deus³⁴";³⁴ Heresbachius multa laudabiliter in area generosi pectoris tui plantavit, consilarii tui, viri prudentiae pietatisque laude insignes, plantata rigare non cessant, verum solus Deus incrementum dat. Quare ille in primis (ut supra diximus) invocandus et exorandus, illius testimonia, id est Sacrae Literae, ad verbum ediscenda. Neque ulla ratione audiendi, qui Sacrarum Literarum studia in solos episcopos, presbyteros^h, diaconos ecclesiae reiiciunt, ut hac sacrae eruditionis specie tyrannidem suam in electum Dei populum impune exerceant. Principum enim christianorum officium est (ut id repetam) librum legis Dei semper habere in sinu, in hoc versari, iuxta huius praecepta et suam et suorum vitam instituere, ministrorumque ecclesiae depravatos mores corripere et corrigere. Id quod sanctos principes crebro, iuvante Dei gratia, fecisse legimus. Si enim hoc nomine Israelitici populi reges commendantur, quod verum unius Dei cultum promoverint, facile colligitur, quid a christiano principe Dominus, Rex, Augustus, Deus noster Iesus Christus requirat^l.

Quantumvis autem haec vero veriora sint, neque ego celsitudini tuae, in re tam aperta^j, obstrepere debeam^k, nihilominus tamen, ut indicarem clementiae tuae, quam pio animi affectu te Dei ministrum, principem meum, et patriam meam dulcissimam prosequar, haec pauca et tibi et omnibus christianis principibus, absque verborum lenociniis, annotare, non inutile visum est. Hoc addam: noli vagari per multos libros, sed circumfer^l libros legis Dei, hos facito tibi familiares, secretarios, consiliarios. His adde quae sancti patres Ambrosius et Cyrillus, ad reges et imperatores christianos de recta fide scripserunt³⁵, quibus si iunxeris D. Erasmi Roterodami libellum de institutione christiani principis³⁶, habe-

³⁴ Dus C. — ^h praesbyteros M. — ^l Si...requirat] *deest* MC. — ^j in re tam aperta] *deest* MC. — ^k debebam FM. — ^l circumfer MC. —

³⁴ 1 Cor. 3:7. — ³⁵ Ambros., *De fide, ad Grat. Aug.*; Cyr., *De recta fide, ad Theod.*; *De recta fide, ad reg.* (I et II). — ³⁶ *De inst. chr. pr.*

Lord gave you Master Konrad Heresbach as an excellent tutor⁶, by which great gift of God you have been so instructed in good morality and literature, that you do not need my exhortation. Because, however (as says the most divine Paul) “neither is he that planteth any thing, neither he that watereth; but God that giveth the increase”: Heresbach has planted in a laudable way many things in the area of your gentle breast, your counsellors, men distinguished with praise in prudence and dutifulness, do not cease to water the planted, but only God gives the increase. Therefore he should be invoked and besought above all (as we have said above), his testimony (that is, the Holy Writ) should be learned word for word. And not for any reason should they be listened to, who leave the study of the Holy Writ only to the bishops, priests and deacons of the church, so that with this kind of sacred learning they exercise their tyranny unpunished over the elected people of God. For it is the task of christian princes (to repeat it) to bear the book of the law of God always in the breast, to abide by it, to arrange their own lives and those of their men in accordance with its precepts, to pitch into the depraved morals of the church servants and to correct them. We read that this has been done frequently by holy princes, with aid of God’s grace. If, then, in this name, the kings of the people of Israel are recommended to promote indeed the worship of the one God, one gathers easily what the Lord, the King, the August, our God Jesus Christ requires from a christian prince.

Although these matters seem to be more true than truth itself, and although I should not go on at your highness in such an obvious matter, nevertheless it did not seem useless to explicate these few things to you and to all christian princes, without straining after effect, as to indicate your clemency with how due affection I venerate you, servant of God, my prince, and my most sweet fatherland. This one thing I may add: do not wander through many books, but carry the books of God’s law with you, make them your relatives, secretaries, and counsellors. Add to these what the holy fathers Ambrose and Cyril have written to kings and emperors about the right faith, and if you will have joined to these the little book of Master Erasmus of Rotterdam on the instruc-

⁶ In the year 1523, Konrad von Heresbach (1496-1576), jurist and man of letters, was appointed tutor of the then eight-year-old William at the Cleves court. Not until 1570 did a *speculum regale* of his appear in print: *De educandis erudiendisq[ue] principum liberis reipublicaeq[ue] gubernandaeq[ue] destinatis, deque republica christiana administranda epitome libri duo*.

bis abunde instructam, quantum^m ad veramⁿ pietatem attinet, bibliothecam. Hanc autem meam qualemqualem epistolam, boni quoque consulas, etiam atque etiam rogo. Bene vale. Datum Marburgi^o Calendis Maii, anno 1538.

2. ENCHIRIDION

Illustrissimo principi Wilhelmo, duci Gelriensi, Iuliacensi, Clivensi, Montensi, comiti Marchiae, Zutphaniae, et in Ravensburch, domino a Ravenstein etc., domino meo clementissimo, Gerardus Geldenhausius Noviomagus S.D.

Amici quondam mei Petrus Aegidius et Cornelius Scribonius, viri eruditissimi, praeceptiones quasdam ex veterum libris collegerunt, ad docendos principes ac magistratus, qua ratione respublicae felicissime gubernari queant. Eas nuper relegens, non indignas duxi, quae sub illustrissimi nominis tui auspicio publicarentur. Ordinem in quibusdam mutavi: quae ad rem parum facerent, expunxi; quaedam vero paucis digesta, ut argumenti commoditas exigere videbatur, addidi. Hunc meum qualemqualem laborem, oro ut clementia tua hilari animo excipiat, et epistolae meae gratulatoriae, quam ante aliquot menses clementiae tuae candido pectore misi, auctarii loco adiungat. Offero autem celsitudini tuae me et studia mea omnia, orans ut Noviomagi tui aliquando memineris. Bene vale, princeps ac dux illustrissime. Datum Marburgi septimo Aprilis, anno 1539.

ENCHIRIDION PRINCIPIS AC MAGISTRATUS CHRISTIANI

Prisci poetae, qui etiam theologi habiti sunt, res cognitu factuque necessarias, fabularum involucris obtegebant, et id duplici ratione: primum, ut blandius lectorum animos subirent; deinde, ut teneras auriculas minus offenderent. Hi admonituri principes officii, finxerunt Iovem medium inter Themis et Cratos in stellato solio, miro splendore quaquaversum coruscante, sedentem; cuius iussu aquila, quam fingunt

^m quatum *F.* — ⁿ ueram *M.* — ^o Marburgi *FM.*

published, without Erasmus' consent, *Erasmi annotationes in leges pontificias et caesareas de haereticis* (1529), Erasmus reacted inimically. Yet, Erasmus was praised in the end of Geldenhouwer's *Institutio scholae christianae* from 1534 as well. Geldenhouwer can not be called rancorous towards his famous Rotterdam contemporary.

tion of the christian prince⁷, you will have an abundantly equipped library as far as the true sense of duty is concerned. I ask you positively to be content with my modest letter. Farewell. Given at Marburg, May 1, in the year 1538.

2. HANDBOOK

The most illustrious prince William, duke of Guelders, Juliers, Cleves, Berg, count of Mark, Zutphen, and in Ravensberg, lord of Ravenstein etc., my most clement lordship, Gerard Geldenhouwer of Nijmegen, greeting.

One day my friends Petrus Aegidius and Cornelius Scribonius, very learned men, collected some precepts from the books of the ancients, so as to teach princes and magistrates in what way states can be ruled in the most felicitous manner. As I read them again lately, I did not think them unworthy to be published under the auspices of your most illustrious name. In some cases I changed the order; I skipped matters seeming less relevant; on the other hand I added some matters, put down in a few words, whenever the convenience of the argument seemed to demand it. I pray your clemency to accept this modest work of mine in a happy mood, and to add it by way of extra to my letter of congratulation, that a few months ago I sent to your clemency in all sincerity. I offer your highness myself and all my diligence, praying that you will remember your Nijmegen native now and then. Farewell prince and most illustrious duke. Given at Marburg, April 7, in the year 1539.

HANDBOOK OF THE CHRISTIAN PRINCE AND MAGISTRATE

The ancient poets, who are considered theologians as well, used to cloak things that had to be known and done in covers of fables, and this they did for two reasons: first, that they might enter in a more comfortable way the minds of the readers; further, that they might less easily offend tender ears. In order to remind the princes of their task, they devised that Jupiter sits in the midst between Themis and Cratos on a star-spangled throne sparkling in all directions with a wonderful

⁷ Geldenhouwer's recommendation of the *speculum regale* of Erasmus is quite striking. Erasmus had not died a friend of Geldenhouwer in 1536: when Geldenhouwer turned over to Lutheranism in 1526, relations between them cooled down; after Geldenhouwer

Iovis esse armigeram et gestatricem fulminis, sceptrum flammas undique evomens, principibus in manus dat. Porro Themis honestatis dea, quam Latine 'fas' possumus interpretari, ense; Cratos autem, quae Latine 'potentia' est, diadema aureum largitur. Quid autem aliud prudentes viri significare voluerunt per sceptrum, quod ab aquila Iovis iussu principibus tribuitur, quam imperium et ius non nisi a Deo dari? Id quod Homero visum est cum scriberet:

Rex unus qui scepra dedit, venerandaque iura,
Iupiter¹.

Quo fit, ut antiquitas passim principes deorum esse discipulos et filios scribat. Quin a Menandro princeps dictus est imago animata Dei². Praeterea, ut ethnicos omittamus nos veritatis filii, nonne Deus noster optimus maximus, post Israeliticos iudices, Saulum elegit regem, et postea Davidem, ut nobis declararet, reges non nisi suo nutu terris dari? Hinc magnus ille Paulus ad Romanos scribens, inquit potestatem non nisi a Deo esse³. Niti itaque debet summa ope princeps, ut qui simulacrum Dei in terra gerit, et qui constitutus est a Deo, ut illi quam simillimus^a efficiatur. Iam quod sceptrum sit fulmineum, quid aliud sibi vult, quam invictum et ardentem animum, omnia difficilia penetrantem, et quicquid a recto declinat, amburentem? Cur vero Themis gladium porrigit, nisi ut princeps nihil agat praeter id quod fas est et iura permittunt? Quod autem Cratos coronam exhibet, significat coronas, id est, civitates, quae turrium ac moenium figuram habent, non potestate esse opprimendas, sed legibus conservandas; ac ita agnoscant principes potestatem, ut et humanitatem sentiant, et benignitatem. Quod Agapetus quoque his verbis indicat: "Sceptrum regni cum a Deo susceperis, cogitato quomodo placebis ei qui illud tibi dedit"⁴. Super omnia enim quae in regno praeclara sunt, pietatis stemma regem exornat.

^a simillimus C. —

¹ *Il.* B 205-206. — ² *Sent.* 264 (ed. Jaekel), 79 (ed. Meinecke). — ³ *Ad Rom.* 13:1. —

⁴ *Cap. admon.* LXI. —

only. In view of the context of the *Enchiridion*, Homer's words are presumably twisted on purpose.

splendour; on whose order an eagle, which they devised to be Jupiter's squire and the bearer of the thunderbolt, gives the princes in their hands a sceptre pouring forth flames all around. Moreover Themis, goddess of honourableness, whom we can interpret in Latin as 'fas', bestows a sword; Cratos, then, who is 'potentia' in Latin, bestows a golden diadem. What else did the prudent men intend to signify by the sceptre, that is allotted by the eagle to the princes on Jupiter's order, than that sovereignty and law are not given but by God? This is what Homer meant as he wrote:

The one king who gave the sceptres, and the honourable rights,
is Jupiter¹.

Thus is made clear that antiquity writes at random that princes are the disciples and the sons of the gods. Actually, the prince is called an inspired image of God by Menander. Furthermore — if we, sons of truth, may put the gentiles aside — did not our very best and greatest God elect Saul king after the Israelitic judges, and after that David, as to demonstrate us that kings are not given to the earth but at his instigation? For this reason said that great Paul writing to the Romans, that there is no power but from God. And so the prince has to lean upon the highest power, in order that he who dwells on earth as a resemblance to God, and who is assigned by God, is made as similar to him as possible. Now that the sceptre is flashing, what else could that mean but an invincible and ardent spirit, penetrating in all difficulties and scorching everything deviating from the right path? Why then does Themis extend a sword, if not that the prince may do nothing apart from what is right and permitted by the law? Further, that Cratos holds out a crown means that crowns, that is to say cities, which have the appearance of towers and fortifications, should not be oppressed by power, but should be preserved by laws; and the princes may become acquainted with power in such a way, that they feel humanity as well as benignity. Also Agapetus indicates this with the following words: "Since you assumed the sceptre of government from God, think how to please him who gave it to you". For above all splendid things in government, the garland of dutifulness adorns the king.

¹ In a copy of the 1541 print, kept in the Municipal Archives of Nijmegen, 'qui' has been stricken out by a hand from about 1600 and replaced by 'cui'; for the sake of comparison, the lines B 204-206 from the *Iliad* are cited in the margins, in completely correct Greek, as a matter of fact. The correction is justified: Homer did not say that Jupiter was the one king who gave the sceptre, but that the sceptre was due to Jupiter

PIETAS PRINCIPUM

Si ergo principes ac magistratus potestatem suam a Deo habent, nisi ipsa ingratitude ingratiore iudicari velint, pietatem colant necesse est. Quantopere vero deceat principes pietas, nemo est qui non novit. Haec autem ut Deo cultum, ita amicis, civibus et patriae benevolentiam tribuit, quae si principibus perpetuo adsit, felicissimus omnium censebitur. Addunt autem Mythologici eusebiae sceptrum, quali olim usi sunt reges Aegyptii, in summo ciconiae figuram, in imo vero hippopotamum exculptum habens⁵. Nam quemadmodum ciconia in Aegyptiorum hieroglyphicis literis pietatem significabat, quod videlicet haec avis sit maxime pia, ut scribit Plinius libro decimo, capite vigesimo⁶, et Petronius Arbiter in fragmentis libri Satyrici hanc pietatis cultricem vocat⁷. Quin et divus Ambrosius Romanis hanc pietatis nomine fuisse honestatam prodidit⁸. Contra hippopotamus, cuius et Plinius⁹ et Dioscorides¹⁰ meminere, animal est truculentum et impium; quod ubi adoleverit, periculum facit, an patre fortius sit; quod si viribus praecellat, devorat patrem. Prudentes itaque Aegyptii hoc sceptro demonstrabant, regibus semper pietatem tamquam^b monumentum quoddam prae oculis habendam esse; vim autem, iracundiam, vindictam atque id genus animi motus, coercendos suppressendosque.

PRUDENTIA

Pietatem non potest deserere prudentia. Hanc geminis faciebus (ut Palladem illam Homericam¹¹) Aegyptii effinxerunt, significare volentes, prudentiam undique debere esse oculatam, undique circumspicientem^c, huic pro gestamine sceptrum datum est, in cuius summo positus est oculus, quod videlicet Aegyptii in sacerdotalibus notis regis imaginem exprimentes, hoc sceptro vitae rectitudinem prudentiamque cum vigilantia esse coniungendam, demonstrare voluerunt¹². Haec virgo omnium sagacissima, et a Solomone sapientibusque omnibus tantopere laudata, nullo in tempore, nullo in loco, nulla in re, a principum ac magistratum latere recedat.

^b tanquam C. — ^c circumspicientem C. —

⁵ ubi? — ⁶ *Hist. nat.* X, 31. — ⁷ *Sat.* LV, 6, v. 6. — ⁸ *Hexam.* V, 16, 53-55. — ⁹ *Hist. nat.* VIII, 95-96. — ¹⁰ *De mat. med.* II, 23. — ¹¹ *Il.* A 206-207. — ¹² *Plut., Moral.* 354F-355A, 371E. —

DUTIFULNESS OF THE PRINCES

If, then, the princes and the magistrates have their power from God, they must observe dutifulness, unless they want to be condemned as more ungrateful than ingratitude itself. How much indeed dutifulness becomes the princes, there is nobody who does not know that. Dutifulness did not only allot worship to God, but also benevolence to his friends, the citizens and the fatherland, and if it is continuously with the princes, he will be regarded as the happiest of all men. Now the mythologists add the sceptre of eusebia, as once used by the kings of Egypt, having at the top a picture of a stork, at the bottom however an image of a hippopotamus. Certainly, as the stork stood for dutifulness in the hieroglyphics of the Egyptians, as Pliny writes in the tenth book, twentieth chapter, so also Petronius Arbiter, in the fragments of the book *Satyricon*, calls it an adorer of dutifulness. Yes, also the divine Ambrose handed down to the Romans that it was honoured in the name of dutifulness. Conversely, the hippopotamus, that both Pliny and Dioscorides make mention of, is a furious and undutiful animal; when it has grown up, it puts to the test if it is stronger than its father; if it excels him in vigour, it devours the father. Thus the prudent Egyptians demonstrated by this sceptre that sense of duty should always, like some memorial, be held before the kings' eyes; that on the other hand force, short-temperedness, debauchery, and this sort of emotion, should be restrained and oppressed.

PRUDENCE

Prudence cannot desert dutifulness. The Egyptians depicted her by means of a double face (like the Pallas of Homer), intending to signify that prudence should be supplied with eyes all around, looking all around; by way of equipment a sceptre is given to her, at the top of which an eye is placed, because the Egyptians plainly wanted to demonstrate with this sceptre, expressing in priestly features an image of the king, that rightness of life and prudence should be joined with watchfulness. This virgin, most perceptive of all, so greatly praised by Solomon and all wise men, should not at any time, at any place, in any case, budge from the side of the princes and magistrates.

IUSTITIA

Iustitiam perpetuo prae oculis habendam omnibus, in primis autem principibus, nullus est qui nesciat. Sine iustitia enim (ut inquit Cicero) nihil valet prudentia¹³; et divus ille Ambrosius prudentiae, fortitudini, temperantiae, malitiam, iracundiam, impatientiam, atque huius generis vitia plerumque^d esse admixta scribit, solam vero iustitiam caeterarum virtutum concordiam fulcire¹⁴. Mythologici hanc ita depingunt, ut praeferat labarum scipioni deaurato affixum, in quo symbolum iustitiae est depictum, gladius scilicet, quem ambit corona, in cuius cuspidе statera lancibus utrimque^e dependulis eminet¹⁵. Tyrannidem fingunt pessundatam, beluam omnium teterrimam, maximeque principibus detestandam, capite serpentibus, draconibus, viperis obvincto, terribilem, ore hiulco, dentibusque avidissimis homines devorantem, sanguine pauperum ebriam, ventricosam, insatiabilem, unguibus aduncis armatam, e leone, denique urso, lupo, et tigride formatam, qua de Israelitarum sapientissimus Solomon scribit: “Leo rugiens et ursus esuriens, princeps impius in populum pauperem”¹⁶. Et Bias e Graecorum quoque sapientibus unus, interrogatus quanam fera esset perniciosissima: “Silvestrium^f”, inquit, “tyrannus; domesticarum, adulator”¹⁷. Ab hoc enim portento summe cavendum principibus, quod facile fiet, si iustitiam virtutum omnium et fontem et parentem comitem habuerint, quam Aristoteles libro Topicorum secundo, tam utilem scribit esse subditis, quam ubertas^g temporis¹⁸. Hinc praeclare Cyprianus: “Iustitia regis pax est populorum, immunitas plebis, medela languidorum, gaudium mortalium, aëris temperies, serenitas maris, fecunditas^h terrae, solatium pauperum, haereditas filiorum, et regi spes futurae beatitudinis”¹⁹.

CLEMENTIA

Iustitia vero iustitia non est, nisi adsit clementia, quae virgo fingitur, venustate et decore praepollens, solem et agniculum gerens pro insignibus. Haec est quae principes viros faciles reddit, amabiles, benignos, hospitales, beneficos, favorabiles, adeo ut Theodosius imperator Honorio filio suo (ut est apud Claudianum) praeceperit:

^d plerunque C. — ^e utrinque C. — ^f Sylvestrium C. — ^g ubertas C. — ^h foecunditas C. —

¹³ *De off.* II, 34. — ¹⁴ *De off. minist.* I, 24. — ¹⁵ ubi? — ¹⁶ Prov. 28:15. — ¹⁷ Plut., *Moral.* 61 C. — ¹⁸ *Secr. secr.* (red. Rog. Baconis) III, 5. — ¹⁹ Ps.-Cyp., *De duod. abus. saec.* 9. —

JUSTICE

That justice should continuously be held before the eyes of everyone, yet of the princes above all, there is nobody who does not know that. For without justice (as Cicero says) prudence is not worth anything; and the divine Ambrose writes that malice, short-temperedness, impatience, and that kind of vices are all too often mixed up with prudence, fortitude, and temperance, and that only justice shores up the concord of the other virtues. The mythologists depict her this way, that she prefers the fixed banner to the guilt staff, the banner in which the symbol of justice is depicted, viz., the sword, surrounded by a crown, on top of which sword a balance reaches out with dishes hanging at both sides. They devise tyranny as wrecking, a beast most horrid of all, mostly to be detested by princes, with a head wrapped up with serpents, dragons, and vipers, terrible, with a distended mouth, devouring people with voracious teeth, intoxicated with the blood of the poor, pot-bellied, insatiable, armed with curved nails, formed out of a lion, along with a bear, a wolf and a tiger, on which Solomon, the wisest of the Israelites, writes: "As a roaring lion, and a ranging bear; so is a wicked ruler over the poor people". And also Bias, one of the wise of the Greeks, when asked what animal indeed was the most dangerous, replied: "Of the wild ones, the tyrant; of the tame ones, the adulator". The princes should beware of this monster to the utmost extent, which will happen easily, if they have justice, the source and parent of all virtues, for their companion, on which Aristotle writes in the second book of the *Topics* that it is as useful for the subjects as good weather. Therefore says Cyprian in a fair way: "The justice of the king is peace of the nations, a relief of the people, a remedy of the lethargics, a joy of the mortals, the temper of the air, the calm of the sea, the fertility of the earth, the consolation of the poor, a heredity of the sons and for the king a hope for future beatitude".

CLEMENCY

Justice is no justice indeed, if clemency would not be present, that is devised as a virgin, powerful in charm and grace, bearing the sun and the lamb as distinctives. It is she who makes the princes easy to get on with, amiable, benign, hospitable, beneficent, beloved, to such a degree that the emperor Theodosius ordered his son Honorius (as it is with Claudian):

Sis pius in primis; et cum vincamur ab omni
 Munere, sola deos aequat clementia nobis.
 Nec tibi quod liceat, sed quod fecisse decebit,
 Occurrat, mentemque domet respectus honesti²⁰.

Haec virgo crudelitatem humi allisam pedibus premit, et ad Tartarum tandem, unde egressa est, descendere cogit.

VERITAS

Clementiam veritas sequitur, cuius simplicis videlicet et nudae virgunculae effigiem veteres Aegyptiorum reges e collo pendentem gestare solebant, ut perpetuo observaretur animo. Maxime enim refert, ut principes veritatem agnoscant, et verum a falso simulationeque discernant. Nam assentatio ita huius imaginem nunc hoc, nunc illo fuco, modo aliis atque aliis sumptis personis mentitur; ita venena melle circumlinit, ut vix (nisi sis plane lynceus) queat dinosci. Habet autem, ut inquit Tullius, adulatio principia iucunda, exitus vero amarissimos²¹. Ab hac peste tamquam¹ praesentaneo veneno cavendum est principibus. Habeat igitur aures apertas veritati, assentatores et hypocritas procul a se eliminat. Nihil enim periculosius principi, quam si aures adulatoribus accomodet, plus enim (ut scribit Hieronymus) nocet lingua adulatoris, quam gladius hostis²². Et Agapetus: "Aversare", inquit, "fallaces adulatorum sermones, ut corvorum rapaces mores"²³.

MUNIFICENTIA

Addidere veteres principalibus virtutibus munificentiam, quae principes maxime amabiles, cum contra avaritia maxime odibiles reddere solet. Quid enim turpius illi, qui aliis imperat, quam si pecuniarum cupiditati ancilletur? Avaritia enim, autore Sallustio¹, materies est omnium malorum: fidem, probitatem, caeterasque virtutes et bonas artes evertit²⁴. Quare recte Agapetus admonet: "Si honore ex omnibus vis perfrui, praesta te communem omnium benefactorem"²⁵.

¹ tanquam C. — ¹ Salustio C.

²⁰ *De qu. consul. Hon.* 276-277, 267-268. Dicit autem Claudianus: "vincamur in omni munere". — ²¹ falso. Cf. autem *De am.* 91. — ²² ubi? Cf. autem *Ies. Sir.* 28:22; *Aug., En. in Ps.* 69, 5. — ²³ *Cap. admon.* XII. — ²⁴ *De coni. Catil.* X, 3-4. — ²⁵ *Cap. admon.* XIX. —

Above all, be dutiful; and since we are surpassed by every virtue, clemency alone equals the gods to us.
 Not the permissible, but things becoming to have done
 may occur to you, and the regard for the honest may domesticate your mind.

This virgin tramples cruelty, cast on the ground, with feet, and compels her to descend to the Tartarus again, from which she has come.

TRUTH

Truth follows clemency, the effigy of which, viz., a simple and nude little maiden, was usually worn around the neck by the ancient Egyptian kings, in order to be kept in mind continuously. What counts most is that the princes recognize the truth, and that they discern the true from the false and from simulation. For flattery falsely assumes the image of it, at one time by this, at another time by that forgery, then again by other and other impersonations; it surrounds poison with honey to such a degree that it could scarcely be distinguished (unless you are uncommonly shrewd). Now adulation has a pleasant start, as Tullius says, but a most bitter end. The princes should beware of this pestilence that is like a speedy poison. Therefore he may have ears opened to truth, he may remove the flatterers and the hypocrites far from him. For nothing is more perilous to the prince, than if he gives ready ear to adulators, because the tongue of the adulator does more harm (as Jerome writes) than the sword of the enemy. And Agapetus says: "Turn away from the deceiving words of the adulators, just as from the greedy habits of the ravens".

MUNIFICENCE

The ancients added munificence to the princely virtues, which is used to render the princes extremely amiable, while avarice, to the contrary, makes them extremely detestable. For what is more disgraceful to him who rules over others than if he becomes enslaved to the lust for money? Truly, avarice, according to the author Sallust, is the raw material of all evils, it smashes up faith, probity and all other virtues and good arts. Therefore Agapetus admonishes rightly: "If you want to enjoy honour with all men, prove yourself a common benefactor of all".

ERUDITIO ET VOLUPTATUM CONTEMPTUS

In principum vero aulis philologiam inter primos consiliarios versari decet. Hanc specie feminae^k venerandae ac maiestatis plenae, veteres delineaverunt, quae stipata Mercurio coniuge²⁶, eloquentiae praeside, caeterisque castissimis virginibus, doctissimis sororibus, Gratiis ac Musis: maximis regibus ac imperatoribus immortale decus peperit, ac semper paritura est. Nam haec est illa, quam Plato dixit beatas efficere respublicas;²⁷ qua Alexander Magnus dicebat se malle antecellere, quam divitiis;²⁸ per quam Iulius Caesar, Octavius Augustus, Hadrianus, Marcus Antoninus Philosophus¹, uterque Theodosius, et multi alii minoris nominis principes, plus gloriae permanentis assecuti sunt, quam imperii aut bellorum titulis ac tropaeis. Hanc quisquis adamaverit, non poterit non remittere nuncium ebrietati, luxui, venationi, aucupioque nimio, aliisque inhonestarum voluptatum illecebris. De quibus contemnendis pulchre scribit Basilius Magnus, de legendis antiquorum libris:²⁹ quod Herculi adolescenti, diu multumque ambigenti, utram viam ingrederetur; duas enim ante se spectabat: unam voluptatis, virtutis alteram; geminae matronae ei apparebant, quarum prior virtus, posterior vitiositas. Haec autem erat excultissima, delicias, risus, iocos, voluptates omnimodas secum trahens, nihil non illecebrarum ostendens, nihil non promittens quo adolescentis animum inescaret. Illa vero horrida tota, laborique assueta, famem, sitim, imbres, sudores, aerumnas tam terra quam mari perferendas, ob oculos posuit; praemium vero illarum immortalitatem fore sancte pollicita est. Hercules vero magno animo, despecta voluptate, virtutis viam ingressus, tandem in deorum numerum relatus est.

Neque quae hactenus annotavimus, antiquitas frustra fabulata est. Revera enim, si principes ac magistratus pii, prudentes, iusti, clementes, veraces, munifici, eruditi, voluptatum contemptores fuerint, in aeternum cum Iesu Christo Rege regum et Domino dominorum³⁰, triumphabunt ac regnabunt.

— ^k foeminae C. — ¹ Philosophus C.

²⁶ Mart. Cap., *De nupt. Phil. et Merc.* — ²⁷ *De Rep.* V, 18 (473 C-D). — ²⁸ Val. Max., *Fact. et dict.* IV, 3 ext. 3. — ²⁹ *Ad adol., de leg. libr. gent.* V. — ³⁰ 1 Tim. 6:15, Apoc. 17:14, Apoc. 19:16.

ERUDITION AND CONTEMPT OF LUSTS

It is becoming that philology ranks among the primary counsellors at the courts of the princes. The ancients delineated her in the shape of a venerable woman full of majesty, who, surrounded by her husband Mercury, the patron of eloquence, and other very chaste virgins, her most learned sisters, the Graces and the Muses, bore and will always be bearing an immortal esteem to the greatest kings and emperors. For it is she of whom Plato said that she beatified the states; of whom Alexander the Great said that he would rather excel at than at riches; by whom Julius Caesar, Octavius Augustus, Hadrianus, Marcus Antoninus the Philosopher, both of them named Theodosius, and many other princes of lesser names have acquired more permanent glory than by trophies and victories of government or warfare. Whoever gets to loving her will not be able not to renounce from inebriety, luxury, hunting, all too vehement fowling, and other incitements of dishonourable lusts. Basil the Great wrote beautifully on these things to be condemned, in *On the books of the ancients that should be read*: that to the young Hercules, who was for a long time much torn in two about which path to enter — because he saw two of them before him: one of lust, the other of virtue — to him appeared a pair of matrons, the former of these being virtue, the latter depravity. Now the latter was looking ravishing, taking with her delight, laughter, jokes and all sorts of lusts, exhibiting every kind of incitement, promising anything by which she could goad the lad's mind. The former, on the other hand, was totally unkempt, used to work, displaying hunger, thirst, tears, sweat, and the disaster to be endured on the land as well as at sea; she vowed solemnly that the reward of all those would be immortality. Now Hercules, in a great spirit, looking down upon lust, having entered the path of virtue, has eventually been included in the ranks of the gods.

And those things we have commented upon till now, have not been fancied by antiquity for nothing. For if indeed the princes and the magistrates will have been dutiful, prudent, just, clement, truthful, munificent, learned and contemptuous of lusts, they will triumph and rule with Jesus Christ, the King of kings and Lord of lords, in eternity.

Dirk SACRÉ

QUAESTIUNCULAE PALEARIANAE

1. *Alberto Lollio lecteur et imitateur d'Aonio Paleario*

Dans ce premier chapitre, nous nous proposons de faire ressortir les relations qu'Aonio Paleario a entretenues avec Alberto Lollio et d'attirer l'attention sur l'influence que l'œuvre de l'un a exercée sur celle de l'autre; par là, nous illustrerons de façon concrète la fascination qu'ont ressentie devant la littérature néo-latine les écrivains en langue vulgaire.

De ces deux humanistes en question, Paleario est trop célèbre, pour qu'il soit nécessaire d'en retracer la biographie en détail¹. Rappelons qu'il fut professeur d'éloquence à Lucques (1546-1554) et à Milan (1555-1568), et qu'il a laissé un poème anti-lucrétien, le *De animorum immortalitate*² (1535), des oraisons et une collection de lettres latines. Sa principale œuvre réformatrice, l' *Actio in pontifices Romanos*, parut après sa mort³ — en 1570, Paleario fut exécuté comme hérétique.

Alberto Lollio, d'autre part, n'a pas suscité de la part des philologues l'intérêt qu'il mérite, bien que des historiens de la littérature italienne comme Tiraboschi et d'autres⁴ l'aient considéré comme un des princi-

¹ Cf. S. Caponetto, *Aonio Paleario (1503-1570) e la Riforma protestante in Toscana*, Studi storici (Torino, 1979); L. Kosuta, 'Aonio Paleario et son groupe humaniste et réformateur à Sienne (1530-1546)', *Lias*, 7 (1980), 3-59; D. Sacré, 'Panormita statt Paleario', *Wolfenbütteler Renaissance Mitteilungen*, 7 (1983), 97-98; Id., 'Parerga Paleariana', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 32 (1983), 197-217; Id., 'Aonii Palearii carmina iuvenilia II', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 34 (1985), 209-227; Id., 'Hendecasyllabi saeculi XVI inediti nominique Aoni Paleari fortassis addicendi', *Giornale filologico ferrarese*, 10 (1987), 195-200; E. Gallina, *Aonio Paleario* (Sora, 1989; 3 vols.; cf. le troisième chapitre de cet article).

² Cf. D. Sacré, 'De Aonio Paleario Verulano (1504-1570) Lucreti imitatore', *Latinitas*, 36 (1988), 45-56; Id., 'Een anti-Lucretius uit de zestiende eeuw: Aonio Paleario', *Hermeneus*, 60 (1988), 250-256. Nous préparons une édition critique de ce poème.

³ Ed. critique par G. Paladino, *Opuscoli e lettere di Riformatori del' 500*, 2 (Bari, 1927), pp. 3-168.

⁴ Cf. G. Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana* (sec. ediz. modenese), VII: *Dall' anno MD all' anno MDC*, parte IV (Modena, 1792), pp. 1581-1582; F. Flora, *Storia della*

paux orateurs en langue vulgaire du Cinquecento. Issu d'une famille originaire de Ferrare, Lollo vit le jour à Florence en 1508, mais passa la plus grande partie de sa vie à Ferrare⁵. Il fit des études de lettres sous la direction d'Antimaco⁶ et de Domenico Cillenio⁷, et s'exerça surtout dans l'art oratoire tant italien que latin. Il jouit d'un grand prestige auprès des ducs d'Este. Parmi ses œuvres, signalons une comédie représentée en 1563⁸ et surtout des harangues classiques, comparables à

letteratura italiana, 2 (Milano, 1959), pp. 358 et 537); G. Bertoni, *La biblioteca estense e la cultura ferrarese ai tempi del Duca Ercole I (1471-1505)* (Torino, 1903), p. 90. Déjà, P. Beni (1552/3-1625) le considérait comme un des meilleurs prosateurs italiens du seizième siècle: cf. M. Vitale, *La questione della lingua* (Palermo, 1978), p. 163. Lollo est présent dans l'œuvre de Doni: cf. R. Scrivano, *La norma e lo scarto. Proposte per il Cinquecento letterario italiano*, L'Ippogrifo, 20 (Roma, 1980), p. 113.

⁵ Cf. G. Barotti, *Memorie storiche di letterati ferraresi*, I (Ferrara, 1792), pp. 365-389; *Continuazione delle memorie storiche di letterati ferraresi* (Ferrara, 1811), pp. 51-52; F. Borsetti, *Historia almi gymnasii Ferrariensis*, II (Ferrariae, 1735 = Bologna, 1970), pp. 368-369; A. Lazzari, 'Un umanista romagnolo alla corte d' Ercole II d'Este: Bartolommeo Ricci da Lugo', *Atti e memorie della deputazione ferrarese di storia patria*, 21 (1913), 3-240 (pp. 157-161); L. Ughi, *Dizionario storico degli uomini illustri ferraresi nella pietà, nelle arti e nelle scienze* (...), 2 (Ferrara, 1804), pp. 39-41; F. Di Broilo, 'La famiglia di Alberto Lollo', *Rivista del Collegio araldico (Rivista araldica)*, 17 (1919), 305-306; F. di V., 'Note riguardanti Alberto Lollo ferrarese', *ibid.*, 20 (1922), 329; S. Pasquazi, *Poeti estensi del Rinascimento con due appendici. Introduzione e testi* (Firenze, 1966), pp. 235-246; R. Baldi, *Giovann Battista Pigna: uno scrittore politico nella Ferrara del Cinquecento*, Quaderni dell' Istituto di scienza politica (dell') Università di Genova, 2 (Genova, 1983), passim; M.E. Cosenza, *Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists* (...) (Boston, 1962), p. 2003; G. Toffanin, 'Lollo Alberto', in *Enciclopedia italiana* (...), 21 (Roma, 1951), p. 414; *Biblioteca dell' eloquenza italiana di G. Fontanini* (...) *con le annotazioni di Apostolo Zeno* (Venezia, 1753), I, pp. 123 et 125; II, pp. 137 et 286.

⁶ Cf. T.B. Deutscher, 'Antimaco', in P.G. Bietenholz - T.B. Deutscher (edd.), *Contemporaries of Erasmus* (...), 1: A-E (Toronto, etc., 1985), p. 62; L.G. Giraldis, *De deis gentium. Basel 1548*, The Renaissance and the Gods. A Garland Series (New York, London, 1976), pp. 407-408 (Giraldis à Lollo).

⁷ Cf. M.E. Cosenza, *o.c.* (n.5), p. 1167.

⁸ L'*Aretusa* (Ferrare, 1564), rééditée par A.F. Pavanello, 'Aretusa, commedia pastorale di Messer Alberto Lollo', *Atti e memorie della deputazione ferrarese di storia patria*, 13 (1901), 69-164. Un fragment de sa comédie inachevée *Galatea* a été publié par A. Solerti, 'La "Galatea" di Alberto Lollo', *Il Propugnatore*, n.s. 4 (1891), 22-23 et 199-212. A consulter également: A. Godard, 'La première représentation de l' Aminta: la cour de Ferrare et son double', in D. Boillet e.a., *Ville et campagne dans la littérature italienne de la Renaissance*, II: *Le courtisan travesti*, Centre de rech. sur la Renaiss. ital., 6 (Paris, 1977), pp. 187-301; G. Papagno - A. Quondam, *La corte e lo spazio: Ferrara estense*, Centro studi 'Europa delle corti' / Biblioteca del Cinquecento, 17 (Roma, 1982), passim; N.M. Jensen, 'Musci at Ferrara under Ercole II and Alfonso II', in M. Pade e.a. (edd.), *La corte di Ferrara e il suo mecenatismo 1441-1598. Atti del convegno internaz. Copenaghen maggio 1987*, Istituto di st. rinascimentali Ferrara, saggi (Kobenhavn, Ferrara, 1990), pp. 329-336 (p. 332); M. Pieri, *La scena boschereccia nel Rinascimento italiano*, Biblioteca di cultura (Padova, 1983), passim; A. Solerti-Lanza, 'Il teatro ferrarese nella seconda

celles de son ami Bartolommeo Ricci, précepteur des fils d'Ercole II d'Este: *Per quello, che un' oratore verisimilmente avrebbe potuto dire in difesa di Marco Orazio al popolo romano; Di ciò che si stima, che Gajo Furio Cressino in sua difesa dicesse al popolo romano*, etc. Dans ses œuvres italiennes, Lollio prit la défense de l'idiome toscan. On cite de lui quelques traductions du latin et des opuscles grammaticaux⁹. Lollio mourut en novembre 1569.

Cet orateur a laissé en outre une collection de lettres fort intéressante; il s'agit de onze livres de lettres latines pour la plupart inédites et adressées à des humanistes tels que Celio Calcagnini, Luigi Boccadiferro, Daniele Fini et Bartolommeo Ricci¹⁰.

C'est par l'intermédiaire de Ricci, qu'Alberto Lollio fit la connaissance de l'œuvre de Paleario. En 1552, Paleario avait fait paraître chez Sébastien Gryphe à Lyon la première édition de ses *Opera*. Comme il va de soi, il en envoya des exemplaires à quelques-uns de ses amis, entre autres à Ricci, qui la transmit à Lollio¹¹. Dans une lettre, que nous publions ici pour la première fois¹², celui-ci se prononça en ces termes sur les qualités du latin de Paleario:

metà del secolo XVI', *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, 18 (1891), 148-185 (p. 153); L. Chiappini, *La corte estense alla metà del Cinquecento. I compendi di Messioburgo* (Ferrara, 1984), pp. 16-17.

⁹ Cf. B. Gamba, *Serie dei testi di lingua* (...) (Venezia, 1839 = Bologna, 1982), passim; dans cet ouvrage, on trouve une bibliographie des œuvres principales de Lollio. Une des oraisons de l'humaniste a fait l'objet d'une édition critique: D. Gibert, 'L'orazione "Della eccellenza e dignità della lingua toscana" di Alberto Lollio (1508-1569). Edizione critica', *Aevum*, 63 (1989), 501-530. Mais l'auteur ignore qu'une partie des lettres de Lollio a été publiée (cf. note 10) et ne parle pas du tout de la préface de l'oraison en question, dans laquelle Lollio s'est adressé à Paleario; en outre, son édition ne mentionne pas quela plus grande partie de l'oraison a été rééditée par F. Foffano, *Proze filologiche: la questione della lingua. Nuova presentazione di F. Ageno*, Biblioteca Carducciana, II, 2 (Firenze, 1978). A la littérature sur l'opuscule, il faut ajouter M. Vitale, *La questione della lingua*, o.c. (n. 4), pp. 94-95, 141, 163. Remarquons que l' 'editio princeps' du discours parut en 1555, et non pas en 1553, comme l'affirme E. Gallina, *Aonio Paleario*, o.c. (n. 1), I, p. 513.

¹⁰ Ferrare, Biblioteca civica Ariostea, cod. I 145; cf. G. Antonelli, *Indice dei manoscritti della civica biblioteca di Ferrara*, 1 (Ferrara, 1884), pp. 83-84 (cf. pp. 34, 46-47, 51, 118-119, 148, 153, 164, 172-174 et 182). Une partie de l' épistolaire a été publiée par P. Magri, 'Undici lettere inedite di Alberto Lollio: Appunti per una storia delle idee pedagogiche nella Ferrara del Cinquecento', in *Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di Magistero dell' Università di Ferrara*, 1 (Ferrara, 1974), pp. 141-168.

¹¹ Sur Ricci, voir D. Sacré, 'De Aonio Paleario Verulano et Bartholomaeo Riccio Lugiensis', in *Umanesimo ferrarese*, Quaderni del Giornale filologico ferrarese, 12 (Ferrara, 1990), pp. 47-67.

¹² Un fragment de la lettre a été publié par A. Lazzari, 'Un umanista', o.c. (n. 5), p. 192 n. 1.

(f. 149v) ALBERTUS LOLLIUS BARTHOLOMAEO RICCIO SUO

S.D.P. LEPIDISSIMUM Aonij tui librum incredibili cum aviditate voluptateque perlegi. Cave putes, me proximis hisce viginti annis quicquam vidisse elegantius, pressius, emunctius. Iucundissima ergo ipsius lectione ita sum delectatus, ita affectus, ut minime tibi verbis valeam explicare. O me felicem si honestissima doctissimaque tanti viri consuetudine ac familiaritate frui mihi liceat! Quos enim fructus putas me ex facundiss<imo> illius sermone esse capturum! Quae ad dicendum aut commentandum copia, qui locutionis ornatus, quod lumen, qui delectus verborum, qui lepos, quae puritas orationis non esset mihi ab ipso facile speranda! Quare Lucensem iuventutem vel ex eo beatissimam esse iudico, cui Deorum munere datum est doctissimi simul et eloquentissimi hominis vocem audire quotidie vel docentis, vel disserentis, vel perorantis. Gratias igitur, mi Ricci, tibi ago ingentes, et sempiternas habeo, quod politissimas Aonij ipsius lucubrationes tam aman-// (f. 150r) -ter mihi commodaveris: ex pulcherrima quarum lectione cum factus ornatior, tum vero ad scribendum longe instructor: quo quid mihi in hac harena dies noctesqu<e>, ut scis, maxime desudanti, melius aut gratius potuit afferri? Amantissimum vero consilium tuum libens admodum sequar. Nam postq<uam> ex ipsius Palearij scriptis quantum Hetruscum dicendi genus faciat intellexi, oratio quae de Hetruscae linguae laudibus est, ut clariss<imo> eius nomini dicata in manus hominum prodeat operam dabo. Tuum erit interim per literas cum eo agere, ut me libenter (qua illum humanitate praeditum esse reor) in amicitiae sinum accipiat. Id si per auctoritatem tuam, uti¹³ spero, impetrabo, tantum profecto me tibi debere profitebor, ut solvendo esse¹⁴ numquam putem. Vale. Tertio Idus septembris MDLIII. EX MUSAEIO¹⁵

La réponse (non datée) à cette lettre se trouve dans la correspondance de Ricci¹⁶. Celui-ci se réjouit de ce que les œuvres de son ami aient plu à Lollo et insiste sur le mérite de sa latinité: il n'y a que peu d'auteurs modernes qui puissent rivaliser avec les anciens en poésie comme en prose: Pontano, par exemple, est inférieur en prose; si Bembo et Navagero sont comparables à Paleario, celui-ci les surpasse par la difficulté de la matière chantée dans son *De animorum immortal-*

¹³ Uti ms.: ut Lazzari, *l.c.* (n. 12).

¹⁴ Pour cette expression, cf. *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s.v. *solvio*, 18c (p. 1788).

¹⁵ La célèbre villa de Lollo, le 'Lollianum', où les littérateurs de Ferrare se rencontraient (cf. A. Lazzari, 'Un umanista', *o.c.* (n. 5), p. 158).

¹⁶ Cf. *Opera Bartholomaei Riccii Lugiensis*, II (Patavii, 1748), pp. 393-394.

tate. Ensuite, Ricci annonce à Paleario que Lollo a l'intention de dédier son *Oratione in laude della lingua toscana* au professeur de Lucques¹⁷; comme il l'écrit à Ricci, Paleario en est très reconnaissant à Lollo. C'est alors que Lollo commence à correspondre directement avec Paleario; malheureusement, aucune de ces lettres n'a été conservée¹⁸.

Quoi qu'il en soit, Lollo a effectivement dédié son éloge de la langue toscane à Paleario. Dans la préface de la première édition (parue à Venise en 1555), il avance trois considérations à ce sujet: la personnalité puissante de Paleario, son érudition et son éloquence et "il vederere (sic!) per gli ornatissimi scritti vostri, quanto voi siate amatore & protettore dell' idioma Toscano"¹⁹.

Probablement, cette dernière remarque se rapporte aussi aux lettres perdues que Paleario avait échangées avec Ricci, que Ricci avait sans doute fait lire à Lollo, et aux observations éparses et aux éloges qu'il avait faits de la langue toscane dans plusieurs lettres à Ricci et à d'autres²⁰. Dans la littérature sur Paleario, on a insisté surtout sur ce lien 'italien' entre Lollo et Paleario — tous deux en effet prirent la défense de l'idiome toscan.

¹⁷ Cf. *Opera Riccii*, o.c. (n. 16), pp. 416-417. Selon D. Gibert, o.c. (n. 9), p. 507, il est impossible de dater avec précision l' *Orazione* de Lollo; il n'y aurait qu'un 'sicuro terminus a quo (...), l'11 febbraio 1554, data di fondazione dell'Accademia dei Filareti, all'intorno della quale l'orazione venne pronunciata'. Si cela semble exact pour la date à laquelle le discours a été prononcé, la rédaction-même doit être avancée d'au moins une année. Nous disposons d'une lettre de Ricci à Paleario (*Opera Riccii*, o.c. (n. 16), pp. 416-417), qui date de la fin de 1553 (Pigna vient de publier ses poésies latines avec celles de l'Arioste et de Celio Calcagnini; Amaseo et Bonamico sont morts; Lollo a pris connaissance des *Opera* (Lyon, 1552) de Paleario); Ricci y annonce que Lollo a l'intention de dédier à Paleario l'orazione et écrit à ce sujet: "ut cum iam pridem Hetruscae linguae laudationem scripsisset eamque in vulgus edere statuisset ac complures haberet quibus eam insciberet, sub tuo tamen nomine ut exiret prorsus decrevit". Par la lettre de Lollo, que nous avons publiée supra, nous savons que ce discours était terminé avant le 11 septembre 1553. Probablement, la (première?) rédaction du discours remonte à 1552 ou au début de 1553.

¹⁸ Cf. e.a. *Opera Riccii*, o.c. (n. 16), p. 47 (Ricci à Paleario): "Quas ad me de Lollo nostro litteras scripsisti, continuo illas ei legendas misi; quae quam illi iucundae acciderint, ex eius ad te litteris facile perspicies".

¹⁹ Cf. *Due orationi del Sig. Alberto Lollo; L'una in laude della Lingua Toscana, l'altra in laude della Concordia. Ai Signori academici Filareti di Ferrara*. In Venetia, Per Sigismondo Bordogna. M.D.LV. (ex.: Ferrare, Biblioteca civica Ariostea, M.F. 176, 5)

²⁰ Cf. p. ex. *Aonii Palearii Verulani Opera* (...) (Amstelaedami, 1696), pp. 514-515 (Ricci à Paleario): "Quid hoc est, Aoni? Num semper Italico sermone per litteras agemus?"; pp. 515-517 (Paleario à Ricci): "Ego vero fateor me dicendi genere quod hoc tempore in Hetruria floret, valde delectari".

Or, la deuxième raison, dont Lollo proclame qu'elle l'a poussé à lui dédier son discours — “la rara dottrina & la somma eloquenza che in voi si trovano”²¹ — n'est pas sans importance; elle se rapporte à cette autre phrase de sa lettre à Ricci: “ex pulcherrima quarum lectione videor cum factus ornator, tum vero ad scribendum longe instructor”. Lollo a joué un rôle capital dans la vie littéraire de Ferrare; à deux reprises, il a été le moteur, l'animateur des académies de cette ville²²: en 1540, il fonda l'“Accademia degli Elevati”, dont les réunions eurent lieu dans sa maison et dont la fin semble avoir été provoquée par la mort de Celio Calcagnini (1541). En février 1554, Lollo sut persuader le comte Alfonse Calcagnini de créer une nouvelle Académie, l'“Accademia dei Filareti”. Signalons en passant que Marc-Antoine de Muret, qui en 1554 avait fui la France, était un des membres de cette Académie; à Ferrare, où il résidait probablement de la fin de 1558 jusqu' à l'été de 1559, Muret fit la connaissance de Lollo; voilà pourquoi dans ses lettres postérieures, adressées à Paolo Sacrato, il demandait à plusieurs reprises de saluer son ami Lollo, à qui il a d'ailleurs dédié une de ses poésies moins connues²³. A l'occasion d'une réunion de l'“Accademia dei Filareti”, Lollo choisit la concorde comme thème de discours — ces Académies étant en effet souvent des foyers de querelles. Le discours, intitulé *Oratione in laude della Concordia ai signori accademici Filareti di Ferrara*, fut publié avec l'*Oratione in laude della lingua Toscana* à Venise en 1555²⁴. Or, à l'exception de l'introduction et de la péroraison, tout ce discours n'est qu'une adaption italienne, souvent même une traduc-

²¹ *Due orationi*, o.c. (n. 19), préface.

²² Cf. A.F. Pavanello, 'L'Accademia dei Filareti e il suo statuto. Appunti per la storia delle accademie ferraresi', *Atti e memorie della deputazione ferrarese di storia patria*, 10 (1898), 335-366; M. Maylender, *Storia delle Accademie d'Italia*, II: *Certi-Filotomi* (Bologna, 1927), pp. 260-261 et 369-372.

²³ Cf. *M. Antonii Mureti Opera omnia* (...), ed. C.H. Frotischer, II (Lipsiae, 1834 = Genève, 1971), p. 167 (ep. 3,15 du 12 oct. 1566), p. 168 (ep. 3,16 du 21 oct. 1566) et p. 169 (ep. 3,18 du 14 juin 1569). La poésie latine, dans laquelle Muret parle e.a. des secondes nocces de Lollo (en 1546, Lollo se remaria avec Ippolita Bruturi), a été publiée par P. De Nolhac, 'La bibliothèque d'un humaniste au XVIe siècle. Les livres annotés par Muret', *Ecole française de Rome. Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 3 (1883), 202-238 (pp. 224-226). E. Sabbadini, 'Un umanista francese alla corte di Ippolito II d'Este: Marc Antoine Muret', *Atti e memorie della Società Tiburtina di storia e d'arte*, 60 (1987), 141-165 ne mentionne pas Lollo.

²⁴ Cf. n. 19. Nous avons utilisé la première édition. Comme c'est également le cas pour l'*Oratione in laude della lingua toscana*, l'*Oratione della concordia* a subi des remaniements dans les éditions postérieures, p. ex. dans l'édition de 1563 (reprise dans l'édition de Vérone, 1742, pp. 321-345), où elle a été raccourcie.

tion littérale, d'un discours que Paleario avait tenu à Lucques et qui avait été publié dans ses *Opera* de 1552 tant admirés par Lollio²⁵. L'oraison de Paleario porte le même titre: *De concordia civium*.

Des preuves convaincantes 'extra causam' ne sont pas nécessaires pour démontrer la profonde influence du discours de Paleario sur celui d'Alberto Lollio. Il me suffira de citer consécutivement quelques passages des deux oraisons²⁶.

1. a. Il fondamento, la base, & lo appoggio di tutte le congregationi & comunanze de' popoli, è stata sempre la unione & la concordia, intanto, che se noi col pensiero ci rivolgiamo à que' primi secoli, quando gli huomini per li campi & per le selve vagabondi andavano, vederemo, che egli fu necessario, che la prima Repubblica che nacque fra loro, fusse ordinata ò da un solo, o da molti. Se da un solo, Dio buono, che huomo dobbiamo noi stimare che fusse costui? & di che perspicace intelletto dotato? il quale essendo per se stesso savio & accorto, senza precetti altrui sapesse si acconciamente adoperar la giustitia, la fortezza, & la temperanza; che tutti gl' altri mossi dalla reverenza del valore & della virtù sua, spontaneamente s' inchinassero ad ubidirlo. Et se da molti per aventura un tanto bene hebbe principio, ragionevole cosa è, che essi fussero finalmente huomini savi, & di sublime ingegno, iquali con molta destrezza spargessero i semi dell' honestà & della concordia nell' animo de i Cittadini. (f. 15v)

1. b. Libertatis publicae procreatrix et quasi parens concordia semper fuit. Nam sive primis illis temporibus, cum in silvis homines dispersi vagabantur, sive constitutis iam oppidis, nata est ulla res publica, necesse est eam vel ab uno, vel a pluribus fuisse profectam. Si tantam rem unus potuit praestare, qui vir existimandus, qui non praeceptis alienis, sed suis ipse primus sapiens per se iustitiam et fortitudinem coleret, sibi constans, concors et secum consentiens: ut nihil mirum videri debeat, si quis, cum se tam praeclare temperaret, ita sit meritus, ut uni infinita hominum multitudo obtemperaret. Quod si a pluribus id boni allatum est, qui ab aliquo metuerent, a quo iniuria inferretur, eos concordēs et sapientes omnino fuisse et semina quaedam iecisse ad concordiam civium est credendum. (p. 119)

²⁵ Cf. *Aonii Palearii Verulani Epistolarum lib. IIII. Eiusdem Orationes XII* (...) (Lugduni, 1552), pp. 374-386.

²⁶ Pour Paleario, nous suivons l' édition de 1696 (cf. n. 20), pp. 117-126. Pour les sources classiques, cf. E. Gallina, *o.c.*, (n.1), II, pp. 308-310.

2. a. Conciosia cosa che se à gli autori della Repubblica conveniva prima il pensare delle leggi, che delle mura, in che modo haverebbono mai potuto fondar le leggi, senza il concorde consentimento de i cittadini? (f. 15v)

2. b. Nam si auctoribus rei publicae prius de legibus, quam de moenibus fuit cogitandum: qui rogari leges potuerunt sine civium consensu popularique approbatione? (p. 119)

3. a. Ecco Menenio Agrippa, huomo sagace & prudente, il quale vedendo la Plebe Romana in dispregio de' Senatori ritirata nell' Aventino, con l' argutissima favola della congiura de i membri fatta contra il corpo, dimostrò lei chiaramente, nella concordia sola, la fortuna, il riposo, & la salute della Città essere collocata. (f. 16r)

3. b. Menenius ille Agrippa, cum plebs Romana a patribus secessisset in Aventinum, conquestus apposita fabella membra in corpus spirasse, ostendit in una concordia positam fortunam civitatis. (p. 120)

4. a. Quindi avvenne, che Gaio Cassio Censore prudentissimo, ilquale amava la Repubblica sopra ogni altra cosa, & il suo ben & la felicità di lei desiderava sommamente, drizzò la statua della Concordia nel Palazzo, & il Palazzo stesso consacrò alla Concordia, a fine che tutti quelli che colà entravano per dire il parer loro, si ricordassero, che gli odij, le nimistà, le dissensioni, & le ingiurie quivi non havevano luogo, ma che si dovevano tutte, dinanzi alla sacrata porta, per rispetto & amor della patria deporre. Acciò che essendo la Concordia santamente riverita da i Senatori, aperte le porte del Palazzo, mandasse fuori l'otio, la securezza, & la libertà, dalle quali nascesse poi la publica allegrezza, l'abondanza, i lieti maritaggi, le mercantie fruttuose, gli studi delle lettere infiammati & ardenti. I quai beni sono così grandi, & di sì fatta eccellenza, che gli animi altrui riempiono di stupore. (f. 16r-v)

4. b. C. Cassius prudentissimus censor et patriae amantissimus concordiae signum in Curia posuit, Curiam ipsam Concordiae dedicavit, ut omnes sententiam dicturi admonerentur simultates, inimicitias, iniurias, dissensiones in Curia non habere locum, sed ante fores et sacrata limina deponendas, ut adventu senatorum concordia sancte atque auguste culta apertis Curiae foribus emittat securitatem, tranquillitatem, otium: ex quibus annona, opulentia, ubertas sunt in tectis atque agris, unde publica hilaritas, pax rebus, laeta coniugia, procreationes liberorum, mercaturae amplae et copiosae, studia litterarum inflammata atque

ardentia. Quae bona tanta et tam praeclara, quoniam neque in obscuro esse, neque silentio praeteriri possunt, non modo finitimos, sed eos qui longissime absunt, trahunt in admirationem sui. (p. 125)

Ces quelques exemples, qu'il serait facile de multiplier, montrent comment Lollio a suivi de près les périodes de Paleario. Signalons que Lollio n'a pas été le seul à être impressionné par ce discours, qui ne fut qu'une des sept harangues politiques que Paleario a prononcées à Lucques: en 1835 encore, Anton Baumstark sélectionna précisément ce discours pour son anthologie d'orateurs latins modernes²⁷.

En ce qui concerne l'amitié de Lollio et de Paleario, nous sommes très peu informés sur les relations ultérieures qu'ils ont eues et nous ignorons comment Paleario a accueilli ce discours de son ami. Par une lettre de Ricci, nous savons que, des amis ferrarais de Paleario, c'est Lollio qui le premier a été mis au courant de sa désignation comme professeur d'éloquence à Milan. En avril 1556, Paleario remit à Lollio des lettres de recommandation pour Basile Amerbach, qui, ayant terminé ses études, désirait visiter les villes les plus importantes d'Italie; ces lettres, Lollio devait les faire parvenir à Bologne, où le jeune ami et élève de Celio Secondo Curione avait fait ses études²⁸. Enfin, nous savons que Paleario n'a pas manqué de faire l'éloge du style italien de Lollio: dans une œuvre anonyme, publiée à Milan en 1557 et dans laquelle se reflètent les principes pédagogiques et quelques points de vue littéraires de Paleario, une mention honorable est faite des œuvres de Lollio²⁹.

Voilà bien peu d'indications sur les rapports entre les deux humanistes. Il est pourtant inconcevable qu'Aonio n'ait pas fait don à son ami d'une copie manuscrite de son dialogue italien *Dell' Economia o vero del governo della casa*, achevé en août 1555³⁰, ou qu'il ne lui ait pas montré *Il grammatico o vero delle false esercitazioni delle scuole*³¹. D'où, peut-

²⁷ *Orationes Latinae virorum recentioris aetatis disertissimorum* (...), ed. A. Baumstark (Friburgi, 1835), pp. 281-290.

²⁸ Cf. *Opera Riccii, o.c.* (n. 16), pp. 162-163 (Ricci à Paleario): "quando ecce Lollius mihi significat te Mediolani esse"; cf. également D. Sacré, 'Some Remarks Concerning Aonio Paleario's Milanese Years', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 38 (1989), 200-208 (pp. 204-206).

²⁹ *Concetti del Sig. Aonio Paleario per imparare insieme la grammatica, e la lingua di Cicerone* (...) *Et il Dialogo delle false essercitazioni delle scuole* (Venezia, 1567), p. (32).

³⁰ Ed. S. Caponetto, Biblioteca dell' "Archivum Romanicum", I, 172 (Firenze, 1983).

³¹ Cf. n. 29.

être, ce silence dans la correspondance imprimée de Paleario? Je ne vois que deux raisons. D'abord, il faut remarquer qu'après 1552, Paleario ne s'est que très peu soucié de la publication de ses lettres; il n'a ajouté qu'une seule lettre représentant plus d'une décennie passée à Milan; vraisemblablement, il a jugé que, de point de vue artistique, sa collection épistolaire était terminée et parfaite. Ensuite, il est probable que Lollio et Paleario ont échangé leurs lettres en italien; l'édition intégrale des œuvres de Paleario ne contenait que des écrits latins, puisqu'elle visait un public international; or, Lollio était seulement connu en Italie³², tandis qu'un autre ferrarais, Bartolommeo Ricci, qui est bien représenté dans les lettres de Paleario, avait réussi à faire imprimer ses œuvres également en France et en Allemagne³³. Dès lors, il serait faux de croire que Ricci a occupé une place plus importante dans la vie de Paleario!

2. Trois lettres inédites de Antonio Francesco Renieri à Paleario

Les trois lettres en question sont conservées à la 'Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati' à Sienne, manuscrit H-IX-42, ff. 42r-43r; 43r-v; 44r-v; elles datent du 30 juin 1555, du 12 (et non du 13, comme l'affirme M. Gallina³⁴) juin 1563 et du 10 (et non du 9) juillet 1564 et furent envoyées de Colle di Valdelsa par Antonius Franciscus Renerius (Renieri, Rinieri, Ranieri, Rainerio). Le nom du destinataire (indiqué par "incertus Collensis") n'est pas mentionné, mais il est tout à fait sûr qu'il s'agit de Paleario, puisqu'il y est question entre autres de l'oraison *In Murenam* de Paleario et de sa désignation à la fonction de professeur d'éloquence à Milan. Après le procès et la mort de Paleario, Renerius a cru devoir rayer de sa collection de lettres le nom de son ami.

³² Aux témoignages de p. ex. L. Gregorio Giralaldi ou de Pigna, dont il est question dans la littérature sur Lollio, ajoutons un poème de Costantino Landi (Plaisance, 1521 - Rome, 1564), *Carmina* (Placentiae, 1549; ex.: Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana), ff. 17v - 18v (*Ad Albertum Lollium Ferrariensem*); Girolamo Faletti (* Trino, 1509), *De bello Sicambro libri IIII* (Venetiis, 1557), f. Cr (*Ad Albertum Lollium*); Id., *Orationes XII* (Venetiis, 1558), ff. 57-69: dans son discours *De caelibatu*, il mentionne Lollio; Dans les *Capiluporum carmina* (Rome, 1590), il y a un poème *Ad Lollium* de Ippolito Capilupio; dans le ms. I 341 de la Biblioteca civica Ariostea de Ferrare, il y a (pp. 47-48) une poésie de Bartholomaeus Ferrinius *Ad Albertum Lollium*. En 1567, Lollio a été reçu comme membre des académies florentine et brescienne (cf. D. Gibert, *o.c.* (n. 9), p. 504).

³³ Il avait même attiré l'attention d'Erasmus: cf. p. ex. A.G. Cavagni, 'Bartolomeo Ricci', in P.G. Bietenholz - T.B. Deutscher (edd.), *Contemporaries of Erasmus* (...), 3: N-Z (Toronto, etc., 1987), pp. 155-156.

³⁴ E. Gallina, *o.c.* (n. 1), I, pp. 618-621.

Bien que l'on trouve dans cette correspondance des lettres à des humanistes bien connus comme Vettori (livre III, ff. 71r-v; 72r-v; 70r-71r)³⁵ et Bernardo Segni, il n'est pas étrange qu'elle n'ait pas fait l'objet d'une étude de la part des historiens du Cinquecento; en effet, ces lettres sont assez pauvres en contenu; en outre, Renerius a voulu construire de longues phrases latines, ce qui ne lui a pas toujours réussi; d'où non seulement des phrases faibles, voire fautives du point de vue de la syntaxe, mais aussi un manque de précision et de clarté. En ce qui concerne Paleario, ces lettres, contenues dans le deuxième livre de Renerius, apportent néanmoins quelques détails, qui nous permettent de perfectionner nos connaissances de la biographie paléarienne.

Dans la vie intellectuelle du seizième siècle italien, Renerius ne semble pas avoir joué un rôle de premier ordre; ce que nous savons de lui se réduit à peu de choses. Monsieur Gallina renvoie seulement à l'ouvrage de L. Biadi, *Storia della città di Colle in Val d'Elsa* (Florence, 1859, p. 241), où il est écrit que Renerius était un 'letterato eruditissimo, poeta e scrittore'; il mentionne également qu'il y a des vers italiens de sa main dans les *Rime di diversi nobili poeti Toscani di M. Dionigi Atanagi* (Venise, 1565). A ces données nous pouvons ajouter qu'il faisait partie du cercle d'amis de Mino Celsi³⁶. A la Bibliothèque Vaticane, nous avons vu de ce membre de l'Académie des 'Intronati' un poème latin (imprimé) intitulé *In Francisci Medices et Ioannae Austriae Etruriae principum nuptiis hymenaeus Antonii Renerii* (Florence, 1565) — cette brochure contient aussi une lettre de Nicolaus Sabolinus, ami commun de Palearius et Renerius³⁷, datant du 16 décembre 1564 — et un poème italien, également imprimé et intitulé *Sovr' a l'inondatione del Tevere, occorsa alli 15 di settembre l'anno MDLVII di M. Ant. Francesco Rainerio* (s.l.a.)³⁸. Deux poésies grecques et un vers latin ont été publiés dans les *Clarorum Italorum et Germanorum epistolae ad Petrum*

³⁵ Cf. également P.O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum* (...), III: *Alia Itinera*, I: *Australia to Germany* (London, Leiden, 1983), pp. 614b et 638; W. Rüdiger, *Petrus Victorius aus Florenz. Studien zu einem Lebensbilde* (Halle/S., 1896), p. 119.

³⁶ Cf. Mino Celsi, *In haereticis coercendis quatenus progredi liceat. Poems - Correspondence*. A cura di P.G. Bietenholz, *Corpus Reformatorum Italicorum* (Chicago, Napoli, 1982), pp. 481-482; cf. également L. Cheluzzi et G.M. Galgchetti, *Serie cronologica degli uomini di merito (...) della città di Colle di Val d'Elsa* (Colle, 1841), p. 20.

³⁷ Cf. les lettres de Renerius à Sabolinus, contenus dans le deuxième livre; G. Sforza, 'Un episodio poco noto della vita di Aonio Paleario', *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, 14 (1889), 50-71.

³⁸ 1f. Exemplaire: Chigi IV 2206 int. 21.

Victorium (...), ed. A.M. Bandini, II (Florence, 1760), pp. 264-265³⁹. Il y a des vers de sa main dans les *Carmina praestantium poetarum*, ed. A. Taygetus (Brescia, 1565). Des poésies latines, datant de 1562, ont été éditées par M. Battistini, 'Due maestri di grammatica valdelsani. Filippo da S. Gimignano e Antonio Rinieri da Colle', *Miscellanea storica della Valdelsa*, 26 (1918), article que nous n'avons pas pu consulter. Il y a des poésies inédites de lui à la Bibliothèque Marcienne et à la Bibliothèque Vaticane⁴⁰.

Première lettre (f. 42r) A<ntonius> R<enerius> C<ollensis> Incerto Collensi S.P.D. Si tam iniquus rerum mearum aestimator essem, ut mihi tantum arrogandum putarem, quantum claros viros bonarumque artium studiis eruditos abundanti politioribus quibusque doctrinis tibi iure tribuere intellexi, equidem in eo essem, ut pro iis studiis, aliquid ipse me esse putans, quod multa in me contulisti, pluribus tibi verbis gratias agendas esse statuerem. Quoniam vero de me ita † iudice, neque vero, ut sentis, saepe rem expertus, iniuria, ut cum omnes contendi nervos meos, actum, egi, † tamen nihil mihi sumens, quae pro me fecisti accepta omnia referam singulari humanitati tuae⁴¹. Multos enim quoque iam annos ne litteras quidem ad te dedi ullas, non solum destitutus oratoris ornamentis quae in te divina esse video, sed illis ipsis mihi numquam adiunctis. Quid enim ea conari peterem, quae

³⁹ Signalons que la lettre de Renerius à Victorius (publiée *ibid.*, pp. 68-69) porte une autre date dans le manuscrit (30 juillet 1583 chez Bandini, 30 décembre 1572 dans le manuscrit).

⁴⁰ Cf. P.O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum* (...), II: *Italy: Orvieto to Volterra. Vatican City* (London, Leiden, 1967), pp. 274, 338, 364, 415-449. Il semble même que la poésie italienne de Renerius a inspiré Du Bellay et Ronsard : cf. p. ex. F. Desonay, *Ronsard poète de l'amour*, I: *Cassandre* (Bruxelles, 1965), p. 95.

⁴¹ La phrase est loin d'être claire et il est possible qu'elle doive être corrigée. Le sens du début de la lettre semble être le suivant : "Les gens érudits disent beaucoup de bien de toi et comme toi-même dis du bien de moi, je pourrais me considérer comme ton égal, si je me connaissais mal; et je te remercierais pour tes flatteries. Or, dans mon cas, tes éloges à mon adresse ne répondent pas à mes mérites, mais témoignent de ton beau caractère." Les problèmes sont les suivants : 1. La ponctuation ne nous permet pas de prendre ensemble *actum* et *egi* (cf. p.ex. Cic. *Att.* 9,18,3); d'ailleurs, il est presque exclu que l'on puisse prendre *quoniam actum egi* avec *tamen*; pour la même raison, on ne peut lire *ego tamen* au lieu d' *egi tamen*. 2. La combinaison de *ita iudice ut...* est étrange : faut-il lire *iudico* au lieu de *iudice*? 3. *ut cum* est obscur. Si nous n'intervenons pas dans le texte, nous devons traduire : "Mais vu le fait que je pense ainsi à mon sujet - et tu sais par expérience que j'ai raison - comme je l'ai fait lorsque je faisais de mon mieux, je t'ai remercié; cependant, je n'en tire pas de conclusion sur ma valeur à moi; ce que tu as fait pour moi, je l'attribue à ta remarquable gentillesse."

me assequi non posse certo sciam? Quibus demum fretus artibus aut quibus subsidiis fultus id sperarem? At vero quid nunc me impulit, ut id aggrederer? Qui enim in me non esse intelligam, quae te mihi tribuere ad me perlatum est, tamen in eo esse volui, ut ad te scriberem. Fatebor autem quod res est; nam pudicum sane me est mirificae taciturnitatis meae, qui tot modis abs te invitatus non darem aliquid. Legi autem proxime elegantissimam orationem tuam, quam ad // (f. 42v) me misisti contra M. Tulli orationem pro Murena a te scriptam. Quid vero tibi multa dicam? Facile quidem, eam dum legerem, in eam sententiam discedebam, ut rationes tuas veras esse, ex altera autem parte, Ciceronis falsas mihi persuaserim, quas tamen ab aliquo umquam refelli posse incredibile antea videbatur⁴². Sed ne vivam, eloquentissime, si quid in eo mentior, cum mihi nullam hac una graviolem a fortuna iam pridem impositam affirmo fuisse iniuriam, quam quae nunc mihi allata est omnium molestissima: cum enim acciderit post decem annos, quibus abfuerim⁴³, ut⁴⁴ ipse me domum tandem laetus recepissem, si quid esse videretur quo me sollicitudine affici posse suspicarer, in ea cogitatione illud mihi statim occurrebat, quo ego me consolabar. Nam te quidem, cum de redeundo cogitavi, Lucae adhuc vivere atque ibi in doctissimorum hominum luce versari putabam. Si vero ita fieret, haud temere existimabam fore ut propter vicinitatem locorum interdum suavissima consuetudine tua frui possem, sive cum ipse huc venires negotiorum causa domesticorum, sive cum ego istuc ad te decederem ut tecum essem. Quam spem meam, cum firmam esse putabam, postea sic extenuari atque evanescere sensi, ut idem ipse discere coeperim in desperatione fortis esse; nam tu diutius a nobis quam longissime abfuturus, quod ad Insubres te cum summa tua dignitate atque utilitate a principibus illuc accersitus contulisses⁴⁵. Sed quae ipse abs te superio-

⁴² Renierius avait lu la lettre d'Alciato qui précède l'oraison de Paleario; on y lit entre autres: "Immo iuratus affirmare ausim vel in tuam sententiam descensurum fuisse ipsum Ciceronem, nisi argumentum causae, quam sustinebat aliud postulasset." Pour M. Gallina, *o.c.* (n. 1), I, p. 620, la lettre de Renierius (30 juin 1555) est un *terminus ante quem* pour l'édition de l'*In Murenam* de Paleario. Mais cette oraison se trouve déjà dans l'édition de Lyon, 1552!

⁴³ abfuerim: adfuerim ms.

⁴⁴ ut: omis. ms.

⁴⁵ Selon la lettre 4, 30 de la correspondance de Paleario, l'humaniste arriva à Milan le 17 octobre 1555; d'autre part, il a dû poser sa candidature après la mort de Maioragio (4 avril 1555). Cette lettre-ci nous apprendrait donc que, dès juin 1555, Paleario pouvait écrire avec certitude qu'il enseignerait à Milan. Dans la littérature concernant Paleario, on affirme qu'il quitta Lucques au début de 1555 et qu'il vécut à Colle jusqu'à ce qu'il partît pour Milan (octobre 1555); cette lettre s'oppose à cette hypothèse. Peut-être,

ribus annis praeclarissime scripta proximeque in lucem edita iis paucis diebus, certo data⁴⁶ homini, ad me perferri iussisti, ea me, nedum recrearint, sic tui videndi atque tecum loquendi renovarunt desiderium, ut iam illud vix ferre possim: ego enim in toto volumine, quod abs te accepi, diligenter evolvendo, pro eo, quanti te facio, libri lectione delectatus intelligo, me tecum versante⁴⁷, divitiis orationis quas tu habes paupertatem meam facile posse levare. Si vero ceciderit tecum ut esse possim, quod volumus atque optamus, omnium opes contemniam, tumque si non abundans, at non inops tamen ero, acceptum referam tibi. Quare abs te pro illa humanitate, quam omnibus facile ac libenter impertis, suavissimisque moribus tuis, pro quibus te omnes diligunt, et singulari benevolentia in me, vehementer petam ut, cum aliquid illius generis habueris (habiturum enim esse te multa intelligo), // (f. 43r) in quo me studio efferri non ignores, eo me ornes, quod mihi omnium gratissimum accidet. Cave autem existimes aliquid mihi iam diu intervenisse molestius, quam quod abs te proxime istic habita atque statim ad me missa oratio in manus mihi non pervenerit⁴⁸; quod vero intercidisse videtur detrimentum mihi velim sarcias, quod ego non parvum ducam. Neque enim ut ἀνεὺ Μίδου χρυσίου, quemadmodum te dicentem audivi, eodem modo ἀνεὺ τούτου βιβλίου ἡμεῖς ζήσομεν εὖ τε καὶ μακαρίως. Vale. Colle. Prid. Cal. Iul. MDLV.

Deuxième lettre (f. 43r) A<ntonius> R<enerius> C<ollensis>
Incerto Collensi S.P.D. Cum heri Ioannem Franciscum Loctinium⁴⁹

Paleario a-t-il rejoint Colle après le 30 juin 1555; le 15 août 1555 il y termina son *Dell'Economia*. Cf. infra, note 48.

⁴⁶ data: datas ms.

⁴⁷ versante: versantem ms.

⁴⁸ Le dernier discours que Paleario avait prononcé date du mois de septembre 1550 et figure tant parmi les *Opera* de Lyon, 1552 que Renerius connaissait, que parmi les *Orationes ad senatum populumque Lucensem* (Lucques, 1551)!

Vu le fait que les lettres de Renerius ne suivent pas l'ordre chronologique, mais sont rangées par correspondant, l'on pourrait supposer une erreur dans la date (cf. également note 39): 1556 au lieu de 1555. En effet, si la lettre datait de 1556, les déclarations de Renerius s'accorderaient mieux: les *proxime in lucem edita* renverraient alors non pas à l'édition de 1552, mais à l'édition de Bâle, qui fut publiée à la fin de 1555 ou au début de 1556; la *istic habita atque statim ad me missa oratio* renverrait au discours inaugural de Paleario à Milan, discours qui, en effet, ne figure pas parmi les *Opera* de Bâle et qui fut publié en novembre ou en décembre 1555. Dans notre hypothèse, *accersitus a principibus ad Insubres* conviendrait mieux pour juin 1556 que pour juin 1555.

⁴⁹ Giovan Francesco Lottini, ami de Paleario, évêque de Conversano en 1560: cf. E. Gallina, *o.c.* (n. 1), I, p. 286.

utriusque nostri amicissimum convenissem ruri, quod ipse valde, ut nosti, amoenum et fructuosum habet non longe a Caeciniano⁵⁰ tuo, ita sum ab homine exceptus, ut locus esset omnia quae vellem quaeque opus forent cum ipso communicandi. Sed expositis transactisque rebus <quaesivit>⁵¹ ut etiam diem totum, quod saepe tacere consuevi, cum illo suavissime ponerem, ut secum essem. Cum ex eo quaererem quid ageret, se illuc aiebat ea mente venisse, ne otiosus invidis hominibus videri posset utque multis post diebus inde discedens (homo apud Principem valde gratus⁵²) reliquum fere huius aestatis tempus Florentiae consumeret. Ut igitur est non solum egregia quadam in omnes comitate, sed etiam singulari voluntate erga te, dum omnibus de rebus quae alterutri in mentem veniebant familiariter agebamus, ille in eum sermonem venit, ut ex me quaereret quam pridem ad te scripsissem. Erubui (vere dicam) respondens: “iam” enim “diu” me dicere oportuit, quod mentiri noluissem. Atque ut excusarem negligentiam meam, quod me facti suppudivit, illud statim adiunxi caute, ut me cum ratione erravisse ostenderem et subvereri⁵³ me dixi, cum nullum ad te scribendi argumentum haberem, ne tibi multis magnisque rebus occupato⁵⁴ inanibus litteris obstreperem. “Ain vero?”, ait ille; ego autem iterum tunc erubui, quod illusus viderer, neque sane quid illi responderem omnino reperiēbam. “At ego homo argutus”, inquit, “tibi argumentum dabo, qui sis eo, quod tu ais, plane destitutus; abs te enim etiam atque etiam petam ut scribas ad eum aliquid meo nomine.” “Quid igitur”, inquam, “est quod a me potissimum // (f. 43v) scribi velis?” “An tibi”, inquit ille, “praescribam? Quasi vero calamum sumenti verba deesse possint? Sed certe etiam scribas ut libet tuoque modo.” “Sic”, inquam, “agam cum illo per litteras, te homini tibi carissimo tuique maxime cupido salutem annuntiari iussisse eius nomine. Quod enim multa forent, quae te a scribendo abducerent⁵⁵, illudque imprimis, quod quibus id commode fieret, tecum non extulisti⁵⁶; id⁵⁷ mihi mandavit

⁵⁰ Villa près de Colle, que Paleario avait achetée en 1537: cf. infra, p. *.

⁵¹ *quaesivit*: omis. ms. Nous avons ajouté ce verbe parce que *ut etiam diem* ne peut dépendre de *ita* (dans la première phrase) à cause de *secum esse*.

⁵² Lottini était secrétaire de Cosimo de' Medici.

⁵³ *subvereri*: *subveri* ms.

⁵⁴ *occupato*: *occupatus* ms.

⁵⁵ *abducerent*: *adducerent* ms.

⁵⁶ En partant pour Florence, Lottini avait laissé près de Colle les moyens avec lesquels il pourrait facilement écrire.

⁵⁷ *id*: *profecto praemis. ante corr.*

profecto ut scires eodem se in absentem animo esse quo praesens ex eius oratione perspicere potuisti, cum, intercedente me, de nomine cognitum sed numquam antea visum, es primum allocutus⁵⁸. An hoc, “inquam”, placet? Aut potius aliud adiungi aut etiam aliter a me scribi postulas?” Ille vero, ut est omni suavitate praeditus, cum valde honorificum de te sermonem habuisset, per sibi gratum fore significavit si eius apud te plenam amicissimi desiderii mentionem facerem, ut hominem tui, quod nosti, valde studiosum, cum benevolentia memoriam assidue tenere a teque diligere cupere intelligeres. Ego vero, quod mihi honorificum, non iniucundum tibi atque illi maxime exoptatum fore perspiciebam, suscepi eas partes ut illi satisfacerem. Quod eo feci libentius, qui eum non ignorem utriusque nostrum causa magnopere velle omnia. Sic vero intelligebam illud agens, quoque interea meum me⁵⁹ officium memoremque animum tibi praestare nihilque esse cur vererer ne meas litteras supervacaneas fuisse existimares, quibus tibi de Loctinio nuntia perferri possent. Meis de rebus quod ad te scriberem nihil erat, ac tuarum quidem tibi non desunt (habes ipse) et scriptores et nuncii; communes vero atque publicas ita non desideras, ut nisi esses homo natura minime ambitiosus, politiora te studia reconditarum doctrinarum, in quibus tot annis versaris, ab omni cupiditate, non modo contentione eiusmodi honorum te etiam abduxissent. Quare quoniam Loctinio satisfeci, ut ego arbitror, neque ullum mihi argumentum plura scribendi relictum videtur, petam abs te ut siquid me hic, quod nesciam, rebus tuis aptum facere posse intelligis, ad me scribas, ut sciam in quo laborem tua causa. Id vero tam gratum mihi accidet, ut magnum ea te mihi re beneficium dedisse fatebor⁶⁰. Vale. Datae Colle, A.D. Idum Iunij M.D.LX.III

Troisième lettre (f. 44r) A<ntonius> R<enerius> C<ollensis> Incerto Collensi S.P.D. Naturane comparatum esse putem ut amici homines etiam si alias res agunt, tamen interea commodis illorum prospiciant, quos diligunt, ut quasi nolentes illis quodammodo studiose inservire videantur? Mihi enim usu nuper venit ut argumento carenti eadem quoque oblata sit ad te scribendi occasio, quam superiori anno datam fuisse te puto facile meminisse. Cum enim Loctinius tuus, vel

⁵⁸ Renierius est donc fier d'avoir mis en contact Paleario avec Lottini.

⁵⁹ me: omis. ms.

⁶⁰ Sic!

melius dicam noster, superioribus diebus suis de rebus literas miserit, in illis extremis ita scripserat: “Cum ad amicum nostrum” (de te sentiens) “litteras dabis, cures velim homini salutem adscribas meis verbis; quod equidem te libenter facturum esse putavi; ut, quoniam idem tibi nuper oneris imposui, quod haud suscepisti invitus, ut illius per te gratiam antea mihi collectam retineres; hoc nunc etiam te non contra voluntatem sustinere debere mihi persuadebam; erit autem id omnium beneficiorum, quae ipse in me hoc tempore conferre possis.” Sustuli itaque ad caelum manus, quod cum ceteris rebus profuerit, in eo praecipue magno mihi adiumento esse visus⁶¹ fuit. Sic enim illius opera effectum est ut fere ab ipso coactus scribere ad te, hoc egerim, ne diutius desideret officium litterarum mearum, quod sine aliqua reprehensione a me numquam intermitteri possit. Annus autem agebatur, cum variis rebus negotiisque meis aut impeditus aut occupatus ad te nihil dabam. Quare me homine amicissimo admonente feci libentissime ut has litteras scriberem. Ex iis autem perspicies quantum ille mihi tribuat, quid ego sumpserim, quo apud eum numero sis, qui tui memoriam apud se intermori non patiatur. Tametsi⁶² vero qua voluntate erga te semper fuerit non ignoras, quamque sibi de tua comitate animoque in eum singulari omnia libere polliceri soleat iureque illi venit in mentem, posse fieri ne tibi semper in medullis haereat, quod tecum, ipso volente, egi alias. Sed tamen esse mihi videtur humanitatis tuae proprium (atque hoc fateare necesse est, cum praesertim hoc tempore vestra studia vacationem habeant publici muneris) ad nos aliquid litterarum mittere. Ex quibus quanti putes ea quae scripsi scire possimus, facere autem opus est, atque ego sic peto, ea te facere maximi. Ille enim, ut ait, magno semper magnisque cum viris agens, planum est omnibus, valde occupatus distensusque negotiis, ne quid // (f. 44v) possit in hoc scriptionis genere, quo plurimum delectatur⁶³, nunc temporis ponere. Quapropter ad me etiam proxime breviores quam solet quamque opus fuit litteras misit. Ego vero cum plus oneris hic susceperim, quam quantum ferre possim, nisi mihi levabitur iucundissima lectione tuarum litterarum, quid mihi futurum sit vereor vehementerque abs te peto, ut des operam ut Loctinius intelligat non fuisse inanem laborem meum de illo tecum per litteras agendi, ut velle se ostendebat. Ad quem si scripseris, lectis

⁶¹ Sc. Loctinius.

⁶² *Tametsi*: a la fonction d'un adverbe. La phrase serait beaucoup plus élégante, si *tametsi* était une conjonction et si on lisait *iure* au lieu de *iureque*.

⁶³ delectatur: delectat ms.

tuis litteris facile perspiciet quantopere cum illum tum vero me ames atque ita fieri non mihi parum dignitatis adiunget. De tuis⁶⁴ autem rebus, quomodo se habeant, scripsisse tibi se aiebat Lampridius⁶⁵, quem ego, quia tuus est teque se dignum praebet, mirifice diligo atque ab eo me diligi gaudeo. Vale. Colle ad VI. Idus Quintilis. M.D.LXIV.

3. *Une nouvelle étude sur Paleario: A propos de E. Gallina, Aonio Paleario, Umanisti di Ciociaria (Sora, 1989; 3 vols.)*

Voici trois volumes (comptant plus de 2400 pages) consacrés à un seul auteur. A première vue, on estimera digne d'éloge M. Gallina qui a jugé à juste titre que l'œuvre de Paleario méritait une analyse approfondie; mais d'autre part, il faut réaliser qu'en tant qu'écrivain, Paleario n'est pas comparable à Pontano, Sannazaro ou Vida, et qu'en tant que réformateur, il n'a pas l'envergure d'un Vergerio ou d'un Ochino. En outre, la vie, l'œuvre et le 'Nachleben' de Paleario ont déjà fait l'objet d'excellentes synthèses. Il fallait donc que l'ouvrage de M. Gallina apportât de nouveaux matériaux et documents, ou analysât à fond toutes les sources possibles. Nous ne voulons pas cacher que la lecture de ces trois gros volumes fut pour nous une désillusion. Non seulement l'ouvrage n'offre que très peu d'éléments nouveaux, mais en outre il fourmille d'erreurs (même là où l'étude des écrits de l'humaniste avait abouti à des conclusions certaines); sur plusieurs points, M. Gallina a plutôt embrouillé qu'éclairci les études de Paleario. Nous regrettons de devoir dire que son ouvrage ne remplace nullement ceux de Morpurgo⁶⁶, de Caponetto⁶⁷ et de Kosuta⁶⁸; avant d'emprunter quoi que ce soit à l'étude de Gallina, il faudra consulter Morpurgo et Caponetto; lorsque Gallina traite de quelque détail omis par ces savants, il faudra retourner aux sources. Ce n'est pas un malin plaisir

⁶⁴ A Colle et à Cercignano; Paleario résidait à Milan.

⁶⁵ Il s'agit de Lampridio Paleario, fils d'Aonio. Lampridio a peut-être suivi les cours de Renerius. Nous savons qu'il s'est inscrit en 1565 à l'université de Pise pour y étudier la philosophie et la médecine. Mais il y a des preuves qu'il fréquentait ce milieu universitaire avant son immatriculation, p. ex. en 1563: cf. R. Del Gratta, *Acta graduum Academiae Pisanae*, 1: 1543-1599 (Pisa, 1980), pp. 66, 74, 76, 81, 350, 353.

⁶⁶ *Un umanista martire. Aonio Paleario e la Riforma teorica italiana nel secolo XVI* (Città di Castello, 1912).

⁶⁷ *Aonio Paleario e la Riforma protestante in Toscana*, Studi storici (Torino, 1979).

⁶⁸ Surtout son admirable article 'Aonio Paleario et son groupe humaniste et réformateur à Sienne (1530-1546)', *Lias*, 7 (1980), 3-59.

qui nous pousse à ce verdict, mais la crainte que cet ouvrage, à cause de son ampleur, ne devienne l'ouvrage de base sur Aonio Paleario.

Il nous est impossible de réfuter toutes les affirmations douteuses ou fautives de M. Gallina; nous passerons en revue le contenu des chapitres, la méthode de l'auteur et signalerons les erreurs les plus graves; nous espérons également pouvoir apporter quelques éléments nouveaux.

Dans l'introduction, M. Gallina propose les résultats de ses recherches. Il prétend que le lecteur trouvera de nouvelles données sur le procès romain (1568-1570) du réformateur⁶⁹. Or, nous avons en vain cherché en quoi consistaient ces nouvelles données, les actes mêmes de ce procès n'ayant pas été retrouvés. Autre résultat: il aurait découvert que, dans le résumé de Laderchi, "cardinale vichario (forse vicario)" était une erreur pour "cardinale Vichio", ce qui impliquerait qu'Aonio eût connu le cardinal Vich à Rome⁷⁰. Comment M. Gallina peut-il mettre cela à son compte, sachant très bien que c'est là précisément l'hypothèse que nous avons nous-mêmes formulée dans les *Humanistica Lovaniensia* de 1985⁷¹? Puis, il se vante d'avoir trouvé des poèmes de jeunesse de la main d'Aonio; en fait, il s'agit des *carmina iuvenilia* que nous avons publiés dans la même revue. Ensuite, ce serait son mérite d'avoir identifié le 'dux Epiroticus', dont Paleario parle dans son poème de l'immortalité de l'âme. Glorieuse trouvaille⁷²! Quiconque avait lu ce poème le savait; car Aonio n'avait-il pas ajouté au résumé de son poème: "Epirotici ducis cuiusdam, qui Scandaribethus dictus est, cum Parthis pugna"⁷³? Ce que Gallina n'ajoute pas et qui est plus important, c'est que les exploits de Castriota jouissaient d'une immense popularité, tant dans la littérature italienne que (grâce à l'ouvrage de Martinus Barletius) dans les lettres néo-latines: citons seulement les poèmes de Faerno et de Jean de Bussièrès⁷⁴. Enfin, ne nous fions pas à Gallina lorsqu'il déclare avoir découvert qu'Aonio était prêt à prendre

⁶⁹ E. Gallina, o.c. (n. 1) (dorénavant: Gallina), I, p. XX; II, pp. 135-136.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ 'Aonii Palearii carmina iuvenilia II', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 34 (1985), 209-227.

⁷² Gallina I, p. XX.

⁷³ Ed. 1696 des Oeuvres de Paleario, o.c. (n. 20), p. 575.

⁷⁴ M. Barletius, *Historia de vita et gestis Scanderbergi, Epirotarum principis* (Venetiis, 1504): cf. F. Babinger, Barlezio Martino', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 6 (Roma, 1964), pp. 405-407. Le poème de Faerno (*De Georgio Castrioto, Scanderbeg*) se trouve dans les *Delitiae CC Italarum poetarum* (...) de Gruter, I (Coloniae, 1608), pp. 942-943; le poème de de Bussièrès a été souvent réédité: cf. p. ex. *Scanderbegus. Poema* (Lugduni, 1656).

personnellement les armes contre les Turcs: ici, M. Gallina appuie son opinion sur une lettre qui n'est manifestement pas de la main de Paleario; ce professeur avait l'habitude de donner à ses élèves comme devoir la rédaction de lettres familières; comme la collection de Lazzari le prouve, un des thèmes était une lettre sur sa propre personne ou sur sa famille⁷⁵. Récemment, nous avons découvert dans un manuscrit milanais de semblables devoirs d'un de ses élèves⁷⁶.

La bibliographie concernant Paleario est impressionnante (elle compte 164 pages), mais présente néanmoins de graves défauts. C'est là encore la quantité qui l'emporte sur la qualité: la longue liste est parsemée de notes inutiles. La première section concerne les manuscrits. Il y manque souvent la précision. Nous ne comprenons pas pourquoi les deux poésies de jeunesse ont été rangées parmi les manuscrits, puisque les exemplaires connus — celui de Bologne et celui de Séville — sont des impressions (romaines?)⁷⁷. Pourquoi ces notes inutiles sur la bibliothèque de Veroli⁷⁸? A quoi cela sert-il d'énumérer tout ce que le manuscrit de Bandini contenait⁷⁹? Il fallait insister sur deux choses: premièrement, le livre que Bandini avait préparé pour l'impression, était destiné aux élèves et il ne s'agissait donc pas d'une édition critique; deuxièmement, le manuscrit ne contient pas l'*Actio in pontifices*, considérée comme inauthentique par Bandini. En outre, le catalogue de Gallina est loin d'être complet. Parmi les omissions les plus déplorables, signalons le Lugdunensis Batavus Pap. 2, témoin important dans la controverse sur l'éditeur des *Opera* d'Amsterdam, 1696 — M. Gallina n'y voit pas de problème —; les érudits hésitent entre Broukhusius et Graevius; grâce à ce manuscrit, renfermant un autographe de Broukhusius, qui contient un poème de Paleario dans le même état incomplet que l'on trouve dans l'édition de 1696, nous pouvons affirmer avec certitude que Broukhusius (qui avait déjà publié Sannazaro) a pris soin de cette édition⁸⁰. Deux déclarations de M. Gallina ne présagent rien de bon: il situe systématiquement la 'Herzog August Bibliothek' à

⁷⁵ Cf. *Miscellaneorum ex Mss libris bibliothecae Collegii Romani (...) Aonii Palearii epistolae XXV* (...) (Romae, 1758), p. 152-153: cf. p. ex. la lettre V (pp. 147-148).

⁷⁶ Cf. infra, appendice.

⁷⁷ Gallina I, pp. 3-4 et 17.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-9.

⁸⁰ Broukhusius y a ajouté une note qui nous apprend qu'il pensait que cette poésie était adressée à Basilio Zanchi. Cette note date de mars 1687.

Göttingen⁸¹ et appelle l'*Iter Italicum* (dont il ne connaît que les deux premiers volumes) 'un elenco incompleto delle fonti manoscritte'.

En ce qui concerne la bibliographie des œuvres imprimées, relevons quelques éditions omises et quelques fautes capables d'induire en erreur les chercheurs. Signalons d'abord que la fameuse lettre de Paleario à Portico a été publiée dans les *Questiones aureae* de Pyleus (Rome, 1560); qu'il y a eu une deuxième édition des *Opuscula* de Paleario à Brême, en 1631 (les exemplaires sont rares; on en trouve un à la bibliothèque de Mannheim); que l'*Oratio in Murenam* a été rééditée à Lübeck en 1825⁸²; qu'une lettre de Paleario à Lollio se trouve dans l'*Elogio della lingua toscana* de celui-ci (Venise, 1555); que Sweertius a incorporé deux inscriptions et une poésie de Paleario dans ses *Christiani orbis deliciae*⁸³; qu'un fragment du *De animorum immortalitate* figure dans la célèbre anthologie de Perosa et Sparrow⁸⁴, etc. Il faut noter que l'édition lyonnaise (1552) de Paleario présente deux versions quelque peu différentes; qu'il y a des variantes dans les poésies de Paleario publiées par Toscano par rapport à celles qu'Ubalдини avait réunies; que la liste des exemplaires conservés de l'*Actio in pontifices*⁸⁵ est incomplète; que la première réimpression anastatique de l'*Actio* italienne par Bastogi a été produite à Livorno en 1973; que ce Ranutius Gherus que Gallina cite comme éditeur des fameuses *Delitiae* est un anagramme de Janus Gruterus. Il arrive en outre que Gallina considère comme une seule édition ce qui a été relié ensemble par quelque lecteur: ainsi il croit que les *Pii, graves atque elegantes poetae*, collectionnés par Sphinter, ont été publiés avec des œuvres de Naogeorg, Siber et Spartanus, parce que dans la copie consultée à Rome ils ne formaient qu'un seul volume⁸⁶. La *Pleitrede tegen het pausdom* est systématiquement prise pour une traduction du poème de *Animorum immortalitate* au lieu de l'*Actio in pontifices*⁸⁷. Voulant décrire minutieusement l'"editio princeps" du *De animorum immortalitate*, M. Gallina fait une copie

⁸¹ P. ex. Gallina I, p. 9.

⁸² Par A. Goering. L'exemplaire signalé dans le *National Union Catalog* semble avoir disparu. Nous n'en avons pas encore trouvé d'autre. Goering (+ Potsdam, 1840) était directeur d'école à Lübeck; probablement, l'oraison a été publiée dans un *Programm*.

⁸³ (Coloniae, 1608).

⁸⁴ *Renaissance Latin Verse: an Anthology* (London, 1979); contient les vers 175-206 du premier livre.

⁸⁵ On manque par exemple les exemplaires de la Bayerische Staatsbibliothek à Munich et de la Herzog August Bibliothek à Wolfenbüttel.

⁸⁶ Gallina I, p. 38.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 42, p. 809.

d'une note 'énigmatique' qu'il a trouvée dans un exemplaire: "Panherl VII.368.817. Naittaire II p. 850"⁸⁸; Panzer et Maillaire lui sont inconnus! En datant des livres, il se trompe fréquemment. Pour Febeo par exemple (un opusculum renfermant une épigramme de l'humaniste) il propose 1528 parce que le colophon mentionne 'X kal. Ian. 1529'; or, quel que soit le style qu'on adopte, cette date renvoie à 1529; il suffit de consulter la pratique d'Erasmus dans son *Opus Epistolarum*.

M. Gallina a cru bien faire d'ajouter des notices sur les éditeurs de Paleario. Pour situer Oporin, il copie une demi-page de Pugno qui explique le nom grécisé de l'éditeur, puis une demi-page de Zeltnerus; mais on ne trouve rien sur les éditions d'Oporin, puisqu'il ne connaît pas l'étude fondamentale de Steinmann⁸⁹ sur cet éditeur; il en va de même pour Gryphe: la *Bibliographie Lyonnaise* de Baudrier n'est même pas mentionnée⁹⁰. Or, la plupart des imprimeurs de Paleario étaient bien connus; mais lorsque quelques imprimeurs n'ont pas été présentés en détail, M. Gallina se tait également; ainsi il écrit, concernant Guarinus, Villerianus et Buchius: "Non è stato finora possibile trovare informazioni..." Or, pour Villerianus (de Villiers, qui a travaillé à Brême et Hanau) et Buchius (Buch, décédé en 1754), il avait suffi de consulter les manuels de Benzing et de Paisey⁹¹. Quant au célèbre Guarino (Guérin), nous nous demandons comment il a pu ne pas le connaître; signalons seulement que M. Bietenholz a fourni de précieuses données à son sujet dans un de ses livres devenu classique⁹². Pour Comino, M. Gallina ne cite même pas l'article du *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*.

Ensuite vient une liste soit-disant exhaustive des études concernant Paleario. En fait, elle est lacunaire. Nous nous bornerons à signaler

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁸⁹ *Johannes Oporinus. Ein Basler Buchdrucker um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Basler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft, 105 (Basel, Stuttgart, 1967).

⁹⁰ H.L. Baudrier, J. Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise. Recherches sur les imprimeurs, libraires, relieurs et fondeurs de lettres de Lyon au XVI^e siècle*, 8 (Lyon, Paris, 1910).

⁹¹ J. Benzing, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet*, Beiträge zum Buch- und Bibliothekswesen, 12 (Wiesbaden, 1982), pp. 63 et 189; D.L. Paisey, *Deutsche Buchdrucker, Buchhändler und Verleger 1701-1750*, Beiträge zum Buch- und Bibliothekswesen, 26 (Wiesbaden, 1988), p. 30.

⁹² *Basle and France in the Sixteenth Century. The Basle Humanists and Printers in Their Contacts with Francophone Culture*, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 112 (Genève, 1971), pp. 76-77. Cf. déjà F.F.J. Lecouvet, 'Thomas Guarin, Tournaisien, imprimeur à Bâle au XVI^e siècle', *Messenger des sciences historiques de Belgique*, 1858, 204-220; l'épithaphe de Guarino a été publiée par le comte de Limburg-Stirum, *ibid.*, 1878, 223.

quelques études manquant dans cette bibliographie et renvoyons le lecteur à notre édition critique du *De animorum immortalitate*, qui devrait paraître prochainement. On trouvera une synthèse de ce poème dans N. Badaloni, *Cultura e vita civile tra Riforma e Controriforma* (...) (Bari, 1973). Un important article sur l'*Actio* (d'ailleurs une des rares contributions concernant cette œuvre) a été publié par K. Benrath, 'Aonio Paleario und seine Klagschrift', *Monatsblätter für innere Zeitgeschichte*, 1867, pp. 252-278. Pour Flaminio de' Nobili', *Actum Lucae*, 7(1978), 115-125; pour le contexte néo-latin du *De animorum immortalitate*, renvoyons à l'étude fondamentale de G. Roellenbleck, *Das epische Lehrgedicht Italiens im fünfzehnten und sechzehnten Jahrhundert* (...), *Münchener Romanistische Arbeiten*, 43 (München, 1975). L'influence exercée par Erasme sur Paleario a été étudiée par Silvana Seidel Menchi dans son beau livre *Erasmus in Italia* (...), *Nuova Cultura*, 1 (Torino, 1987); c'est également Madame Seidel Menchi qui a écrit l'article Paleario dans les *Contemporaries of Erasmus* (edd. P.G. Bietenholz - T.B. Deutscher, 3 (Toronto, etc., 1987), pp. 45-46.

Après cela, M. Gallina propose une bibliographie critique — ce qui entraîne des répétitions inutiles; il ajoute des témoignages sur l'humaniste. La première partie aurait été utile, s'il s'était contenté de parcourir la littérature depuis 1900 et s'il n'avait pas cherché la petite bête. A quoi cela sert-il de critiquer la *Biographie Michaud* et tant d'autres articles d'encyclopédie, ou les livres de Blackburn (1866) et Young (1860)? Bien sûr qu'il y avait là beaucoup d'erreurs, mais celles-ci avaient été corrigées implicitement dans les études plus récentes. Quant aux 'testimonia virorum doctorum', M. Gallina n'apporte que peu de nouveau par rapport aux éditions d'Amsterdam et de Jéna. Il ne connaît donc pas les témoignages beaucoup plus intéressants du philosophe Leibniz⁹³ ou des philologues renommés comme Stefano Grosso⁹⁴; il ignore la fortune implicite de Paleario dans les imitations, p.ex. celles de Ponsevi et Scafito⁹⁵. En outre, l'énumération manque de sens

⁹³ Cf. p. ex. 'Ad Gothofredum Gulielmum Leibnitium responsio ad superiorem epistolam', in *Petri Dan. Huetii et Cl. Fr. Fragnerii carmina* (Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1729), pp. 262-265.

⁹⁴ Cf. *Stephani Grossi Inscriptiones Carmina Commentationes* (Milano, Pisa, Napoli, 1886), p. XVII.

⁹⁵ Cf. D. Sacré, 'De Dominico Ponsevio scriptore Florentino', *Humanistica Lovanensia*, 36 (1987), 252-292; Id., 'De Vincentio Scafito Aoni Paleari imitatore', in S. Albert

critique; ainsi, le témoignage d'un certain Koenig (1616-1699)⁹⁶ est copie textuelle du jugement de Scaliger - dont M. Gallina cite les *Poetices libri*, manifestement sans avoir lu ce qu'il a écrit sur Paleario. Or, c'est bien l'important ouvrage de Scaliger qui a contribué en grande partie à la survie littéraire de Paleario. Remarquons également que la poésie de Pigna a été éditée en 1553 et non en 1563⁹⁷ et que les vers de Latini contre Paleario, que M. Gallina considère comme inédits, ont été publiés en 1987⁹⁸.

La biographie de Paleario occupe plus de 600 pages (p. 167-770), mais étant venu péniblement à bout de cette partie, on constatera qu'elle ne comporte rien que l'on ne savait déjà par Morpurgo, Caponetto et une quantité d'articles que M. Gallina se plaît à citer in extenso... N'ayant pas à offrir de nouvelles données, il attire l'attention sur quelque détail, sur quelque particularité — et fait dire aux sources ce qu'elles ne disent pas; de là, des hypothèses forcées, des interprétations manifestement erronées. A cause de l'attention pour le détail, il arrive que les arbres cachent la forêt; le récit se fait chaotique. Qui plus est, il y a lieu de mettre en question la méthode employée par M. Gallina; premièrement parce qu'il consulte de préférence des articles d'encyclopédie — surtout *Michaud* et *l'Enciclopedia italiana* — ou de vieilles études dépassées: en conséquence, il affirme des choses qui ne répondent pas du tout à l'état actuel de nos connaissances, tandis que l'étude poussée de Paleario, d'une part et l'usage de matériaux périmés ou trop généraux, d'autre part, nous semblent incompatibles. Et deuxièmement, M. Gallina ne se pose aucune question d'ordre méthodologique; malgré les remarques critiques de Morpurgo et de Kosuta, M. Gallina n'hésite pas à mettre au même rang une lettre latine d'Aonio, publiée dans ses *Epistolarum libri IV*, une lettre italienne qu'il n'a pas eu l'intention de livrer au public, et un acte notarié. Il oublie donc que le recueil de lettres de l'humaniste est une œuvre d'art — et bien plus que cela: comme dans le cas de Muret, il s'agit d'une autobiographie apologétique, par laquelle l'auteur nous montre un autoportrait sans doute tendancieux: c'est ce motif qui a déterminé l'insertion des lettres dans le

(ed.), *Latine "sapere, agere, loqui"*. *Miscellanea Caelesti Eichenseer dedicata* (Saraviponti, 1989), pp. 107-114.

⁹⁶ Gallina I, p. 99.

⁹⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 93.

⁹⁸ Cf. D. Sacré, 'Unveröffentlichte Epigramme Latino Latinis auf Aonio Paleario', *Wolfenbütteler Renaissance Mitteilungen*, 11 (1987), 66-68.

recueil, qui l'a induit à incorporer des lettres fictives (comme I, 17) et à les revoir avant de les publier; or, pour les années romaines de l'humaniste, les lettres constituent la source principale et il fallait les traiter avec circonspection; le lecteur avisé, en effet, n'échappe pas à l'impression que ces lettres à Mauro peuvent avoir été écrites longtemps après coup, afin de compléter l'autobiographie.

Quoi qu'il en soit, il y a dans cette biographie des erreurs tellement graves, qu'elles nous forcent à mettre en garde contre elle le lecteur non spécialisé.

D'abord, M. Gallina postule des amitiés historiquement impossibles. Ainsi il pense que Paleario, professeur à Lucques (1546-1555) était lié d'amitié avec Andrea Navagero⁹⁹; mais Navagero avait disparu en 1529! Aonio aurait connu Andrea Alciati à Milan (où le premier enseignait dès 1555): mais Alciati était mort en 1549 ou 1550! Encore à Milan, l'humaniste aurait été ami de Bonamico¹⁰⁰: mais Lazzaro Bonamico était décédé en 1552! Il y aurait également connu Maioragio: mais celui-ci avait disparu quelques mois avant la désignation de Paleario à Milan!¹⁰¹

Ensuite, nous ne comprenons guère ce que M. Gallina entend par 'Connaissance' ou 'ami': presque toutes les personnes mentionnées par Paleario, ainsi que les amis de ses amis et une partie des intellectuels vivant à cette époque sont considérés comme connaissances personnelles de l'humaniste.

Ainsi, M. Gallina remarque que la poésie 'de catello mortuo' ressemble à une épigramme de Navagero; il en conclut que les deux poètes se sont connus¹⁰²; après quelques pages il se sert du même poème et du même argument, et postule que Paleario fut lié d'amitié avec Flaminio¹⁰³; vu la quantité de poésies semblables écrites à cette époque, la similarité ne prouve rien. Paleario aurait, en outre, connu le cardinal Charles Borromée, parce qu'il l'a critiqué en 1569¹⁰⁴, et Melanchthon et Calvin parce qu'il leur a adressé une lettre (d'ailleurs sans réponse)¹⁰⁵, et Réginald Pole, parce qu'il l'a mentionné dans une de ses

⁹⁹ Gallina, I, p. 507.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 602.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, II, p. 7.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, I, pp. 335-336.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 299-300.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 236.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 327 et 325.

lettres¹⁰⁶, et Paulo Giovio, parce qu'il l'a appelé 'historiae pater'¹⁰⁷ (mais faisons remarquer que c'est Pier Vettori qui a servi de relais lorsque Paleario désirait envoyer ses discours de Lucques), et l'évêque Charles Visconti parce qu'il appartenait au cercle de Spinula¹⁰⁸, et Carnesecchi¹⁰⁹ et Eck¹¹⁰ mentionnés dans ses œuvres... Est-il permis de ranger parmi ses amis toutes les personnes dont Aonio a lu les œuvres ou dont il a entendu parler? Cela n'a rien à voir avec une biographie.

Puis, mettons en garde le lecteur contre des hypothèses illicites et des interprétations erronées.

Dans ep.II,2, Aonio écrivait: "... et tabellarius Gallus quidam legati regii istuc venire diceretur": M. Gallina se demande si ce 'Gallus' est parent de 'Pterix Gallus' (économe de Paleario). Or la lettre II,2 était adressée à Sadoletto qui demeurait en France; Paleario dit seulement qu'il a profité de la présence d'un messenger français pour lui confier une lettre à remettre à Sadoletto¹¹¹.

En 1532, Sadoletto intercèda en faveur d'un jeune homme inconnu auprès d'Erasmus ("sed cum adisset ad me diceretque se ... velle ad te proficisci, ut sub te ... litteris operam daret..."): de là une hypothèse de Gallina: il s'agissait de Paleario. Mais avant 1536, Paleario n'a pas échangé de lettres avec Sadoletto (et les premières lettres montrent très bien qu'il n'y a pas eu de correspondance avant cette date) et les deux hommes ne se sont rencontrés qu'en 1542!¹¹²

Au sujet d'Orgetorix Sphinter, qui a joué un rôle assez important dans la publication des œuvres paleariennes, plusieurs hypothèses ont été émises. M.Gallina croit avoir résolu l'énigme: ayant remarqué ce qui est manifestement une erreur de copiste (dans un manuscrit de l'Ambrosienne, on lit 'litterae ab Orgeto Rige missae' au lieu de 'ab Orgetorige missae'), il en déduit que son vrai nom était "Orgetus Rigae"¹¹³ Comme si l'on pouvait dire en latin "Aonius Romae" ou "Cicero Arpini"! A notre avis, Sphinter est un pseudonyme; à cause

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 259-261.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 284-285.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 274-275.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 296-297.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 292-293.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 191 (cf. pp. 281-282).

¹¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 271-272

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 314 (etc.).

d'une phrase dans une de ses lettres¹¹⁴, et à cause de son prénom (songeons au *Bellum Gallicum*!), nous estimons qu'il était suisse; sous 'Sphinter' pourrait alors se cacher un nom comme 'Schnur' ou 'Funke'; nous pensons qu'il était un de ces nombreux intermédiaires entre auteurs italiens et imprimeurs suisses¹¹⁵.

D'ailleurs, M. Gallina n'a pas conscience du fait qu'il y a d'autres pseudonymes dans les lettres de Paleario. Dans la lettre 1,17 qui, manifestement, est une falsification, on lit "Verpa iste tuus, non homo, sed truncus... cum T. Antipalo turpissime pepigisse dicitur": M. Gallina les appelle 'oscuri autori'; et il ajoute à la liste d'obscurs amis du Paleario un poète comme Giano Vitale¹¹⁶!

M. Gallina présume que Paleario, lorsqu'il enseignait à Lucques, a voyagé plusieurs fois à Ferrare pour rendre visite à son ami Bartolommeo Ricci. Cela est improbable; en 1552, Ricci déclare qu'il n'avait vu qu'une seule fois Aonio, quand il demeuraient à Padoue (probablement en 1534); en 1556, il se plaignait de ce que Paleario, en voyage pour Milan, ne l'avait même pas visité¹¹⁷.

Comme d'autres historiens, M. Gallina n'a pas de doutes sur les années romaines de l'humaniste: Paleario a suivi les cours à l'université de Rome, déclare-t-il. Il faut pourtant noter qu'il n'y a aucune preuve à ce sujet; la seule chose que l'on puisse dire avec certitude — M. Gallina l'ignore —, c'est que Paleario s'est fait immatriculer à l'université de Sienne en 1531¹¹⁸.

Quant à la mise à l'index des écrits de l'Italien, M. Gallina se trompe. En janvier 1559, le P. Vittorio da Firenze (qui déjà en 1542 avait accusé Aonio d'hérésie) déclara qu'il "rimase sorpreso nel vedervi proibiti i libri di Aonio Paleario Verulano in uno di' quali egli loda molto

¹¹⁴ Il s'agit de la lettre qui figure en tête des *Pii, graves atque elegantes poetae* (...) (Basileae, 1551?), où Sphinter a écrit qu'il s'était entretenu avec Sadoletto "primum de Helvetiis nostris, deinde de Germanis".

¹¹⁵ Cf. p. ex. B.R. Jenny, 'Arlenius in Basel', *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 64 (1964), 5-45.

¹¹⁶ Gallina, I, p. 343. *Verpa* est un sobriquet, *Antipalus* un nom grecisé. Pour Vitale, Gallina copie à plusieurs reprises la note plutôt insignifiante de Caponetto; sur cet humaniste protégé de Léon X, et membre de l'Académie romaine, dont l'épigramme *Roma prisca* a connu une fortune vraiment européenne et a fait l'objet de nombreuses études; l'article fondamental demeure celui de G. Tumminello, 'Giano Vitale umanista del secolo XVI', *Archivio storico siciliano*, n.s. 8 (1883), 1-94.

¹¹⁷ Au sujet de Ricci et de Paleario, cf. D. Sacré, *o.c.* (n. 11).

¹¹⁸ Cf. G. Minnucci - L. Kosuta, *Lo studio di Siena nei secoli XIV-XVI. Documenti e notizie biografiche*, Saggi e documenti per la storia dell'università di Siena, 1 (Milano, 1989), p. 553.

l'Occhino". Cette phrase est longuement commentée par M. Gallina, qui n'aboutit pas à une solution du problème¹¹⁹. Or, à notre avis, la solution est simple si l'on se rend compte du fait que, primo, le P. Vittorio le soupçonnait d'hérésie depuis longtemps (il aurait trouvé normal que Paleario figurât à l'index), secundo, Paleario ne figurait pas à l'index avant 1590, tertio, celui qui a rédigé ou copié le sommaire du procès (dans lequel on peut lire cette déposition du P. Vittorio) a commis beaucoup de fautes¹²⁰. Voilà pourquoi nous pensons qu'il faut lire: "rimase sorpreso nel *non* vedervi proibiti i libri di Aonio Paleario."

Il arrive trop souvent que M. Gallina soit en contradiction avec lui-même. En ce qui concerne une épigramme recueillie dans une œuvre de Giovio, il déclare à deux reprises qu'elle a été écrite vers 1550; ailleurs, il la date deux fois vers 1517-1526. Nous savons seulement qu'elle a été publiée en 1551¹²¹. Le discours inaugural de Paleario, tenu à Milan, aurait été prononcé le 28 octobre 1555, puis le 18 octobre, enfin même en 1553¹²². Or, Paleario-même a écrit qu'il fut prononcé A.D. IV Cal. Nov., c.-à-d. le 29 octobre (1555). Pour Gallina, il n'est question que d'un seul Ubaldini dans l'œuvre d'Aonio: ce serait la même personne qui est citée dans la lettre 1,17 qui aurait publié en 1563 les "Carmina poetarum nobilium". Cela est impossible, puisqu'en avril 1556, Paleario parle d'Ubaldini comme étant mort (tout comme Sadoletto et Bembo, par exemple)¹²³. Gallina nie que l'ep. 1,17 soit un faux, puis admet qu'elle en est un¹²⁴.

Pour une reconstitution plus ou moins probable de la biographie de l'humaniste, la chronologie des lettres est très importante. Nous avons déjà souligné qu'à nos yeux, l'*opus epistolarum* de Paleario doit être considéré comme une apologie artistique; cela explique que les lettres n'ont pas été classées par ordre chronologique. M. Gallina a tenté de

¹¹⁹ Gallina, I, pp. 693-694.

¹²⁰ P. ex. en ce qui concerne Vich (cf. supra, p. *). Notre hypothèse est implicitement présente dans S. Caponetto, *o.c.* (n.1), pp. 130-131.

¹²¹ Gallina, I, pp. 91, 285 et 350; II, p. 135.

¹²² Gallina, I, pp. 547, 565 et 424.

¹²³ En ce qui concerne Io. P. Ubaldinus, nous ne disposons pas d'une biographie; M. Gallina n'a rien trouvé à son sujet. Signalons des notices intéressantes dans Iacopo Bonfadio, *Le lettere e una scrittura burlesca. Edizione critica e commento di A. Greco*, L'ippogrifo, 14 (Roma, 1978), pp. 182-183; S. Longhi, Lusus. *Il capitolo burlesco nel Cinquecento*, Miscellanea erudita, 38 (Padova, 1983), où l'on apprend qu'Ubaldinus a publié à Milan en 1564 *I dieci paradossi degli Academici Intronati* (avec une préface à Andreas Marinus, ami commun de Paleario et d'Ubaldini).

¹²⁴ Gallina, I, p. 238; II, pp. 11-12.

dater chaque lettre¹²⁵; nous sommes désolés de devoir déconseiller vivement au lecteur de se fier à cette chronologie. Donnons quelques exemples à l'appui. M. Gallina assure que Lampridio, le fameux poète pindarique, est mort en 1540 — ce qui, pour autant que nous le sachions, n'est pas certain —; néanmoins, il pense que l'ep. 3,7 date de 1541, bien qu'on y parle de Lampridio comme étant en vie¹²⁶ ... En outre, il est impossible que les lettres échangées entre Pier Vettori et Paleario datent de 1536, puisqu'on lit dans la lettre 2,12 que l'année précédente, Paléario a acheté son 'Caecinianum'; or, l'acte notarié de cet achat existe encore et porte comme date 1537! La lettre II,6 ne peut dater de III Id. Iun. 1536, puisque Paleario écrit à propos de Jacques Sadoletto que celui-ci "nunc cum ad Christianae Reipublicae gubernacula accesserit": il a donc été nommé cardinal et cette promotion a eu lieu en décembre 1536. La lettre de Vettori à Robertello au sujet de Paleario date de 1540 et non de 1539¹²⁷. La lettre d'Aonio à Gryphe, précédant l'édition de 1552 ne peut dater de 1540¹²⁸.

Ce que nous avons beaucoup regretté, nous le disions déjà, c'est que M. Gallina se soit contenté de consulter des ouvrages anciens ou trop généraux. Cela implique qu'il se base sur de l'information souvent dépassée et qu'il ne peut progresser par rapport aux études antérieures. Ainsi nous étions surpris que, pour ce qui concerne le professeur suisse Zwinger, il se soit limité à répéter (plusieurs fois) la phrase qu'il avait trouvée sur cet humaniste dans le beau livre de Morpurgo¹²⁹. Pour Capece, il ne cite même pas l'article dans le *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, mais se borne à l'*Enciclopedia italiana* et à Mazzuchelli, qui ne connaissait que partiellement les éditions des œuvres du savant napolitain¹³⁰. Pour Flaminio, il cite des ouvrages du XIX^e siècle et ignore

¹²⁵ Gallina, I, pp. 782-786.

¹²⁶ Sur Lampridio, il faut consulter maintenant F. Piován, 'Lampridio, Bembo e altri (Schede d'archivio)', *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 30 (1987), 179-197.

¹²⁷ Gallina, I, p. 456. IV Kal. Ian. 1540 signifie 29 XII 1540.

¹²⁸ Elle est antérieure de quelques mois à 1552.

¹²⁹ Gallina, I, pp. 327 et 591. Cf. p. ex. J. Karcher, *Theodor Zwinger und seine Zeitgenossen* (Basel, 1956), l'article de R. Thommen dans l'*Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, 45 (Berlin, 1900), pp. 543-546, ou C. Gilly, 'Zwischen Erfahrung und Spekulation. Theodor Zwinger und die religiöse und kulturelle Krise seiner Zeit', *Basler Zeitschrift f. Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 77 (1977), 57-124; 79 (1979), 125-223.

¹³⁰ Cf. p. ex. V. D'Angelillo, *Scipione Capece umanista: studio critico intorno alla vita e alle opere* (Napoli, 1921); en outre C.A. Gordon, o.c. (n.) et G. Roellenbleck, o.c. (n.).

les études de Pastore et de Carol Maddison¹³¹. De même il ne tient aucunement compte des articles récents sur Navagero¹³² ou Giulio Camillo¹³³. Et lorsqu'il lui faut parler de l'humaniste belge Corneille Grapheus, destinataire d'une des lettres de Paleario, il copie sans sourciller l'aveu de Maria Young (1860!): "Who this Graphaeo is remains unknown"¹³⁴. Or, Grapheus ou De Schrijver (1482-1558) était un célèbre poète latin, philologue et secrétaire de la ville d'Anvers, lié d'amitié avec Erasme; il a fait l'objet de plusieurs articles¹³⁵. Comme dans le cas de Grapheus, M. Gallina a laissé passer l'occasion de faire des recherches sur d'autres personnes avec lesquelles Paleario avait entretenu des relations, mais qui avaient été négligées par ceux qui s'intéressent à lui: nommons, par exemple, Panciaticus¹³⁶.

Enfin, nous nous opposons radicalement au tableau que M. Gallina dresse de la personnalité de Paleario; nous n'entendons pas le tableau physique de l'auteur¹³⁷ — les notices réunies par M. Gallina ne disent rien —, mais son portrait psychique et moral. Il y a, dans un manuscrit conservé à Jesi, deux poésies érotiques d'un certain Pallaureus chantant son amour pour Aurelius, d'une part, et Pamphila, d'autre part: M. Gallina suppose que Paleario est identique à Pallaureo, mais au lieu de situer ces vers catulliens dans la tradition néo-latine, il applique leur contenu à Paleario et va même plus loin, en les rattachant à des propos ironiques et hyperboliques tenus envers Cinzio Frangipani, un des (riches!) élèves d'Aonio: l'«Aurelio» de la poésie pourrait bien cacher

¹³¹ C. Maddison, *Marcantonio Flaminio, Humanist and Reformer* (Chapel Hill, London, 1965); A. Pastore, *Marcantonio Flaminio. Fortuna e sfortune di un chierico nell' Italia del Cinquecento* (Milano, 1981); Id. (ed.), *Marcantonio Flaminio, Lettere*, Univ. degli studi di Trieste, Fac. di Lett. e Filos., Ist. di storia med. e moderna, 1 (Roma, 1978).

¹³² Cf. p. ex. les ouvrages cités dans D. Sacré, 'Andrea Navagero, *Lusus*: Three Textual Notes', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 36 (1987), 296-298.

¹³³ Cf. p. ex. L. Bolzoni, *Il teatro della memoria. Studi su Giulio Camillo* (Padova, 1984); C. Vasoli, *Filosofia e religione nella cultura del Rinascimento, Filosofia e sapere storico* (Napoli, 1988), pp. 279-321; F. Tateo, 'Il Ciceronianismo di Giulio Camillo Delminio', in *Filologia e forme letterarie. Studi offerte a Francesco Della Corte*, V (Urbino, 1987), pp. 529-542.

¹³⁴ Gallina, I, p. 533.

¹³⁵ Cf. p. ex. F. Prims, 'Het ontluiken van het Humanisme te Antwerpen', *Verslagen en Mededelingen van de Kon. Vlaamse Academie*, 1938, 523-551 (pp. 547-548); M.A. Nauwelaerts, 'Cornelius Grapheus', *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, o.c. (n.), I, p. 123.

¹³⁶ Cf. F. Piovan, 'Gli studi padovani di Bartolomeo Panciatichi', *Quaderni per la storia dell' Università di Padova*, 20 (1987), 119-122; E. Picot, 'Les Italiens en France au XVIe siècle', *Bulletin italien*, 2 (1902), 23-53 (pp. 32-33).

¹³⁷ Gallina, I, pp. 756-758.

Cinzio¹³⁸! D'ailleurs, on retrouverait ces tendances pédérastiques à Milan: afin de rendre cette hypothèse probable, il cite quelques phrases de trois lettres écrites à des élèves; non seulement il ne les traite pas dans leur contexte, mais en plus il ne note pas que ce sont des lettres qu'Aonio n'a pas écrites — en effet, nous n'hésitons pas à considérer ces lettres insignifiantes comme des exercices d'école: la collection Lazzeri en offre plusieurs exemples¹³⁹. D'ailleurs, M. Gallina postule à tort une tendance suicidaire chez Paleario¹⁴⁰; il affirme à tort que Paleario 'mentiva anche con ali amici più cari'¹⁴¹, etc. Des petites phrases de ce genre nous apprennent moins sur l'humaniste que sur son biographe, qui, à une distance de plus de quatre siècles, ne semble pas bien disposé envers l'écrivain hétérodoxe.

En ce qui concerne l'analyse de la production littéraire, nous estimons qu'elle a quelque utilité dans la mesure où elle propose une paraphrase détaillée de toutes les œuvres de l'humaniste — ces résumés rendront service aux historiens de l'humanisme qui n'ont plus la pratique de latin. De plus — à tout seigneur tout honneur — nous croyons qu'il y a dans le deuxième volume quelques interprétations attrayantes, surtout concernant les poésies mineures d'Aonio, à savoir 'In nuptiis Nicolai Marini et Aloisiae Mendozae', 'Ad Michaellem Tramezinum', 'Optimo Carolo Principi Austrio'¹⁴². Cela dit, remarquons qu'il faut lire neuf cents pages pour y découvrir ces quelques trouvailles ... et que nous sommes loin d'être d'accord sur tout ce que renferme cet exposé beaucoup trop long. Nous ne signalerons ici que quelques points sur lesquels M. Gallina se trompe. Premièrement, il n'y a pas de raison de croire que quelques discours de l'humaniste ont péri: le passage sur lequel M. Gallina appuie son hypothèse peut très bien se rapporter aux discours lucquois¹⁴³. Ensuite, il n'est pas certain que les quatre distiques sur une bague d'Isabella Colonna datent de 1531¹⁴⁴,

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 222-224; 338.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ Gallina, I, p. 759.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 268.

¹⁴² Gallina II, pp. 143-145; 151-152; 160-161. Au sujet du poème à 'Carolus princeps', nous faisons remarquer que l'hypothèse de M. Gallina est vraisemblable; mais d'autre part, il est clair que ces vers développent plusieurs thèmes typiques de la poésie pour Charles-Quint: cf. J.-C. Margolin, 'Charles-Quint et l'humanisme', in *Charles-Quint, le Rhin et la France. Actes des journées d'études (...) 1973*, Publications de la soc. sav. d'Alsace (...), Recherches et doc., 17 (Strasbourg, 1973), pp. 157-180.

¹⁴³ Gallina, I, p. 805.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 582-583; II, p. 150.

pas davantage que ceux de Spinola (qui, en 1531, n'avait que onze ans), il est bien possible que Paleario et Spinola se soient inspirés (beaucoup plus tard) de Molza ou Colocci; d'ailleurs, la bague fut également chantée en vers latins par Francesco Franchini¹⁴⁵ et nous ne croyons pas qu'il y ait une "estrema somiglianza" entre les poésies de Spinola et de Paleario, de tels jeux de mots étant très en vogue à cette époque¹⁴⁶. En ce qui concerne l'épigramme 'Dis Manibus Sicinii Pepuli', notons que Francesco Vintha de Volterra a écrit également un poème funéraire pour cet homme¹⁴⁷. Puis, la belle consolation de Paleario à Basile Amerbach n'a pas été écrite le 5 septembre 1562: c'est la date à laquelle Amerbach a reçu la lettre¹⁴⁸. Enfin, dans l'*Exhortatio ad Principes christianos Contra Turcas*, 'Hesperia altera' ne signifie pas le Portugal: comme l'Italie a déjà été nommée, il ne peut s'agir que de l'Espagne: c'est l'autre sens (classique et connu par Paleario) d'"Hesperia"¹⁴⁹. Passons sur le fait que M. Gallina prétend que les hendécasyllabes de Pallareo "non sono mai state indicate da quelli che hanno scritto sul Paleario", bien que nous ayons publié en 1987 un article sous le titre "Hendecasyllabi saeculi XVIⁱ inediti nominique Aoni Paleari fortassis addicendi"¹⁵⁰.

Abstraction faite de ces erreurs, nous devons faire une observation d'ordre général sur la masse du deuxième volume. Celle-ci consiste en effet en une longue liste (de 425 pages!), renfermant ce que M. Gallina considère comme des échos de ou allusions aux auteurs classiques. C'est un catalogue illisible puisque le lecteur ne dispose pas d'un texte critique. Cela mis à part, l'inventaire approfondirait nos connaissances de l'œuvre paléarienne, s'il était fait de façon judicieuse. Or, nous n'hésitons pas à dire que ce n'est pas le cas. D'une part, la liste contient une quantité de parallèles, qui n'ont rien à voir avec les textes de Paleario, d'autre part, il y manque un grand nombre de 'loci similes'. Cela nous entraînerait trop loin de commenter tout le catalogue. Nous

¹⁴⁵ Cf. *Carmina illustrium poetarum Italarum*, 5 (Florentiae, 1720), pp. 118-119 (deux épigrammes).

¹⁴⁶ Gallina, II, p. 151. Cf. p. ex. E. Zorzi, 'Lucia Dal Sole nella poesia dei suoi tempi (sec. XVI)', *Bollettino del Museo civico di Padova*, 48 (1959), 99-128.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. *Carmina illustrium poetarum Italarum*, 11 (Florentiae, 1726), p. 224.

¹⁴⁸ Gallina, II, p. 156. Il y a une réponse (inédite) d'Amerbach à cette épître poétique, dont M. B.R. Jenny et nous-mêmes préparons l'édition.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 164. Notre article a paru dans le *Giornale filologico ferrarese*, 10 (1987), 195-200.

nous bornerons à quelques exemples. Pour la phrase “Prosecutos esse multos Dei vocabula, et fecisse nomina, etsi Deo nomen, non sit. Ἔστι γὰρ ὁ ὢν ἀνώνυμος”, M. Gallina renvoie à Euripide (ἀνώνυμοις θεαῖς) et Homère et Platon, qui ont également utilisé ἀνώνυμος¹⁵¹. Mais il fallait citer ici Lactance, *Inst.* 1,6 (un ouvrage dont Paleario a beaucoup profité): “Ac ne quis nomen eius nomen requireret, ἀνώνυμον esse dixit, eo quod nominis proprietate non egeat, ob ipsam scilicet unitatem. Ipsius haec verba sunt: Ὁ δὲ θεός, εἷς ὁ δὲ εἷς ὀνόματος οὐ προσδέεται. ἔστι γὰρ ὁ ὢν ἀνώνυμος.”

Devons-nous croire que Paleario, en écrivant dans une de ses lettres “ut facile superem Crassum divitiis”, ait songé à Cicéron, *off.* II, 57: “et P. Crassus cum cognomine dives”¹⁵²? Qu’il ait eu en tête quelque passage classique lorsqu’il mentionna Chiron, le précepteur d’Achille¹⁵³? Que ‘Phoebus pater omnibus poetis’ soit inspiré par “Phoebo pater omnipotens, mihi Phoebus Apollo” de Virgile? M. Gallina ne discerne pas les vrais emprunts des “iuncturae tritae” de la langue poétique et a tendance à considérer comme emprunt chaque passage où il trouve deux mots qui figurent également, dans quel contexte que ce soit, dans un auteur classique. En outre, il néglige entièrement la poésie néo-latine et surtout les poètes qui ont chanté des sujets semblables et que Paleario a probablement lus (Vida, Sannazare, Palingène, Pontano ...).

Le deuxième volume sur Paleario présente donc les mêmes faiblesses, que nous avons rencontrées dans le premier. La manière dont le *De animorum immortalitate* est traité nous semble symptomatique¹⁵⁴. M. Gallina commence par un ‘inquadramento del poemetto nello sfondo letterario-filosofico del Cinquecento’. D’abord il paraphrase l’article ‘Lucrezio’ de l’*Enciclopedia Treccani* et reprend les fautes de celui-ci parce qu’il ne consulte pas des études scientifiques comme celle de C.A. Gordon¹⁵⁵ ou le *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum*¹⁵⁶. Puis il traite du philosophe Pomponazzi, qu’il introduit en citant ... le *Peplus Italiae* de Mattei Toscano. Ensuite il cite quelques

¹⁵¹ Gallina, II, pp. 328.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 273.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 278-279.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 96-121.

¹⁵⁵ *A Bibliography of Lucretius*, The Soho Bibliographies (London, 1962).

¹⁵⁶ W.B. Fleischmann, ‘Lucretius Carus, Titus’, in P.O. Kristeller, F.E. Cranz (edd.), *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum. Medieval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries*, 2 (Washington, 1971), pp. 349-355.

titres d'ouvrages relatifs à l'immortalité de l'âme, sans se soucier de savoir si ceux-ci ont été publiés avant ou après le poème de Paleario et s'ils sont en rapport avec ce poème. Vient ensuite un résumé (13 pages) du poème, puis un aperçu des thèmes majeurs. Enfin, M. Gallina se propose de passer en revue 'le imitazioni fatte o subite dal Paleario'. A cette fin, il résume des articles d'encyclopédie (e.a. la *Biographie Michaud*!) concernant vingt-quatre auteurs qui ont écrit sur l'immortalité de l'âme¹⁵⁷: ces vingt-quatre auteurs, il les a trouvés dans ... Gesner (1548) et Fabricius (1703). Il n'a ni vu ni lu ces vingt-quatre ouvrages. Ce qu'il présente donc, ce sont des dérivés d'information secondaire. Il est clair que cela ne mène à rien.

M. Gallina ne manque pas d'assurance envers Paleario. Il ajoute même une liste d'erreurs commises par l'humaniste. Il pense qu'Aonio a traité 'cursare' comme un verbe déponent, 'cursari', parce qu'il a écrit "uno eodemque tempore cursari ad senatum, cogi pecuniam, delectus haberi necesse erat"¹⁵⁸! M. Gallina présume que Paleario a confondu 'perduelliones' e 'perduelles' — mais il faut consulter Forcellini, s.v.¹⁵⁹ M. Gallina croit également devoir corriger l'humaniste Vossius, qui aurait affirmé à tort que Paleario et Horace ont en commun le traitement prosodique remarquable de 'palus'¹⁶⁰. M. Gallina suppose que 'mollicellus' (mot que l'on trouve dans une des poésies de Paleario) est un diminutif qui n'existait pas dans l'antiquité — mais il figure bien dans le *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*.¹⁶¹ Et en traduisant l'épigramme la plus célèbre d'Aonio: "Ni mihi spem Christus faceret quem vita secuta es", il écrit: "Se non mi desse speranza Christo che in vita seguisti" — alors que, du point de vue de la métrique, 'vita' ne peut être que vocatif¹⁶².

Il nous reste à discuter du troisième volume, qui traite de Paleario et de la Réforme. Comme nous ne nous sentons pas qualifié pour porter un jugement sur des controverses théologiques, nous nous limiterons à

¹⁵⁷ La liste est d'ailleurs incomplète; cf. p. ex. D. Sacré, 'Heinsius' De contemptu mortis', *De Zeventiende Eeuw*, 4 (1988), 31-50. probablement, Heinsius a connu le poème anti-lucrétien de Paleario.

¹⁵⁸ Gallina, II, p. 729.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁰ Gallina, I, p. 815. Il ne s'agit pas de la première syllabe de *palus*, mais de la seconde: il y a une *licentia prosodiaca* dans Horace et Paleario, qui écrivent chacun une seule fois *palus*, la syllabe finale étant brève.

¹⁶¹ Cf. Catull. 25, 10.

¹⁶² Gallina, II, p. 162.

une remarque sur l'analyse que présente M. Gallina du *De animorum immortalitate*. Malgré tout, il nous semble qu'il reste en surface: il ne paraphrase que ce que Paleario a écrit concernant Dieu, l'âme et l'immortalité. La recherche des sources de ce poème philosophique est loin d'être facile. Cela dit, il nous semble que M. Gallina se trompe en établissant des liaisons avec la philosophie scolastique. Nous avons nous-même longuement étudié ce poème, mais ne disposons d'aucune preuve que S. Thomas d'Aquin ait été la source principale de Paleario; il n'y a même pas d'indices d'une lecture de S. Thomas par l'humaniste. Nous sommes persuadé qu'Aonio n'a adopté aucun système rigide philosophique, mais qu'il a incorporé dans son poème ses vastes lectures classiques, surtout Cicéron, les poètes, et Lactance; peut-être a-t-il lu Ficino. En tout cas, c'est à partir des pensées des classiques qu'il s'est formé, comme tant d'humanistes 'sensu stricto', une opinion sur les problèmes auxquels il a touché dans son poème; ce sont ces mêmes sources auxquelles ont puisé Daniël Heinsius (dans son *De contemptu mortis*), Basile Zanchi (dans son *De horto sophiae*), Parisetti (dans son *De animorum immortalitate*), de Polignac (dans son *Anti-Lucrèce*), et même des poètes en langue vulgaire, comme Vondel (dans ses *Bespiegelingen*); voilà, nous semble-t-il, la seule explication possible du fait qu'il y a tant de ressemblances (au niveau des idées, images, mots) entre ces écrivains. M. Gallina n'en a pas conscience.

Il n'arrive pas souvent — heureusement, dirions-nous —, qu'on mette à la disposition d'un savant plus de deux mille pages. Nous avons de grands espoirs en abordant la lecture de ces trois volumes; en étant venu à bout, nous devons conclure que l'ouvrage est une chance manquée.

Appendice: Lettres de Iohannes Iacobus Aellius, élève de Palearius à Milan

A la fin de 1989, nous avons découvert dans le manuscrit 664¹⁶³ de la Biblioteca Trivulziana à Milan des lettres écrites par et adressées à un certain Iohannes Iacobus Aellius. A cause de la fermeture de la Biblioteca Ambrosiana en 1990, nous n'avons pas pu continuer nos recherches sur cet Aellius. Mais, comme cette correspondance contenait

¹⁶³ Cf. G. Porro, *Catalogo dei codici manoscritti della Trivulziana* (Torino, 1884), p. 4. Dans la *Bibliotheca scriptorum Mediolanensium* de Philippus Argelatus (Mediolani, 1745), coll. 6 et 1931, on ne trouve rien de plus à son sujet.

de nombreuses références à Paleario, nous avons quand-même voulu publier, à titre provisoire, quelques-unes de ces lettres. La correspondance, copiée par une seule main, prouve qu' Aellius (= Elli?) était un élève de Paleario. Les lettres qui nous intéressent pour Paleario, ne sont pas datées, mais, au cas où elles suivraient l'ordre chronologique, il faut remarquer qu'elles précèdent une lettre d'Aellius, adressée à son 'avunculus' Francesco Alciato, qui vient d'être nommé cardinal (c.-à-d. le 12 mars 1565¹⁶⁴). En outre, il est question des études universitaires de Lampridio Paleario; or, celui-ci s'est inscrit à l'université de Pise en 1565¹⁶⁵; en même temps, Aellius s'est inscrit à l'université de Bologne pour y suivre des cours de philosophie. Probablement, les trois lettres que nous publions ici — et nous appuyons sur le fait que cette correspondance contient encore d'autres informations en rapport avec Paleario —, datent de 1564-1565. Nous avons des doutes quant à l'authenticité de plusieurs lettres. La collection comporte entre autres des lettres fictives ("scripta ad exercitationem" est la formule qu'emploie Aellius¹⁶⁶) et des lettres dont les destinataires ont été substitués par d'autres¹⁶⁷. Le style en est très conventionnel et scolaire, certaines formules étant reprises tout le temps; il nous rappelle celui des lettres contenues dans la collection milanaise que Lazzari a publiée¹⁶⁸. Mais, ceci dit, il n'est pas à exclure que les élèves de Paleario aient dû s'écrire, ou que Lampridio Paleario, qui, à Colle, suivait peut-être les cours de Renerius¹⁶⁹, ait dû correspondre avec les élèves de son père...

Première lettre (f. 13v) Jo <annes> Jacobus Aellius s.d. Iacobo legnano¹⁷⁰ familiari suo. Cur has ad te literas mittam nescio, praesertim cum his temporibus una nobis esse liceat. Nam literis utimur et certiores faciemus absentes, si quid evenerit, quod eos scire aut nostra aut ipsorum interesse putemus. Sed tu velim scias me domi esse otiosum propterea quod Aonius auditoribus suis vacationem dedit; quam mehercule non dedisset, nisi quod isti orando surdas iam aures ei reddiderant. O tempora! O mores! dyonisia celebrare malunt quam Aonio

¹⁶⁴ Cf. N. Raponi, 'Alciati, Francesco', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 2 (Roma, 1960), pp. 65-67.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. supra, n. 65.

¹⁶⁶ P. ex. ff. 18v-19r: M. Curius M. Ciceroni s.d. Scripta ad exercitationem.

¹⁶⁷ P. ex. f. 19v.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. supra, n.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. supra, n. 65.

¹⁷⁰ Inconnu.

aures afferre. Sed quid agas? Sic vivitur. Quaeres fortasse quamobrem idem ego non faciam; dicam tibi. Primum voluntas mea a dyonisijs abhorruit semper. Iucundior est mihi consuetudo cum bonis amicis, ut inquit Homerus: ἄλλος γάρ τ' ἄλλοισιν ἀνὴρ ἐπιτέρπεται ἔργοις¹⁷¹. Deinde pluviae iam continuis diebus cohortae magno sunt impedimento. Extremum illud est, quod tu nescio an primum putes, quod mater mea, quo amore! qua pietate! mihi timet, quae perdocta est probe quot pericula his temporibus adiri soleant. Itaque pedem // (f. 14r) porta non effero. Magnam temporis partem sum cum lectissima faemina matre mea, quae aut mecum communicat de rebus domesticis, aut temporum calamitates deplorat. Nosti eius morem et quidem potes meminisse, quod domum nostram frequentas. Ubi discedo ab ea, abdo me in bibliotecam. Quid scripserim aut legerim volo tibi commemorare. Turpe enim esset te, quem unice amo, non esse conscium mearum actionum. Semel atque iterum Aonij epistolas legi. O eloquentiam Atticam! O suavitatem ingenij! Vide quantum ei tribuam. Puto tam proxime ad Ciceronem accedere neminem. Scripsi etiam ternas epistolas; quarum unam ad te dedi, aliam ad Ludovicum fratrem, tertiam ad Aonium, in qua declaravi meam erga se observantiam. Sacris literis do praeterea aliquid, quod maxime facio ex matris meae sententia. Habes rationem vitae meae. Sed nescio an intelligas quid velim, antequam petam. Dices: “egone? Medius fidijs non intelligo.” Credo; propterea non committam ut tu postea dicas tibi non praedictum. Postulo ut tu mihi longiorem epistolam remittas. Id et si facile est, tamen mihi videtur esse benevolentiae tuae.

Deuxième lettre (f. 17r) Jo <annes> Iacobus Aellius s.d. Lampridio Paleario aequali suo. Varie sum affectus literis tuis. Prior pagina fuit mihi solatio, quod ex ea tuum in me amorem cognovi; altera, noli quaerere molestias, quod ex illa perspexi tibi Pisas esse eundum¹⁷² ad artem medicinae discendam. Dij boni, mihi igitur carendum erit iucundissima consuetudine tua? Ita est. Me miserum! Quo pacto tui desiderium feram? Dicit aliquis: “Non est sapientis immoderatus ferre desiderium amici, qui praesertim absit ut gloriam, quae virtutis est praemium, consequatur”. Fateor me non habere hanc sapientiam¹⁷³, ut teneri possim, quin doleam, cum ab amico disiungor intervallo locorum

¹⁷¹ Hom. *Od.* 14, 228.

¹⁷² eundum: eundem ms.

¹⁷³ sapientiam: scientiam ante corr.

et temporum. Verumtamen necesse est ut ipsi nos conformemus ad maiorum nostrorum voluntatem, quorum fuit sententia, ut tu Pisas migrares et ego Bononiam. Illud tibi confirmo, quod, nisi quicquid // (f. 17v) facio, facerem ex eorum sententia, a quibus honeste dissentire non possum, magnis contenderem ad te itineribus. Sed tantum animi inductio et me hercule amor erga parentes apud nos valere debet, ut quae illi volunt, ea nobis omnia et recta et vera videantur. Sed superior longius quam volebam fluxit oratio; multi enim aequales me expectant, quibuscum una mihi est ad Gymnasia eundum. Vale.

Troisième lettre (f. 17v) Lampridius Palearius s.d. Io <anni> Iacobo Aellio. Si vales bene est, ego quidem valeo¹⁷⁴. Ad decimum Kalendas octobris famulus tuus me convenit, qui post salutationem literas a te mihi optatissimas reddidit; quas cum centies osculatus essem, statim postea eas aperui ac legi diligenter. Ex quibus intellexi te Bononiam ad philosophos isse cum idem tuo et idem nostro Marliano¹⁷⁵. O vos fortunatos! Una eritis in unis aedibus, colloquimini, una dabitis operam studijs bonarum literarum, imo cibum non numquam capietis, interdum in eadem bibliotheca simul libros evolvetis. Si mihi liceret — cur non licet? Pater vult ut cum medicis istis verser, ut artem medicinae ab istis discam —, si mihi integrum esset, non modo ad te venirem, verum advolarem, ut fruerer ingenio tuo. Dij boni, // (f. 18r) quae essent studia nostra, una mehercule ut collocutio, ut disputatio nostra pluris esset quam Deus ipse medicinae Aesculapius. Sed quid ego miser atque infelix nunc potissimum desiderium meum refrico? Quod¹⁷⁶ ad me scribis ut Simonetam¹⁷⁷ tuo nomine salutem dicam, feci ut iussisti; ille ad te duplicem remittit. Habes epistolam longiorem fortasse, quam velles; quod ita tibi videri putabo, nisi mihi longiorem remiseris. Cura ut valeas et me ut soles ama.

Universiteit Antwerpen
Universitaire Faculteiten Sint-Ignatius
Rodestraat 12
B - 2000 Antwerpen

¹⁷⁴ valeo: bene praemis. ante corr.

¹⁷⁵ Il s'agit de Paulus Camillus Marlianus, fils, pensons-nous, de Petrus Antonius Marlianus (advocat, † 1594), pour qui il érigea un monument funéraire: cf. P. Argelatus, *o.c.* (n. 163), coll. 873-874.

¹⁷⁶ Quod: quid ms.

¹⁷⁷ Inconnu.

Jozef IJSEWIJN

JOACHIM DU BELLAY'S *PATRIAE DESIDERIUM*

Die Europäische Literatur der Renaissance ist durchaus zweisprachig: fast alle wichtige Autoren des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts haben Werke verfasst auf Lateinisch und in ihrer Muttersprache. Das gilt sogar für die grössten Vorkämpfer der eigenen Sprache, wie z.B. den französischen Dichter Du Bellay, dem wir jetzt unsere Aufmerksamkeit widmen werden¹.

1553 — möglicherweise am 22. Juni — kam Joachim du Bellay im Alter von 31 Jahren nach Rom, wo er bis Ende September 1557 geblieben ist². Er war dahin gereist im Dienst seines Oheims Jean du Bellay. Dieser Mann war Kardinal, nach der Wahl von Paulus IV. 1555 sogar Dekan des Kollegiums der Kardinäle. Als Botschafter des Königs von Frankreich hatte der Kardinal seit 1534 schon dreimal längere Zeit in Rom verbracht, zuvor immer von Rabelais, seinem Leibarzt, begleitet. Letzterer war aber im April 1553 gestorben.

¹ Zu dem Problem der Zweisprachigkeit vgl. J. IJsewijn, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies* (Löwen 1990), S.29, 46-47, 49, 51-53; Zu Du Bellay ins besondere vgl. Geneviève Demerson, "Les obsessions linguistiques de Joachim du Bellay", in J.-Cl. Margolin (Hrsg.), *Acta Conventus Neolatini Turonensis* (Paris 1980), I, S.513-527; Ellen S. Ginsberg, "Joachim du Bellay's Latin Poem *Patriae Desiderium* and His Vernacular Poetry", in Id., S.529-536; Y. Hoggan, "Aspects du bilinguisme littéraire chez Du Bellay: le traitement poétique des thèmes de l'exil dans les *Poemata* et les *Regrets*", *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et Renaissance* 44 (1982), 65-79; K. Lloyd-Jones, "Du Bellay's Journey From Roma Vetus to La Rome Neufve", in P.A. Ramsay (Hrsg.), *Rome and the Renaissance. The City and the Myth* (Binghamton, N.Y., 1982), S. 301-309; Geneviève Demerson, "Joachim du Bellay traducteur de lui-même", in Gr. Castor - T. Cave (Hrsg.), *Neo-Latin and the Vernacular in Renaissance France* (Oxford 1984), S.113-128. Nachdem ich dieses Referat in Düsseldorf (16. Mai 1990) und Hamburg (17. Mai) gehalten hatte, erschien das grundlegende Buch von G.H.Tucker, *The Poets Odyssey. Joachim Du Bellay and the Antiquitez de Rome* (Oxford 1990), in dem auch die *Poemata* gebührend ausgenutzt werden.

² G. Dickinson, *Du Bellay in Rome* (Leiden 1960), und R. Cooper, "Nouveaux Documents sur le séjour italien de Du Bellay", in G. Cesbron (ed.), *Du Bellay. Actes du Colloque international d'Angers... 1989* (Université d'Angers, 1990), Bd.2, S.399-419.

Jean du Bellay, selbst Humanist und lateinischer Dichter³, hat in Rom in mehreren Palästen gewohnt. Für die Zeit ab 1553 vermeldet Cooper Palazzo Farnese (Oktober 1553 bis Mai 1554), dann Palazzo della Cancelleria (bis medio 1555), zunächst einen Palast des Kapitells von S. Peter in dem Borgo und einen zweiten am Quirinal (ehedem des Kardinals Filiberto Ferreri) bei der Piazza SS. Apostoli unweit der heutigen Piazza Venezia und Corso. Darüber hinaus hatte er sich am anderen Ende des Quirinals 1554-56 noch eine glänzende Villa erbaut bei den Thermen des Diokletians, ungefähr dort, wo sich jetzt die Piazza della Repubblica und der Bahnhofplatz befinden. Dahin ist er im Juli 1556 umgezogen. Schliesslich errichtete er sich noch sofort nach seinem Anknft 1553 ein luxuriöses Landhaus mit Wildgehege in Porto am Meer. In diesen Palästen, der Villa und dem Landhaus hat Joachim also fast vier Jahre seines Lebens verbracht und, wenn auch die Stelle als eine Art Intendant im Haushalt des mächtigen, vielbeschäftigten und oft auch verschuldeten Kardinals vielleicht nicht besonders poetisch war und Joachims etwas grüblerischem Temperament nicht unbedingt angemessen, Armut hat er bestimmt nicht gekannt. Man soll übrigens nicht vergessen, dass Joachim selbst mehrere kirchliche Pfründen genossen hat. Gesundheitlich hat er mehr und schwerere Sorgen gehabt: das Klima Roms, feucht, schwer und druckend, ist an sich schon nicht angenehm, und die zunehmende Taubheit des Dichters hat zweifelsohne auch seine Teilnahme am öffentlichen und literarischen Leben erheblich beeinträchtigt und die normalen menschlichen Beziehungen sicher erschwert. Kein Wunder also, dass er nach einiger Zeit sich mehr und mehr nach seinem kleinen Geburtsort Liré in Anjou sehnte und dass seine Poesie immer trübseliger wurde.

Das heisst jedoch keineswegs, dass Du Bellay's Romerfahrung völlig negativ gewesen sei. Wenn er nach seiner Heimkehr die vier Jahre in Rom mit einem Verbleib in der Unterwelt (Orcus) und in einem dunklen Gefängnis vergleicht (*Epigr.* 50), so ist das schrecklich übertrieben. Du Bellay hat in Rom trotz allem eine in vieler Hinsicht politisch und kulturell interessante Zeit erlebt, wie aus mehreren Gedichten in den *Poemata* und den *Regrets* (72, 78, 181) zu entnehmen ist. Aus nächster Nähe hat er den Tod von Julius III. (23. März 1555), das

³ Geneviève Demerson, "La poésie néo-latine du Cardinal Jean du Bellay", in *Actes du Colloque Renaissance - Classicisme du Maine* (Paris 1975), S.309-328; Rabelais, *Œuvres complètes*. Edition établie, annotée et préfacée par Guy Demerson (Paris 1973), S.986-988.

kurze Pontifikat des gelehrten Marcellus II. (9. April bis 1. Mai) und die Wahl von Paulus IV. am 23. Mai 1555 miterlebt. Sonnet 81 der *Regrets* hält noch seine Eindrücke des Conclaves fest. Unter den vielen Künstlern, die Joachim in und um den Vatikan gekannt hat oder gekannt haben muss, seien nur einige genannt: Michelangelo, damals Hauptarchitekt des neuen Petersdoms und noch vollauf mit der Neugestaltung des Kapitols beschäftigt; Vignola, der genau 1553 die Villa Giulia beendete; Palestrina, der päpstliche Sangmeister; mehrere lateinische Dichter wie Basilius Zanchius, Vatikanischer Hauptbibliothekar, und Laurentius Gambara: beide erfreuten sich damals einer europäischen Bekanntschaft, und Du Bellay hat mit ihnen verkehrt, wie uns mehrere Epigramme (3; 8) zeigen; schliesslich hat er auch italienische Schriftsteller gekannt wie Annibale Caro und Mgr. Giovanni della Casa, der 1556 in Rom gestorben ist. Casas *Galateo* erschien postum 1558, in dem selben Jahr also, in dem Joachim in Paris den Ertrag seiner poetischen Romerlebnisse drucken liess: vier Bücher *Poemata*, und die französischen Zyklen *Les Regrets* und *Les Antiquitez de Rome*.

Die schiere Quantität und Qualität dieses Ertrages beweisen schon, wie fruchtbar Joachims römische Jahre literarisch gewesen sind. Das soll man nicht vergessen, wenn der heimwehgequälte Dichter uns wiederholt beteuert, das römische Exil habe ihn als Dichter erstickt. Das ist zum grössten Teil von Ovid übernommene Atmosphärenbildung, damit das Heimweh umso kräftiger gestaltet und ausgemalt wurde. Die tatsächliche Romerfahrung war viel reicher schattiert. Der kulturelle Reichtum und das vielfältige und kräftige Kunstleben im Rom der Spätrenaissance, das sich erstaunlich schnell nach dem *Sacco di Roma* (1527) erholt hatte und wenigstens bis Paul IV. noch nicht viel von der gegenreformatorischen Reaktion spürte, hat den jungen französischen Liebesdichter und Vorkämpfer der Volkssprache geistlich erheblich bereichert, und er hat am Tiberufer neue Impulse bekommen, die er weder in Liré noch in Paris je erhalten hätte. Etwas Ähnliches spürt man auch bei anderen bekannten Dichtern, wie z.B. bei dem Engländer Shelley⁴. Für Du Bellay war eine künstlerisch besonders fruchtbare Anregung genau das *Desiderium patriae*, das Heimwehgefühl.

Joachim du Bellay hat in mehreren Gedichten seinem beschwerten Herz Luft gemacht. Dazu benutzte er klassische Ausdrücke und Sym-

⁴ Shelley lebte 1818-22 in "freiwilligem" Exil in Italien. Vgl. A.M. Weinberg, *Shelley's Italian Experience*. MacMillan Studies in Romanticism (London 1990).

bole. Den modernen romanischen Terminus "Nostalgia" kannte er natürlich noch nicht, denn den verdanken wir einer Basler Medizindissertation von 1688 von Johann J. Harder. Bei Du Bellay heisst es noch immer *Patriae desiderium* oder auf französisch *de la maison le doulx désir* (*Regrets* 30.14). So haben es auch die Römer gesagt. Denken wir an Terenz, *Hecyra* 88-89:

...te desiderium Athenarum arbitror,
Philotium, cepisse saepe te...;

an Cicero, der von sich selbst in einem Brief sagt (*Fam.* II 11.1):

Mirum me desiderium tenet Urbis, incredibile meorum atque in primis tui...

und, schliesslich, an Ovid, einem Lieblingsdichter von Du Bellay:

Roma domusque subit desideriumque locorum (*Tristia* III 21).

Es könnte kaum anders sein. Du Bellay denkt ständig mit klassischen lateinischen Begriffen, sogar wenn er französisch schreibt. Wer nicht darauf achtet, wird den Dichter oft nicht oder falsch verstehen. Gestatten Sie mir ein treffendes Beispiel: in Sonnet 10 des Zyklus *Antiquitez de Rome* sagt er über Rom (vv. 5-8):

Ceste ville,....
.....
...dont la gloire hautaine
A remply du soleil l'une et l'autre maison.

In der kritischen Ausgabe von J. Joliffe und M.A. Screech⁵ heisst es zu dieser Stelle :

"Vers des plus obscurs. M. Saulnier (der 1950 einen Kommentar zu diesen Sonnetten geschrieben hat) suggère que les deux maisons du soleil sont la terre et les cieux".

Offensichtlich war keiner der Exegeten und Herausgeber sich bewusst, dass Du Bellay noch einmal einen Vers Ovids einfach übersetzt hat. In *Heroide* IX 16 wird ja von Hercules gesagt:

Implesti meritis Solis utramque domum
(Sie haben mit Ihren Verdiensten die beiden Häuser der Sonne erfüllt)

⁵ *Les Regrets et autres œuvres poétiques* (Genf 1966), S.283.

und damit sind Ost und West gemeint. Übrigens erscheint auch Hercules' Namen selbst bei Du Bellay im selben Gedicht, nur drei Verse weiter⁶.

Wir werden uns also nicht wundern wenn sich herausstellt, dass Du Bellay sein persönliches Heimwehgefühl durchaus klassisch gestaltet hat und dabei Thematik und Verse nach augusteischen Mustern geprägt hat. Es könnte sogar so sein, dass ein klassischer Wetteifer mit Ovid für Du Bellay und seine Zeitgenossen ein viel, viel wichtigeres Anliegen war in den römischen und speziell in den lateinsprachigen Gedichtsammlungen als ein romantisches Selbstmitleid, was wir geneigt sind, darin zu lesen. Eines ist in jedem Fall ganz sicher: im Gegensatz zu dem, was Du Bellay schreibt, hat weder Rom noch die teilweise Benutzung der lateinischen Sprache ihm als Dichter irgendwie geschadet, ganz im Gegenteil! Ich werde das jetzt anhand einer Analyse des ersten Buches der *Poemata* und insbesondere der 7. Elegie *Patriae Desiderium* versuchen klarzumachen⁷.

Das erste der vier Bücher *Poemata* ist ein in sich geschlossenes Kunstwerk, nämlich ein Zyklus von neun Gedichte: acht Elegien und eine hexametrische Ekloge. Diese Gedichte sind nicht chronologisch nach ihrer Entstehungszeit angeordnet, sondern nach einem viel feineren künstlerischen Prinzip. Sie schildern nämlich den dichterischen und psychologischen Entwicklungsgang des Dichters von seinem Aufbruch in das Land der Lateiner — zu verstehen im konkreten wie auch im übertragenen Sinne — bis zu seiner ersehnten Rückkehr ins eigene Land. Die Enttäuschungen, die er bald nach seiner Rückkehr in Paris erleben musste — selbst sein alter Hund hat ihn nicht wiedererkannt, sagt er mit einem umgekehrten homerischen Bild — diese Enttäuschungen hat er bezeichnenderweise nirgends in dem ersten Buch der *Poemata* geäußert, sondern bei den Epigrammen (61) und *Regrets* (130) versetzt. Diese negative Erfahrung hätte nicht gepasst in den künstlerischen Aufbau eines Zyklus, dessen zentrales fünftes Gedicht anfängt mit dem programmatischen Vers:

⁶ Siehe jetzt dazu auch G.H. Tucker, *The Poets Odyssey*, pp. 247-248 (Appendix I).

⁷ Für die *Poemata* benutze ich die Ausgabe der *Société des Textes français modernes* besorgt von Geneviève Demerson: Joachim Du Bellay. *Oeuvres Poétiques VII, Oeuvres latines: Poemata* (Paris 1984). Der VIII. Band dieser Ausgabe (1985) enthält die *Autres œuvres latines*, nämlich *Tumuli Henrici II; Xenia seu Allusiones; Elegia ad Ianum Morellum; Varia*.

Felix qui patrio vivit contentus agello.

(Glücklich ist der Mensch, der zufrieden in seinem Heimatort lebt)

Das ist eine leicht erkennbare Variation des bekannten 'Makarismos' am Anfang der 2. Epode des Horaz:

Beatus ille, qui procul negotiis

.....

Paterna rura bubus exercet suis...

Um diese 5. Elegie kreist nun der ganze Zyklus: die erste Elegie führt den Dichter weg in das lateinische Italien:

Gallica cum nostri nunc linquant aequora remi,

Et Latii tentent alta fluenta maris...

(Jetzt verlässt unser Boot das französische Meer, und es wagt sich auf die tiefen Wasser Latiums).

So fängt er an; und in der Schlussekloge des Zyklus ist er wieder ein glücklicher Schäfer am Loire-Ufer:

Qua Ligeris laeta arva secat.../.../

Lustravit socios, spargens fluvialibus undis.

(Dort, wo die Loire durch die fruchtbaren Äcker fließt, säubert er seine Kumpanen, mit dem Wasser des Flusses sie besprenkelnd.)

Dazwischen erleben wir (1) die Aufregung als Folge der Entdeckung der wunderbaren Stadt Rom, (2) das allmählich wachsende Heimweh, das gipfelt in Elegie 7, *Patriae desiderium*, und (3) die in mythologischen Symbolen eingekleidete Rückreise in das eigene Land.

Am Anfang also segelt der Dichter nach Italien, zugleich Wirklichkeit und Metapher. Das Bild einer Schifffahrt ist, wie allgemein bekannt, schon seit dem klassischen Altertum auf die literarische Arbeit angewendet worden. In der 1. Elegie Du Bellays klingen Ovid und Horaz deutlich mit. Vers 17 z. B.

Tunc ego Tyrrhenum praeceps sum raptus in aequor

(Da bin ich plötzlich hingerissen ins Tyrrhenische Gewässer)

variiert Apollo's bekannte Warnung an Horaz, C. IV 15.1-4:

Phoebus.../....inrepuat....

Ne parva Tyrrhenum per aequor

Vela darem...

Du Bellay hat die in der klassischen Literatur meistens ganz kurz verwendeten Metaphern auf ein ganzes Gedicht ausgedehnt: die erste Elegie schildert breit die Gefahren und Erschreckungen einer Fahrt ins Unbekannte, bzw. des Dichtens in einer fremden Sprache. Ich halte es für durchaus möglich, dass er dabei von seinem römischen Kollegen und Freund Basilius Zanchius entscheidend beeinflusst worden ist. Zanchius hatte ja am Anfang seines viel gelesenen Gedichtes *De Horto Sophiae* auch eine von ihm unternommene Seefahrt ausführlich ausgemalt und sie zugleich metaphorisch gedeutet als eine Reise in den Garten der Weisheit, dem eigentlichen Thema seiner Dichtung. Er hatte sich dabei auch als ein Verbannter dargestellt: *Per undas / exul agor...*⁸, ein Gedanke, der von Du Bellay wieder aufgenommen und stark betont wird, bei Horaz und Ovid⁹ in diesem Kontext, soweit ich sehe, jedoch fehlt.

Die Präsenz von Zanchius in den *Poemata* geht noch weiter: dieser römischer Seefahrer wurde bald zu einem begeisterten Besucher des "Hortus Sophiae". Du Bellay erinnert daran in einer Glückheissung:

Vere igitur felix...
Quem Sophia in molli detinet alma sinu (V 9-10)
 (Wirklich glücklich ist er, den die Weisheit
 in ihrem milden Schoss birgt),

und wie bei Zanchius der Besuch im Garten der Weisheit eine grosse Freude bedeutet, desgleichen erregt der erste Kontakt mit Rom Freude und Begeisterung bei dem französischen Dichter. Elegie II, *Romae descriptio*, bietet ein ganz heiteres Bild von Italien und Rom, von der Dichtung in Rom und von der wunderschönen Natur. Die Stadt ist *beata*, selig (V.68), und Du Bellay freut sich, sie anzuschauen: *iuvat* (V.74) ist das Wort. Hier will er auch künstlerisch etwas Neues versuchen, *dum caeli genio liberiore fruor* : er fühlt sich also als Künstler hier freier als in Paris; er will auch Lateinisch dichten und auf diesem Weg unsterbliches Lob gewinnen:

Forte etiam vivent nostri monumenta laboris,
 (Vielleicht werden die Erzeugnisse unseres Fleisses auch leben...),

⁸ Benutzt wurde die *Poematum editio copiosior* (Rom 1550). Vgl. f.4^v = Aiiiiv, V.6 (Buch I 91).

⁹ Ovid hat natürlich im ersten Buch seiner *Tristia* seine Fahrt nach Tomis breit geschildert. Aber da handelt es sich um die Reise ins Exil, und sie ist keine Metapher für seine Dichtkunst.

so hofft er. Elegie 2, die erste Probe seiner neuen Kunst, schliesst mit einem überspitzt formulierten horazischen Gedanken: "*Solaque Musa beat*". Es gibt hier also noch keine Spur des Heimwehs: Rom und die lateinische Umwelt sind noch ganz wunderbar und reizend.

Das bleibt noch so in Elegie III, *Tiberis*: Der Tiber heisst einen französischen Gesandten herzlich willkommen. Das erneute Lob Roms verbindet sich nun mit einem neuen Thema, dem Friedensgedanken: Frankreich wird der ewigen Stadt den Frieden sichern. Dieser Friedensgedanke leitet dann über zu den Elegien IV und V, die beide dem Frieden gewidmet sind: IV ist ein Gebet um Frieden zwischen den Völkern und speziell für Rom: ein neues goldenes Zeitalter wird erbeten; V besingt den Frieden des einzelnen Menschen, es ist eine *vita quietioris commendatio*, eine Empfehlung des Lebens in Ruhe.

Mit Bezug auf Rom bleibt auch Elegie IV positiv. Trotzdem klingt auf einmal ein Gedanke an, der hier an und für sich noch nicht persönlich, also auf Du Bellay selbst bezogen ist, in der nächsten Elegie aber ins Persönliche überführt wird und das Heimweh sozusagen anmeldet. Es geht um den Schlusdistichon in der Schilderung des goldenen Zeitalters. Der Dichter hat die Hoffnung ausgesprochen, das goldene Zeitalter werde bald für Rom zurückkommen; er beschreibt das Glück, wie es einmal war, und schliesst dann mit den Worten:

At nunc, vae, miserae per tot discrimina vitae

Per mare, per terras pauperiem fugimus.

(Aber jetzt, o weh, inmitten so vieler Gefahren eines elenden Lebens, flüchten wir über Meer und Land vor der Armut)

An und für sich ist das bloss ein ganz klassisches, horazisch-ovidisches Kontrastbild zwischen damals und heute. Ab Elegie V aber, das heisst ab dem zentralen Wendepunkt des Zyklus, wird deutlich, wie Du Bellay den Gedanken über das Schicksal der heutigen Menschheit auch auf sich selbst zu beziehen beginnt und seine Stimmung sich allmählich trübt.

Wenn er nämlich in V darüber nachdenkt wo der einzelne Mensch Frieden und Ruhe finden kann, bricht das Heimweh auf einmal herein: Ruhe gewährt nur das eigene Haus, die eigene Familie, wie ihm das Beispiel seines Freundes Morel zeigt. Dessen Glück wird breit ausgemalt und, in schroffem Gegensatz dazu, wird Du Bellay sich jetzt dessen bewusst was ihm fehlt. Daher dieser Stossseufzer:

Hei mihi quod patriis dum nunc agor exul ab oris

Tam dulci vita non licet usque frui!

(Ach mir, weil ich nun als Verbannter irre von meinem Land entfernt darf ich dieses süsse Leben nicht geniessen!)

Merkwürdig an dieser Elegie ist dennoch die Tatsache, dass das heranrückende Heimweh das Lateindichten noch ganz und gar nicht in Frage stellt. Im Gegenteil, in diesem Gedicht ertönt das Lob von zwei grossen Dichtern, Dorat und Ronsard: der erste schrieb lateinisch, der zweite französisch, und sie stehen noch ebenbürtig nebeneinander. Dorat ist keineswegs ein geistig Verbannter, sondern ein den Alten gleichkommender Künstler. Man soll übrigens hierbei nie vergessen, dass Du Bellay nach seiner Rückkehr in Frankreich das Lateindichten keineswegs aufgegeben hat! Bis zu seinen letzten Lebenstagen hat er lateinisch gedichtet, und nur wenige Wochen vor seinem Tod (1. Januar 1560) hat er sein geistliches Testament in dieser Sprache verfasst.

Elegie VI geht nun wieder einen Schritt weiter: Du Bellay singt das Lob Ronsards, eines der zwei Dichter, denen wir in V begegnet sind. Dorat fällt weg, und der Gedanken an Ronsard steigert bei Du Bellay das Verlangen nach Frankreich. Ronsard ist der glückliche Dichter, der in seinem Land arbeiten darf. Aber *nos miseri...*, und dann wiederholt Du Bellay den Vers, den er in IV am Ende der Beschreibung des goldenen Zeitalters auf die ganze Menschheit bezogen hatte: *Per mare, per terras pauperiem fugimus...*(34). Jetzt taucht auch zum ersten Mal der Gedanke auf, dass das fremde Land seine Dichtkunst lähmt. Es fällt jedoch wieder auf dass er von der Dichtkunst im allgemeinen spricht, nicht spezifisch von dem Lateinschreiben:

Nec iam Cyrrha placet, nec iam Permessidos unda;

Hic totus nostro e pectore fluxit amor.

(Apollos Haus gefällt mir nicht mehr und auch nicht das Wasser seines Permessusflusses; Liebe dazu ist unserm Herzen ganz entfloßen).

Erst in Elegie VII explodiert mit voller Kraft das nun immer mehr angehäuften Heimweh — das Wort *patria* und *patrius* findet sich bis zu sieben Mal wiederholt — wobei schliesslich auch das Lateindichten als ein Element der Entfremdung erkannt wird, wie in Elegie I angedeutet worden war. Es wundert also nicht dass es zwischen I und VII mehrere

wörtliche Anklänge gibt. Wir kommen gleich zu Elegie VII zurück, runden aber erst den Überblick über den gesamten Zyklus ab.

Elegie VIII, *Veronis*, ist ein symbolhaftes mythologisches Gedicht. Eine italienische Quellennymphe flieht von Italien nach Sens in Frankreich, damit sie einem aufdringlichen Liebhaber entkomme. In Frankreich wird sie nun an einem wunderschönen Ort die *sacri fontis dea*, die Göttin des heiligen Brunnens. Obwohl dieses Gedicht zu Ehren eines französischen Bischofs und seines Garten geschrieben ist und dadurch auch eine bestimmte örtliche Bedeutung hat, ist es doch auch ganz klar, dass es in Du Bellay's Buch zugleich funktioniert als Symbol für die Rückkehr des Dichters in sein geliebtes Land und die Flucht von seiner aufdringlichen "amica", der lateinischen Muse, oder so man will, Rom selbst.

Linquimus et Latii rura inimica soli

(Wir verlassen die feindlichen Gefilde des lateinischen Landes)

das stimmt nicht nur für die Nymphe, sondern auch für den Dichter. Übrigens ist auch die Quelle als Symbol der Poesie ein uraltes Bild. Wir dürfen dann auch ohne weiteres Du Bellay erkennen in dem glücklichen Hirten Iolas, der im Schlussgedicht sein *Votum rusticum* den Göttern darbringt am Ufer der Loire unweit von den *culta vineta Lyraei*, den gepflegten Weinbergen von Liré, dass heisst dem Geburtsort des Dichters. So erfüllt sich mit Iolas die Vorhersage Joachims aus der ersten Elegie:

Quodsi ...patrii repetam littora nota sali...

Vota persolvam templis..

(Wenn ich den bekannten Strand des väterlichen Meeres wieder erreiche, werde ich in den Tempeln die Weihgaben darbringen.)

Es hat sich gezeigt, wie kunstvoll das ganze erste Buch der *Poemata* strukturiert ist, wie jedes Gedicht einen Schritt darstellt in einer geistig-psychologischen Entwicklung und wie jedes Mal ein bestimmtes Thema das vorhergehende Gedicht mit dem folgenden verbindet. Ein solches Verfahren erinnert uns an klassische Beispiele wie Ovids *Tristia*, Buch I, oder auch Horazens *Carmina*; diese Komposition hilft uns aber auch das *Patriae desiderium* besser zu verstehen. Du Bellay ist bestimmt nicht immer unglücklich gewesen in Rom. Sein Buch will uns die helle wie die dunkle Seite seiner Erfahrung darlegen, und das steht durchaus in

Einklang mit den *Regrets*. Auch in den Sonnetten, und trotz des Titels, hat er anerkannt, dass Rom den Geist bereichert, wenn man nur nicht allzu lange dort verweilt (S.72); in Rom findet man ja alles Gute und Schlechte der Welt in einer Stadt zusammen (S.78).

Ich komme jetzt zu Elegie VII, dem grossen Heimwehgedicht. Wie das ganze Buch so ist auch die einzelne Elegie *Patriae Desiderium* ein mit grösster klassischer Sorgfalt und Harmonie gebautes Gedicht. Du Bellay hat das Heimwehgefühl auf doppelter Ebene dargestellt, und zwar so, dass es auf der zweiten seine grösste Intensität erlangt und sozusagen kulminiert. Heimweh ist nämlich einerseits ein Gefühl, das jedem menschlichen Wesen gut bekannt ist, und das steht also am Anfang des Gedichtes; andererseits trifft es aber einen Künstler noch unendlich viel schwerer, weil nicht nur seine menschliche, sondern auch seine künstlerische Seele davon am schwersten getrübt wird. Daher endet das Gedicht mit der Verzweiflung des verbannten Künstlers (V.69 ff.): am Beginn und am Ende des Gedichtes steht er allein, als Mensch und als Künstler.

Mit diesem doppelten Heimweh im Hintergrund werden dann drei Doppelmotive in einer emotionell steigernden Linie verarbeitet. Erinnern wir beiläufig daran, dass, wie Du Bellay und die Humanisten ganz genau wussten, die dreifache Struktur von den antiken Rhetoriklehrern (denken wir an das Buch *Ad Herennium* z.B.¹⁰) als die meist volkommene gepriesen wird.

Das erste Motiv, das örtliche, stellt Rom, die grosse Stadt, gegenüber Liré, dem kleinen Ort auf dem Land. Dieser Gegensatz ist besonders wirkungs- und bedeutungsvoll: gegenüber Rom steht hier ja nicht Paris, wie man vielleicht erwartet hätte und wie es tatsächlich auch geschieht in *Les Regrets* 36:

Tant me tarde, Morel, que Paris je revoie...

Nein, hier stellt Du Bellay die Verlockungen der Grossstadt und ihrer reichen Kultur dem ländlichen Dorf gegenüber, dass in seiner Einbildung so schön, ja sogar schöner wird als eben das vergilische Italien.

¹⁰ IV 26: ...sed <exornatio> commodissima et absolutissima est, quae ex tribus <membris> constat, hoc pacto: "Et inimico proderas et amicum laedebas et tibi non consulebas"; und 27: ...Continuatio <ne> ...utemur commodissime tripertito: in sententia, in contrario, in conclusione. Es fällt auf, wie oft in der römischen Literatur wie in der katholischen lateinischen Liturgie diese dreifache Struktur oder Formulierung makroskopisch und mikroskopisch benutzt worden ist.

Und der klassisch erzogene Leser weiss doch ganz genau, dass Vergil im 2. Buch der *Georgica* gesagt hat, dass andere Länder gar nicht versuchen sollen, Italien in Schönheit gleichzukommen. Wenn dann Anjou und Liré auch diesem Paradies gleichkommen, bedeutet das doch das höchste Lob, das ein klassischer Dichter spenden kann, und deshalb ist auch sein Heimweh mehr als stark begründet. Und damit wir die vergilischen Anklänge nicht überhören, wird die *Georgica*-Stelle deutlich imitiert: Der Vers 40 *Antiquae certant laudibus Italiae* wiederholt Vergils *Georg.* II 138: *laudibus Italiae certent*, und 39: *...flaventis et ubere campi* ist ganz klar ein Widerhall von Vergil, o.c. 185: *et fertilis ubere campus*; darüber hinaus wird Anjou mit dem Wort *Andinus* (statt *Andecavus*) genannt, ein Wort, das normal an Vergils Geburtsort erinnert (vv. 39-41):

*Cernere et Andini pingua culta soli,
Quae lacte et Baccho flaventis et ubere campi
Antiquae certant laudibus Italiae.*

Dieses Gleichnis ist auch in Sonnet 31 kräftig ausgearbeitet mit Hilfe der rhetorischen Häufung, einer ebenso in dem *Desiderium Patriae* geliebten Stilfigur:

*Plus me plaist le sejour qu'ont basty mes ayeux,
Que des palais Romains le front audacieux:
Plus que le marbre dur me plaist l'ardoise fine
Plus mon Loyre Gaulois, que le Tybre Latin
Plus mon petit Lyré, que le mont Palatin,
Et plus que l'air marin la douceur Angevine.*

Das zweite Doppelmotiv geht direkt zur Sache: der Dichter fühlt sich als ein Verbannter, aber nicht nur irgendein Verbannter, nein er hat zwei berühmte Vorgänger in der klassischen Poesie, nämlich Odysseus und Ovid. Odysseus war bei den Humanisten ein viel geliebtes Beispiel. Kurz nach Du Bellay ist ein anderer berühmter Franzose nach Rom gekommen, Marcus Antonius Muretus, der in jugendlichem Alter aus seinem Land geflohen war, am Ende seines Lebens aber als hochverehrter Professor der Sapienza in Rom auch in seinem Land völlig rehabilitiert wurde. Wenn er in seiner von ihm selbst herausgegebenen Auswahledition seiner Briefe seine Schicksale künstlerisch dargestellt und stilisiert hat, stellte er sich am Ende der Sammlung auch dar als Odysseus, der nach Hause kommt und seine Feinde endgültig besiegt.

Dieser Sieg in Ithaka war für Du Bellay unwichtig: er hatte ja keine Feinde im eigenen Haus; dafür hat er einen anderen Aspekt der Abenteuer von Odysseus gewählt: Odysseus, der sich nach seinem Land sehnt, wiewohl Ithaka nichts anderes als öde unfruchtbare Felsen war; trotzdem hatte er es lieber als die Schönheit Kalypsos oder Nausikaas. Odysseus' Ithaka ist Du Bellay's Liré, Rom die Insel der Phäaken, wo es eine Weile schön zu leben ist; dann aber ruft wieder das eigene arme Land. Neben Odysseus tritt der *poeta exul* Ovid, und dieser zweite Teil des Doppelmotivs fordert überhaupt keine Erklärung: das menschliche Heimweh von Odysseus steigert sich zum Heimweh des Künstlers Ovid. Darüberhinaus wird noch ein weiterer Gegensatz wirksam: Ovid war aus Rom in das ferne Dakische Land verbannt, unser Dichter umgekehrt von dem Land in die grosse Stadt Rom.

Das dritte Doppelmotiv ist ganz zeitbezogen, nämlich das Lob seiner Gönner: Kardinal Jean Du Bellay in Rom in der ersten Hälfte des Gedichtes, Marguerite de France, die Schwester des Königs, in der zweiten Hälfte. Für uns ist dies vielleicht ein unwichtiges Thema, für einen von Gönnern abhängigen Renaissancedichter aber unumgänglich. Übrigens tun wir selbst nichts wesentlich anderes, nur in weniger schöner Sprache und weniger kunstvoll, jedes Mal, wenn wir einen Zuschussantrag ausfüllen und einreichen.

Mit Hilfe dieser drei Motive, die nicht schulmässig nach-, sondern kunstvoll durch- einander aufgeführt werden, wird die Elegie in dreifacher Bewegung zu ihrer Klimax geführt und aufgebaut. In der ersten Bewegung regt sich das Heimweh wie jeder normale Mensch mit einem Herz es kennt; ein unbestimmt bleibender Dialogpartner — eine durchaus klassische Technik — versucht einen Grund zum Trost anzureichen: lebt Du Bellay vielleicht nicht gut in Rom bei seinem reichen Oheim, und ist Rom nicht der schönste Ort in der ganzen Welt? Nicht jedermann wird solches Glück zuteil!

Ein stark kontrastives *At* leitet die zweite Bewegung ein, in der das Heimweh umso kräftiger einbricht: ja, es ist alles wahr was der Partner sagt, aber trotzdem verlangt er nach seinem Liré und Anjou. Dafür gibt es keinen Trost: jedermann sehnt sich nach seinem Land, das er liebt, auch wenn es arm und unerfreulich ist. Sehen Sie nur Odysseus, sehen Sie sogar die Tiere! Wann kommt endlich auch für mich der heiss ersehnte Tag der Heimkehr?

Eine lange Häufung von Negationen: "Nichts gefällt mir noch in Rom, nichts, nichts, nichts..." führt uns in die letzte Bewegung der

Elegie: hier lähmt das Heimweh sogar die Poesie, da der Künstler gezwungen wird, in einer fremden Sprache zu dichten, wie einst Ovid in Tomis zwischen den Geten. Hier bietet sich dann zugleich die Gelegenheit, an seiner Gönnerin in Paris zu erinnern, für die er glücklich in der eigenen Sprache dichten konnte. Die völlige Unzufriedenheit mit seinem Geschick gipfelt in den letzten Worten:

Quique placet paucis, displicet ipse sibi,
(Wer nur wenigen gefällt, gefällt ja auch sich selbst nicht mehr),

wo Du Bellay einen klassischen Gedanken — Horaz, Seneca — umgekehrt hat: er braucht den *Plausus theatri*, und der fehlt ihm in Rom. Seneca wäre auch mit einem Leser zufrieden gewesen. Wenn selbst die klassische Meister nicht mehr anerkannt werden von einem Humanisten, muss man glauben, er sei am tiefsten bestürzt.

Noch ein weiterer Aspekt von Du Bellay's Kunst fordert unsre Aufmerksamkeit. Wer diese Elegien liest, wird ständig an die meisten augusteischen sowie auch an neulateinische¹¹ Dichter erinnert, oder soll wenigstens an sie erinnert werden; denn so wollte es der Dichter. Wie die meisten Humanisten arbeitete auch Du Bellay wie die Mosaikkünstler, deren Technik der alte Cassiodor so treffend beschrieben hat als *discolorea crusta marmorum gratissima picturarum varietate texere*¹², die bunten Marmorsteinchen verbinden in lieblichster Vielfalt von Bildern. Das ist genau, was Du Bellay auf sehr geschickte Weise mit alten Textstückchen und neuen zu schaffen weiss. Einige Beispiele mögen reichen, dieses zu illustrieren. Eine vollständige Liste solcher Entlehnungen und Anklänge gehört natürlich in einem Quellenapparat einer Textausgabe. Übrigens ist solche Technik am wirksamsten, wenn der Leser sofort bei der Lektüre aus eigener Erinnerung die Stellen erkennt ohne irgendeine gelehrte Hilfe.

Schon der erste Vers trifft den richtigen Ton mit der Hilfe einer Tibull-Reminiszenz. Auch Tibull war einmal aus seinem Land und seiner Stadt gezogen im Dienst seines Herren Messalla, wurde aber krank auf einer Insel allein zurückgelassen. Elegie 3 seines ersten

¹¹ Ich erinnere an dem oben erwähnten Zanchius. Hoggan (S. Note 1) führt S.66 Sannazaro's *Elegia* I 9 an, die Du Bellay in den Anfangsversen des *Patriae Desiderium* ausgenutzt hat. Siehe auch J. Secundus, *Eleg.* III 11.

¹² *Variarum* Liber I 6 (Brief aus den Jahren 507/09).

Buches schildert seine traurige Einsamkeit: *Me tenet ignotis aegrum Phaeacia terris*. Ein Blick auf den ersten Vers des *Patriae Desiderium*:

Quicumque ignotis lentus terit otia terris

genügt, um zu sehen, wie Du Bellay mit seinem Gedanken bei diesem Tibull gewesen ist: das Ende beider Vershälften wird buchstäblich übernommen, das heisst zugleichzeit der Schlüsselbegriff "das unbekannte Land", ein deutlicher Hinweis auf die allgemeine Atmosphäre des Gedichtes; nicht nur das, sondern auch das Adjectivum, das den Seelenzustand schildert, steht in beiden Versen am selben Ort: "aegrum", krank, bei Tibull; "lentus", gleichgültig bei Du Bellay¹³. Da wir uns aus Elegie VI erinnern, wie Du Bellay sich nach seinem Land sehnt, wissen wir aus dieser Tibull-Imitation sofort, in welche Richtung sich das neue Gedicht entwickeln wird.

Ein paar Verse weiter wird ein Bild aus Vergils *Aeneis* dazu benutzt, unmenschliche Härte zu suggerieren: wer kein Heimweh fühlt, ist ja wie ein von Hyrkanischen Tigern gesäugter Unmensch. Das ist genau, was Dido dem Aeneas vorgeworfen hat in der berühmten Stelle Ihrer Verzweiflung, nachdem sie entdeckt hatte von dem geliebten Troianer verlassen worden zu sein:

Hyrcaenaeque admorunt ubera tigres (IV 367)

Merkwürdig dabei ist, dass in der französischen Fassung, Sonnet 30, wo der Anfang des *Patriae Desiderium* ziemlich wortgetreu wiederholt wird, das spezifisch vergilische Element, nämlich die Bezeichnung der Tiger als "hyrkanisch" (dass heisst: aus dem wilden Kaukasus) weggelassen wird und ersetzt durch ein allgemeines "inhumaine". Die Verse 5-8 des Lateinischen Gedichtes werden zu folgenden in dem Sonnet:

*Il est fils d'un rocher < Vgl. saxea, V.7 >, ou d'une ourse cruelle
Et digne qui jadis ait succé la mamelle
D'une tygre inhumaine...*

Das Phänomen der Reduzierung des gelehrten Elements in der Dichtung ist gut bekannt aus den Übersetzungen aus dem Lateinischen in der Renaissance- und Barockzeit¹⁴. Ob man daraus sofort schliessen

¹³ Nebst Tibullus hat natürlich auch Sannazaro mit gewirkt. Vgl. oben Note 11.

¹⁴ Ein besonders treffendes Beispiel in der deutschen Literatur bieten die lateinische Originalfassung und die deutsche Übersetzung des kleinen Romans *Psyche Cretica* (Regensburg 1685; Übersetzung Leipzig 1705) des Johann Ludwig Prasch (1637-1690). Vgl. J. IJsewijn, "Amour et Psyche dans un roman latin de 1685: La Psyche Cretica", in *Hommages à Robert Schilling*. Edités par Hubert Zehnacker et Gustave Hentz (Paris, Belles Lettres, 1983), S.337-345.

darf, dass die kulturell-intellektuellen Anforderungen an den Lesern der volkssprachlichen Texte so viel niedriger angesetzt wurden, scheint mir fraglich, wenigstens im allgemeinen Sinn. Wenn es um zu Volksbüchern reduzierte Werke geht, darf man das als Erklärungsgrund ohne weiteres annehmen. Es ist aber schwer, die Dichtung Du Bellay's in dieser Kategorie unterzubringen. Etwas anderes muss also mitgespielt haben. Untersuchen wir noch eine weitere Parallele zwischen einen lateinischen und einem französischen Vers.

Sonnet 31 beginnt mit dem berühmten Vers:

Heureux qui comme Ulysse a fait un beau voyage.

Mit diesem Vers korrespondiert der lateinische Vers 45:

Felix qui mores multorum vidit et urbes,

der einen vergilischen Versanfang, abermals aus den *Georgica*, II 490,

Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,

verbindet mit Horazens Übersetzung von Homers Charakterisierung von Odysseus / Ulysses:

Qui mores hominum multorum vidit et urbes;

Πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω¹⁵.

Der meist auffallende Unterschied zwischen der französischen und lateinischen Version ist der Name Ulysses, genannt in der ersten, ausgelassen in der lateinischen. Der Grund dafür ist klar: der lateinische Wortlaut spielt auf bekannte antike Versen an, die eindeutig auf Ulysses bezogen sind; das war nicht möglich im Französischen: "faire un beau voyage" ist viel zu allgemein, um eine sichere Identifizierung zu ermöglichen. Dagegen wird in dem nächsten französischen Vers der Held Jason nicht mit Namen genannt, weil die Beschreibung "*cestuy là qui conquiert la toison*" ihn ausreichend individualisiert.

Man könnte leicht weitergehen mit klassischen Reminiszenzen in Du Bellay's Versen. So hat z. B. Ovids Brief aus Pontus I 3 (in dem selbst schon Vergils erste Ekloge mitklingt) mehrere Motive geliefert, z.B. die Frage *Quid melius Roma?*, oder aber die Tiere, die immer zu ihrem Lager zurückkehren; Properz seinerseits hat den *aversus Apollo* von V.59 geliefert, usw. Eine noch längere Liste würde aber schnell gelehrte Pedanterie werden. Jeder Leser soll für sich entdecken, welche Mar-

¹⁵ Der horazische Anklang wurde schon von Hoggan (wie Note 1), S.71 erkannt.

morsteinchen er in dem Gesamtbild als Wiederbenutzung aus der Erinnerung an eigene Lektüre erkennt und wie er sie schätzen kann¹⁶.

* * * * *

Zusätzliche Bibliographie zu den lateinischen Gedichten Du Bellays:

1. Smith Malcolm C., *Joachim Du Bellay's Veiled Victim. With an Edition of the 'Xenia, seu illustrium quorundam nominum allusiones'*. Etudes de philologie et d'histoire 27 (Genf 1974); Id., "An Early Edition of Joachim Du Bellay's Veronis: in fontem sui nominis", *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et Renaissance* 39(1977), 295-305; Ausgabe erschienen in Sens 1558. Der Text ist nicht ganz identisch mit dem in den Poemata; Id., "Joachim Du Bellay's Renown as a Latin Poet"; in P. Tuynman, G.C. Kuiper, E. Kessler (eds.), *Acta Conventus Neolatini Amstelodamensis* (München 1979), S. 928-942.
2. Hartley D.J., "A Little-Known Latin Poem by Joachim Du Bellay", *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et Renaissance* 41 (1979), 341-348. Über "In laudem Hieronymi Roborei (= Della Rovere) Tholon. Episcopi" (1559).
3. Coleman Dorothy Gabe, *The Chaste Muse. A Study of Joachim Du Bellay's Poetry* (Leiden 1980); Id., "Du Bellay, Turnèbe and Montaigne", in I.D. McFarlane (ed.), *Acta Conventus Neolatini Sanctandreami = A.C.N.S.* (Binghamton, N.Y., 1986), S.299-308.
4. Demerson Geneviève, "Joachim Du Bellay et le modèle ovidien", in R. Chevallier (ed.), *Colloque Présence d'Ovide*. Collection Caesarodunum XVIIbis (Paris 1982), S.281-294; Id., "Présence de Virgile chez Du Bellay", *A.C.N.S.*, S.319-329; Id., "Joachim Du Bellay disciple d'Horace", in G. Cesbron (ed.), *Du Bellay. Actes du Colloque International d'Angers du 26 au 29 mai 1989 = Actes Angers* (Angers 1990), Bd. 1, S.89-99.
5. Ginsberg Ellen S., "The Amores of Joachim Du Bellay: a Neo-Latin Cycle of Love Poems", in R.J. Schoeck (ed.), *Acta Conventus Neolatini Bononiensis* (Binghamton, N.Y., 1985), S.483-490; Id., "Peregrinations of the Kiss: Thematic Relationships Between Neo-Latin and French Poetry in the Sixteenth Century", *A.C.N.S.*, S.331-342.
6. Hirstein J.S., "La Rome de Virgile et celle du seizième siècle dans 'Ad Ianum Avansonium apud summum Pontificem oratorem regium: Tyberis' de Joachim Du Bellay", *A.C.N.S.*, S.351-358.
7. Chomarat J., "Les Poemata de Du Bellay", *Vita Latina*, Nr. 101 (Avignon, mars 1986), 26-30.
8. Cooper R., "Poetry in Ruins: the Literary Context of Du Bellay's Cycles on Rome", *Renaissance Studies* 3 (1989), 156-166.
9. Sacré D., "Sur quelques épigrammes latines de Joachim Du Bellay", *Les Etudes Classiques* 57 (1989), 56-59.

¹⁶ Ich danke recht herzlich Frl. Peri Terbuyken aus Köln für die sprachliche Berichtigung meines Textes.

10. Simonin Catherine, "Du Bellay et la tradition des *Xenia*", *Actes Angers*, Bd. 1, S.131-147.
11. Tucker G.H., "Du Bellay, Janus Vitalis et Lucain: La trame des Mots dans les *Antiquitez... Plus un songe* et dans quelques vers analogues des *Poemata*", *Actes Angers*, Bd.1, S.149-160.
12. Millet O., "Les *Epigrammata* de 1558: sens et fonction du recueil", *Actes Angers*, Bd.2, S.569-586.
13. Michel A., "Joachim Du Bellay et la poésie latine", *Actes Angers*, Bd.2, S.623-634.
14. Galand-Hallyn Perrine, "Enargeia maniériste, enargeia visionnaire: des prophéties du Tibre au songe d'Océan", *Bibl. d'hum. et Renaiss.* 53 (1991), 305-328.
15. McPhail E. M., *The Voyage to Rome in French Renaissance Literature* (PhD Princeton 1989), ch. II: Du Bellay in Rome (*non vidi!*).

B-3000 Leuven

K.Universiteit, Semin. Philol. Human.

David HALSTED

DISTANCE, DISSOLUTION AND NEO-STOIC IDEALS: HISTORY AND SELF-DEFINITION IN LIPSIVS

Justus Lipsius, neo-Stoicism's founding figure, explored the situation of the individual in society¹ in *De constantia* (1584) and the relationship of learning to political power in his *Sex libri politicorum* (1589)². His solutions to the problem of individual and political self-definition depend crucially on the learned tradition; the Lipsian "subject" constitutes itself in terms of its relation to historical examples, and Lipsian political science consists of precepts supported by precedents and *sententiae* taken from the broad range of sources known to eclectic Humanism. In Lipsius' works, citizen and ruler are defined and analyzed in terms of their relation to historical ideals.

But how does Lipsius understand the process of interpreting history

¹ Gerhard Oestreich emphasizes the practical nature of neo-Stoic teaching. See Gerhard Oestreich, *Neostoicism and the Early Modern State*, ed. B. Oestreich and H. Koenigsberger. Trans. D. McIntock (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1982). Wilhelm Kühlmann extends Oestreich's work, arguing that neo-Stoicism's vision of a useful philology represents an attempt to establish a social and political place for Humanist learning in the world of early absolutism. See Kühlmann, *Gelehrtenrepublik und Fürstenstaat: Entwicklung und Kritik des deutschen Späthumanismus in der Literatur des Barockzeitalters*, Studien und Texten zur Sozialgeschichte der Literatur Bd. 3 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1982). See also Günter Abel, *Stoizismus und Frühe Neuzeit. Zur Entstehungsgeschichte modernen Denkens im Felde von Ethik und Politik* (Berlin- New York, De Gruyter, 1978).

² Lipsius himself conceived of the *Politica* as an extension to the world of politics of the ethical principles explored in *De constantia*. "Quod nunc tibi damus, POLITICA esse vides. in quibus hoc nobis consilium, vt quemadmodum in Constantia ciues formauimus ad patiendum et parendum: ita hic eos qui imperant, ad regendum" (*Politics*, Preface to Reader). The *Politics* was reprinted many times; quotations here are taken from *Iusti Lipsi Politicorum sive Civilis Doctrinae Libri Sex. Qui ad Principatum maxime spectant. Additae Notae auctores, tum et De Vna Religione Liber. Omnia postremo Auctor recensuit* (Antverpiae, ex officina Plantiniana, Apud Balthasarem Moretum, et Viduam Ioannis Moreti, et Io. Meursium. M.DC. XXIII); and *Iusti Lipsi De Constantia libri Duo, qui alloquium praecipue continent in publicis malis* (Lugduni Batavorum, Ex officina Christophori Plantini, CIO. IO. LXXXIV).

for present use? Lipsius did not leave us an essay on his historical methodology itself; instead, his understanding of historical interpretation and its implications for the individual or ruler must be gleaned from Lipsius' own practice. In fact, the literary devices Lipsius uses to explore historical material, such as moral *exempla*, and his tropes, such as the image of the world as a theatrical production (*theatrum mundi*), had been commonplaces since classical times. But a study of these tropes and their interaction in Lipsius leads us to a new appreciation of the degree to which Lipsius' texts are suffused with the tensions of their age, pulled in different directions by the very forces they seek to reconcile. This understanding, in turn, helps explain the remarkable adaptability of neo-Stoic principles to various cultural and intellectual contexts; this is a result toward which the present essay can however only point.

Ratio et exempla: Roles for Learning in the Modern World

Lipsius' interpretation of history depends on a movement along the lines of similarity that link a present moment to an incident or situation in the past. This movement consists of a judgment by which reason (*ratio*) evaluates precedents (*exempla*)³. Lipsius defines "ratio" as "De rebus humanis divinisque . . . verum iudicium et sensus" (*De con.*, I.4). As judgment, *ratio* perceives the similarities between precedents and present cases. But Lipsius does not refine the concept of *ratio* itself. Instead, the concept of the *exemplum* undergoes significant development and variation; the key to Lipsius' interpretive method lies in his understanding of the workings of authoritative precedents. Examples preserve the similarity that reason is to perceive; reason only becomes capable of operating in the complexities of the modern world by appreciating the complexities of the past.

In its purely philological sense, "exemplum" referred to an example of Latin style which was worth imitating in order to develop elegant Latin; by extension, "exemplum" could also mean an action or an attitude worthy of imitation in order to develop what we might term an elevated style of behavior. Thus Lipsius' imaginary interlocutor in the opening chapter of *Monita et exempla* (1605), a dialogue on the utility of examples, encourages Lipsius to undertake a supplementary volume

³ For a brief history of *sententiae* and *exempla* in European rhetoric see Ernst Robert Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und Lateinisches Mittelalter*, 2nd ed. (Bern, Francke, 1954), pp. 67-70.

to the *Politica*. "Sunt ibi [i.e., in the *Politics*] sententiae et velut Decreta, vtilia et salutaria. quis abnuat? sed vt valida atque efficacia sint, nonne vides vsum, id est Exempla deesse? Haec adde, et pulcherrime coeptum opus absolue" (*Mon. et Ex.*, I.1)⁴. The *Politics* develops a theory of absolute rule by adducing the opinions of the ancients; the supplemental volume gives "valid and efficacious" examples of virtue and vice in great historical figures.

Exempla existed in the immediately contemporary world as well. In *Politics* V.13 Lipsius points out the importance of *exempla* to shape good soldiers; promotions and medals help mold their character. A prince, too, might be an example for his subjects, worthy of imitation (*Politics*, II.7). Lipsius goes so far as to apply this principle to the Austrian empire itself; in the Dedication of his Tacitus edition to Emperor Maximilian he writes that whatever good has graced the Austrian lands can be credited to Vienna, rather than to a virtuous citizenry⁵. In modern terms, neo-Stoicism adhered to a top-down model for the transmission of virtue in both state and psyche.

The crucial role played by the imitation of past and present models for behavior provides a potential solution to the problem of self-situation. *Ratio* is not left on its own, but is situated within a context of the validity and legitimacy of intellectual and cultural authority. Guidance by *exempla* lets the learned man look to history for a sense of his own role in the contemporary world. Meanwhile the legitimate ruler, that is, the ruler concerned for the public good rather than his personal advantage⁶, is guided to examples by learning and by his counselors; he in turn links his subjects more closely to the state by acting as an example for them.

The neo-Stoic solution to the problem of self-situation involves seeing the individual firmly anchored in a social and historical context. Lipsius will not, like Descartes a half-century later, generate a world

⁴ *Iusti Lipsi Monita et Exempla Politica. Libri Duo, Qui Virtutes et Vitia Principum spectant* (Antverpiae, Ex officina Plantiniana, Apud Balthasarem Moretum, et Viduam Ioannis Moreti, et Io. Meursium. M. DC. XXV).

⁵ Justus Lipsius, *C. Cornelii Taciti Opera quae exstant. Ex Iusti Lipsi editione vltima: et cum eiusdem ad ea omnia Commentariis aut Notis. Scripta et addita ab eodem singulis libris Breviaria valde ad memoriam, et Historiae lucem.* (Antverpiae, Apud Christophorum Plantinum, CIO. IO. LXXXV).

⁶ "Mali improbique illi, qui in imperio non nisi imperium cogitant; superbi, desides; et qui se non ciuibus datos arbitrantur, sed sibi ciues . . . O vere iustum et legitimum illum Principem, qui [sic] in summo fastigio, non magnus magis quam bonus adire desiderat: et duas res diuersissimas, Potentiam et Modestiam, miscet!" (*Politics*, Preface to Princes).

from inside a bare room; his "space" of self-situation is instead located in the gardens of Carolus Langius⁷, the dialogic partner of *De constantia*'s first-person narrator. In Langius' gardens conversation, reading and writing define a community, an environment very different from Descartes' isolation⁸. Even the typically neo-Stoic ideal of constancy, which can be read as establishing a strict opposition between the self and a threatening social world, is generated within a community of "constant" figures who share an eternal virtue. Langius tells Lipsius that if he stands "altus contra omnem casum et erectus" he will move closer to the divine: "magnum illud Deoque proximum tibi vindicabis, Non moveri" (*De con.*, I.6). Like the republic of letters, the community of those not swayed by events stands above the crowd, and their virtue in turn stands as an example to those who are not so firm.

The function of learning can then be seen to consist partly in the preserving of good political and behavioral models. These models (ought to) humanize the raw power of the state: "Vt verissime dixerim, difficile esse homini in hominem imperium: nec vnus mente vnquam dirigendum. Ideo merito laudandi Sapientes, quibus olim et nunc haec cura, vt salutarium monitorum face praelucere imperanti . . . In moribus aut scientiis [Sapientem] aliquid praecepisse, laudem et vsum habet: et non magis in regno et administratione civili?" (*Politics*, Preface to Princes). The principle of the inadequacy of mere individual reason to the task of governing legitimates learning as a *necessary* complement to political power.

In a sense the learned, on Lipsius' model, act as a social memory; they are also, in their potential role as counselors, responsible for the

⁷ See Leonard Forster, "Meditation in a Garden," *German Life and Letters* 31 (1977), 23-34 for a study of *De constantia* as an instance of the garden *topos*. The garden, both in literature and in fact, permitted relaxed, polite discussion.

The character Langius was based on Lipsius' friend Charles Delanghe (d. 1573), who actually possessed fine gardens. See the helpful article on Delanghe in the *Biographie Nationale publiée par l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, vol. 5 (Brussels, Thiry-Van Buggenhoudt, 1876), pp. 310-315.

⁸ This may be viewed in light of Descartes' rejection of imitation as well. As John D. Lyons puts it, "Since the Cogito is an act of radical solitude, it can only occur authentically by refusal of all that comes from outside the subject including models"; thus, "Imitation belongs, in the realm of knowledge, to an obsolete and negative moment." John D. Lyons, "Subjectivity and Imitation in the *Discours de la Méthode*," *Neophilologus* 66 (1982), 508-524. Lipsius' sense of self is still generated from within a network of imitation and communication; this is a crucial point. "Nec id meis, sed veterum monitis, imo et verbis" (Pol. I.1; my emphasis).

interpretation of the material so preserved: “‘Exempla’ enim ‘omnia jacerent in tenebris, nisi litterarum lumen accederet’” (*Politics*, I.9)⁹. Just as the reason of an individual is adequate for governance only if it is shaped by a knowledge of history as preserved in the literary tradition, so the individual, striving for a sense of place, a sense of how to react to social and political change, depends on the tradition as a necessary guide and supplement to reason. An interpretive negotiation between a present moment of judgment and a past precedent guides Lipsius’ philosophy at the civic and individual levels. The social role of the learned man, then, is intimately bound to historical knowledge and interpretation.

History as Reflection and Representation

For Lipsius, history takes on the role of a cultural memory; historical texts themselves become wider worlds in which the individual learns to find a place. As such the preservation of history becomes a fundamental mark of humanity: “nec vlla gens tam aliena ab humanitate fuit, cui non simulacrum aliquod historiae et cura rerum tradendarum” (*Comm. on Annals*, Dedication)¹⁰. Reason’s judgment must be located within the context provided by memory in order for a people to participate in that “humanitas” which links all lands and faiths.

Historical knowledge also extends individual experience and memory, the two main sources of political virtue in the *Politics* (*Politics*, I.8). “[Q]uoniam in hoc angusto vitae circo, citius fere ad metam peruenimus, quam observare oculis licitum varios et reciprocos humanae rei fluxus. Historia autem non unius aetatis regionisque finibus circumscripta: sed omnium saeculorum gentiumque res gestas cum fide tibi ostend[i]t, velut in tabella” (*Comm. on Ann.*, Dedication). By representing events from a broader range of human experience, historical knowledge permits reflection on the present moment as analogically related to a past moment or configuration: “Vtrumuis enim praestant, illustant,

⁹ Lipsius cites Cicero, *Pro. Arch.* 6.14. The original runs: “Sed pleni sunt omnes libri, plene sapientium voces, plena exemplorum vetustas; quae iacerent in tenebris omnia, nisi litterarum lumen accederet. Quam multas nobis imagines non solum ad intuendum, verum etiam ad imitandum fortissimorum virorum expressas scriptores et Graeci et Latini reliquerunt! quas ego mihi semper in administranda re publica proponens animum et mentem meam ipsa cogitatione hominum excellentium conformabam”; note the emphasis Cicero here places on the role of imitating examples in good governance.

¹⁰ Included in the edition of Tacitus cited in note 5 above.

dum in rem velut praesentem ducunt, et facta ostendunt, quae facienda suadentur . . . ” (*Mon. et Ex.*, I.1) The movement of historical thought is similar to the movement of individual memory¹¹, bringing facts from the past to mind as if they were present and permitting comparison over temporal, spatial and social distance. Like the prince in his role as *exemplum*, the link between memory and history links individual and community.

Lipsius, then, understands the history of a society and the memory of the individual in terms of metaphors of representation and reflection: “In hac [historia] enim tibi fas: ‘tanquam in speculo, ornare et componere vitam tuam ad alienas virtutes’” (*Politics*, I.9)¹². In *Monita et Exempla* Lipsius extends the figure: “Vidistine etiam, qui ad speculum se comunt, faciem et cultum, recte disponere? prorsus his idem: aliena vita et facta speculum sunt, et imago, in qua te videas et ad eam decore componas.” Here the imitation of an example, like the imitation of good Latin style, enables the imitator to enter the community of the cultivated. The decorous adaptation of a present life to a past example is achieved by careful selection: “Quod magis fit, vbi varia et multiplex lectio Exempla varia et multa suppeditat, vt eligere sit, et ad rem talem aut talem appositum aliquid semper applicare” (*Mon. et. Exem.*, I.1).

Lipsius combines the image of the speculum of history with principles of selection and application to yield a theory of the interpretation of history for *use* in present day life. The reader peers into history as into a mirror, selecting and emphasizing those features of the image that look attractive, avoiding or modifying the unattractive, all within the bounds dictated by a cultivated taste. This process of looking, selecting and applying is what makes precedents available as resources in the process of self-situation. The same can be said of other contemporary *exempla*, like a virtuous king or a military ideal. In each case the image of example as speculum acknowledges a discontinuity between individual and model, but also implies that the gap between the image in the mirror and the looker/reader can be overcome by a kind of translatabi-

¹¹ “Lumen vndique inferendum, vt peruideamus: et maxime a Doctrina, non illa tamen arguta aut subtilium scientiarum, sed memoriae rerum praesertim, quam Historiam appellamus. Nam ea, si attendis, quid nisi alter Vsus est?” (*Mon. et Ex.*, I.8). The comparison is repeated in *Politics* I.9.

¹² Lipsius’ reference is to the biography of Timoleon in Plutarch’s *Vitae Parallelae*. The quotation comes from introductory paragraphs to the lives of Timoleon and Aemilius (Aemilius I.1): ὥσπερ ἐν ἐσόπτρῳ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ περὶ τὸν ὁμῶς γὰρ πῶς κοσμεῖν καὶ ἀφομοιοῦν πρὸς τὰς ἐκείνων ἀρετὰς τὸν βίον.

lity, which, bridging the temporal gap between past and present, makes imitation possible. The structure is based on the shared humanity implicit in the very fact of having a recorded, remembered history, for it is this alone that renders history “legible”.

Lipsius also uses the theater as an image for history. In Tacitus the reader will find “reges et monarchas, et velut theatrum hodiernae vitae” (*Comm. on Annals*, Dedication). This variation on the *theatrum mundi* pattern of metaphor, along with the specular image, may be grouped within the larger trope of *similitudo temporum*¹³. Lipsius treats Tacitus’ works as applying particularly to court life — “Non ille [Tacitus] Annibalis funestas Rom[a]n[is] victorias, non speciosam Lucretiae necem, non vatum prodigia aut Etrusca portenta recenset, et quae alia sunt oblectandi magis quam instruendi lectoris: hic mihi quisque principum aulas, principum interiorem vitam, consilia, iussa, facta consideret, et obuia in plerisque nostrorum temporum similitudine, ab iisdem caussis pares exitus animo praecipiat” (Tacitus edition, Dedication). The theater of Tacitus’ history presents images of courtly life to its audience, themselves participants (at one level or another) in courtly society, who will have looked carefully in the mirror before attending their prince — the theater and the specular images may be seen to be closely related. If historical reflection in general looks beyond an isolated corner of the world, Lipsius reads his own time in particular as bound to Tacitus’ by shared participation in a similar social and political configuration — a configuration in which the status of the hero and the heroic deed has been very much thrown into question, in which power has moved toward an absolute center, and in which the courtier and the bureaucrat must carefully study their new roles.

Lipsius’ mode of interpreting history, then, is constructed around a tension between similarity and distance. On the one hand, Lipsius’ theories of state and individual depend essentially on the existence of resonances between (especially) Imperial Rome and late sixteenth-century Europe. On the other hand, the metaphorical patterns — *speculum*, *theatrum* — within which Lipsius makes the past available always include distance as a constitutive element. However, the Lipsian movement of thought from present to past and back again creates a kind of energy, animating past and present by including both as terms

¹³ See Kühnmann, *Gelehrtenrepublik*, p. 55 for more on *similitudo temporum*.

in an interactive comparison. Sentences, words and actions have a double meaning, as act and as reference, lending depth and resonance to the world of the courts.

It is not at all clear that, for Lipsius, history forms anything like a continuous narrative. Lipsius gives us, instead, a vision of analogical relationship that is held in a tense position between the discontinuity that separates past from present and the similarity between discrete moments that his method of reading posits. Events in the past do not *cause* events in the present, but rather resemble them. The perception of this similarity renders present events analyzable, like literary texts. Even more, the texts within which historical knowledge becomes available are not themselves stable. Like the sort of history envisioned in the specular and theatrical images, Lipsius' texts are constructed around continuity and discontinuity, and are therefore always caught between unity and fragmentation.

Reading History: The Threat of Fragmentation

The process of interpreting historical examples requires the active participation of an organizing mind, selecting appropriate aspects of a given past configuration and applying them to the present. The selection is dictated, like the selection of the courtier before the mirror, by cultivated taste. "Ita sicut Zeuxis ille pictor olim, Iunonem effigiaturus, virgines Agrigentorum pulcherrimas conduxit, et e singulis aptauit quod praestantissimum in quaque esset: ita, inquam, Princeps, et politici viri, ab exemplis factisque illustribus potentiam (ea Iuno est) et prudentiam suam forment" (*Mon. et Ex.*, I.1). Lipsius' representation of the nature of power will be guided by a sense of aptitude and aesthetic judgment. The prince must *construct* a prudent politics. Like an artist, he must select those examples from the past which have the greatest resonance for his own time, and further select certain features of exemplary figures most worthy of emulation. The "prudent" course, in this case, will be defined by reason operating in concert with cultivated taste, with a sense for what is fitting.

Lipsius' own work involves just such a process of selection and reconstruction. Collecting the "sparks" he has found scattered among various authors ("sed et in profanis sparsas quasdam scintillas vides: quas colligam," *Politics*, I.2), Lipsius means to redistribute them to his readers — "Sparge, sparge salutaria haec velut semina: et cur non vel

ab agricolae exemplo?" says his imaginary interlocutor in *Monita et exempla*. These sparks appear in the *Politics* as a mosaic of quotations from earlier authors. In this Lipsius is conscious of creating a new style of writing and of interpretation. "Nam inopinatum quoddam stili genus instituimus: in quo vere possim dicere, omnia nostra esse et nihil. Cum enim Inuentio tota et Ordo a nobis sint, verba tamen et sententias varie conquisiuimus a scriptoribus priscis" (*Politics*, "De consilio et Forma nostri operis"). Lipsius' careful use of the term "inuentio" here shows that he thinks of his re-construction not only as a painting but also as a speech. Both metaphors of construction — the application of *exempla* to contemporary events (Zeuxis) and the writing of the *Politics* as constructing a rhetorical piece — show how the *use* of history depends on cultivated taste to bring material from various sources together into a work of a high literary standard. The central role played by taste in the interpretation of historical material extends the pattern of social influences on the process of self-situation we have already seen in the *speculum* and *theatrum* metaphors. The construction involved in self-situation is performed by a "subject" deeply embedded in a social community, a community defined in part by its shared aesthetic sense.

Yet the product of this aesthetically guided effort is at once a whole and not a whole. "Nec vero nudas ac sparsas Sententias dedimus: ne diffuerent, et esset, quod dicitur, Arena sine calce:¹⁴ sed eas aut inter se haud indecenter vinximus, aut interdum velut coemento quodam commisimus nostrorum verborum" (*Politics*, "De consilio"). Here Lipsius actually quotes Caligula's condemnation of Seneca's prose, as reported by Suetonius, to describe his (Lipsius') own work. The *Politics* simply threatens to dissolve, to "flow apart" into its constituent sentences. This is an important self-perception, since it helps explain how neo-Stoicism developed in different directions, following the paths indicated

¹⁴ Suetonius, *De Vita Caesarum*, 4.53.2, of Caligula — "peroraturus stricturum se lucubrationis suae telum minabatur, lenius comptiusque scribendi genus adeo contemnens, ut Senecam tum maxime placentem commissiones meras componere et harenam esse sine calce diceret." Lipsius expresses the possibility of dissolution in the word "diffluo", which he uses again in the introduction to his edition of Seneca to describe Seneca's prose style, a style Lipsius admired and imitated. For further work on Lipsius' style and its place in the controversies between Ciceronians and anti-Ciceronians, see Morris Croll's "Juste Lipse et le Mouvement Anticiceronien" and "Muret and the History of 'Attic' Prose" in *Style, Rhetoric and Rhythm: Essays by Morris W. Croll*, eds. J.M. Patrick and R.O. Evans (Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 1966); and George Williamson, *The Senecan Amble* (London, Faber and Faber, 1948).

by sentences drawn from different sources which have been placed together in a tenuous unity.

While the stones-and-mortar image is particularly appropriate to the *Politics* — the chapters usually consist of a paragraph or two of Lipsius' own prose followed by a series of several quotations, which may go on literally for pages — it expresses an ambiguity characteristic of Lipsius' work. The shape of the stones, of the authorities Lipsius cites or borrows from, can always be seen clearly even when they are surrounded by his own words. It is rather as though, on seeing Zeuxis' painting of Juno, a friend of one of his models could have exclaimed "Why, I recognize that foot!". Thus Lipsius' work remains trapped between multiplicity and unity, between centripetal and centrifugal impulses. Like the tension between distance and proximity observed in the *speculum* and *theatrum* images, Lipsius' consciousness of the mosaic-like nature of his work expresses itself in the tension between his metaphors of artistic construction, which seem to point to the creation of an aesthetically pleasing whole, and his awareness of the threat of dissolution. This threat is particularly clear when the rhetorical piece finds itself, as it does in the case of Caligula's judgment of Seneca's prose, subjected to absolute power. The image of dissolution is then a part of Lipsius' thematic and metaphorical treatment and exploration of the roles learning and the learned man play at court.

We may trace this centrifugal tendency even in the continuous prose essay *De constantia*, which is particularly interesting in its attempts to hold conflicting doctrines, particularly from the Stoic and Christian traditions, within a single conceptual space. At one point Langius seeks to define "fatum" in a way acceptable for Christian thought. Although Lipsius speaks of "freeing" the word from its "Stoic prison" (*De con.* I.19), he is forced, after a long discussion, to abandon the project. His failure to reach a final definition reveals an important feature of Lipsius' thought. The peaceful garden of *De constantia*, which Lipsius presents as a realm of free discussion, a sort of physical correlate of the "free" space constancy might create for the individual within an absolutist political context, does not, in fact, successfully exclude all disagreement.

This disagreement takes two forms. The first stems from the inherently fragmentary nature of Lipsius' thought itself. The on-going dialogue of the learned depends essentially on its participants' mutual willingness to participate. As soon as all ambiguities in a particular

definition, as for example of the concept of fate, must be resolved, the voices that come together to form the dialogue must fall apart again. This sort of disagreement ends discussion by working from within the discussion itself, revealing differences that the "mosaic" technique seeks to mask; in the discussion of "fatum," for example, Erasmian tolerance for variety of opinion again reaches its limit in the question of free will.

Another sort of disagreement that threatens the garden stems not from within the discussion but from forces that threaten from without. Langius speaks of "arming" himself against the attacks of fortune; the nature of Lipsian constancy is reactive. Faced with a situation it perceives as threatening, the mind retreats into a tradition from which it can borrow a sense of duration and stability, finding a community of learning which reaffirms a familiar set of priorities and values. The threat from without tends to close the garden into itself; it may, however, force the voices apart by putting stress on particular positions and demanding a destabilizing precision.

Lipsius reveals his own sense of belonging to a community that is under threat in his quotation of Tacitus' *Agricola* at the end of *De constantia* II.25: "et sicut vetus aetas vidit, quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos, quid in servitute, adempto per inquisitiones etiam loquendi audiendique commercio. Memoriam quoque ipsam cum voce perdidissemus, si tam in nostra potestate esset oblivisci quam tacere" (*Agricola* 2). Memory itself is threatened when free conversation is banned; it is only the fact that memory exists in a realm of relative freedom, of possible resistance, that permits it to persevere.

Yet memory is one of the possible sources of prudence. Thus the state is no more capable of stable existence than the individual if its memory is lost; this is, as it were, the ultimate claim for the position of learning, that it helps the state, as a sort of "super-subject", retain a sense of its own continuity. In the end Lipsius' theories of state and individual rest on a creative interaction with memory or its correlate history. The mind, like an artist, works the parts of memory into wholes, but is not yet capable, in Lipsius' philosophy, of resolving all of the conflicts that its own dependence on authorities calls into being; that will remain for Descartes' more robust subjectivity. Instead, the authorities and traditions Lipsius brings together in his works move apart along interior and exterior lines of force as the sense of community that had embraced them gives way to the exigencies of power.

Hence a certain ambiguity in the legacy of Lipsius' neo-Stoicism. On

the one hand Lipsius provides an interpretive scheme which makes *exempla*, and hence the learned tradition, available for practical, present use. In so doing, he defines a place for learning and the learned man which appealed strongly to seventeenth-century élite society. On the other hand, his "ratio" is by itself too weak to choose between its own authorities. We may, then, see how Lipsius' neo-Stoicism had the potential to develop in a variety of directions as its interpreters in their turn emphasized different elements of Lipsius' thought.

De constantia and the *Politica* give solutions to the problem of self-definition in terms of the perspective provided by an active engagement with history or with memory. But the various elements that feed into this "solution" — Stoicism, Christianity, Humanist learning — co-exist, rather than actually co-operating. Lipsius' syntheses are based on analogy rather than real identity. Thus, as it developed further, neo-Stoicism split into various forms. In the German lands, for example, neo-Stoic influences can be found in Bernegger's political seminars at Strassburg¹⁵, but also in the various modulations between Christian faith and learning, sometimes moving into mysticism, in German Baroque poetry¹⁶. Other variations are to be found in France, England, the Lowlands (Protestant and Catholic) and Poland. Yet these disparate types of thought engage different moments within the conceptual field Lipsius explored.

Lipsius' compromise between Humanist ideals and contemporary political and social realities helped sustain late Humanist thought through the first half of the seventeenth century, providing inspiration for, among others, the group of literary figures in the generation that followed Scaliger at Leiden — Heinsius, Vossius, Salmasius — who in

¹⁵ For secondary literature on Bernegger see Kühlmann, *Gelehrtenrepublik*, pp. 43-66; Anton Schindling, *Humanistische Hochschule und Freie Reichsstadt. Gymnasium und Akademie in Strassburg 1538-1621*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für europ. Geschichte Bd. 77 (Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner, 1977), esp. pp. 279-289; Erich Berneker, "Matthias Bernegger, der Strassburger Historiker" in *Julius Echter und Seine Zeit. Gedenkschrift* . . . hg. F. Merzbacher (Würzburg, 1973), pp. 283-314; and Carl Büniger, *Matthias Bernegger: Ein Bild aus dem geistigen Leben Strassburgs zur Zeit des Dreissigjährigen Krieges* (Strassburg, 1893). The most complete Bernegger bibliography to date is to be found in Gerhard Dünnhaupt, *Personalbibliographien zu den Drucken des Barock*, vol 1 (Stuttgart, Hiersemann 1990), pp. 490-533.

¹⁶ See Xaver Stalder, *Formen des Barocken Stoizismus: Der Einfluss der Stoa auf die deutsche Barockdichtung* — Martin Opitz, Andreas Gryphius und Catharina Regina von Greiffenberg (Bonn, Herbert Grundmann, 1976) and Hans-Jürgen Schings, *Die patristische und stoische Tradition bei Andreas Gryphius. Untersuchungen zu den Dissertationes Funebres und Trauerspielen*, Kölner Germanistische Studien 2 (Köln-Graz 1966).

turn formed a kind of center for learned Europe¹⁷. Neo-Stoic thinking provided the learned and political élite of the day with a method by which they could apply their learning to the world in which they moved and worked; it was highly flexible, adaptable to a variety of intellectual and religious positions and problems. In a time marked by violent political and cultural flux, neo-Stoicism's very disunities — its refusal to seek a single path — helped make it attractive to the learned élite as they sought to define a place for themselves in a new configuration of social forces.

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Comparative Literature

¹⁷ As Erich Trunz pointed out. E. Trunz, "Der deutsche Späthumanismus als Standeskultur" in *Deutsche Barockforschung: Dokumentation einer Epoche*, ed. R. Alewyn (Köln and Berlin, Kiepenhauer and Witsch, 1965), pp. 147 -81.

Dana Ferron SUTTON

JUSTUS LIPSIUS TO THOMAS LEGGE, JANUARY 1, 1585

Born in Norwich in or about 1535, Thomas Legge came to Cambridge in 1552, where he entered Corpus Christi College¹. After transferring to Trinity College, he took his Bachelor of Arts in 1556/7 and his Master of Arts in 1560. He was made Fellow of Jesus College in 1568 and elected Master of Gonville and Caius College in 1573, personally selected for this post by his predecessor, Dr. John Caius. Legge received the degree of Doctor of Laws in 1575. Appointed University Commissary in 1579, he served as Vice-Chancellor of the University in 1578-79 and again for part of the academical year 1592/3. Legge also served as a Master in Chancery in 1593, and as a Justice of the Peace in 1597. He died in 1607, and his tomb is to be seen in the chapel of his College. By all accounts he was a tolerant and easygoing Master, even though Cambridge faced severe difficulties during his lifetime, and was a tutor with a charismatic personality, highly respected and liked by his colleagues and pupils.

But, at least outside the three-mile radius of Great St. Mary's, Legge is primarily known for his activities as a playwright. According to Francis Meres' *Palladis Tamia* (1598) Shakespeare, Marlowe, Peele, Kyd, Jonson, and a few academic playwrights including "Doctor Leg

¹ For modern biographies cf. John Venn, *Caius College* (University of Cambridge College Histories, London, 1901), pp. 76-89 and *Biographical History of Gonville and Caius College 1349-1897* (Cambridge, 1897) III, pp. 64-69 and C.N.L. Brooke, *A History of Gonville and Caius College* (Woodville, Suffolk-Dover, New Hampshire, 1985), especially pp. 84-88. Brooke, Plate 9c, provides a photograph of the effigy on Legge's tomb in the College chapel. Two interesting specialized studies are C.B.L. Brooke, "In Commemoration of Blessed John Fingley, 16 November, 1886," *The Caiian* (November 1988), 110-14, and P.G. Stein, "Thomas Legge: A Sixteenth Century English Civilian and his Books," *Satura Roberto Feenstra* (ed. J.A. Ankum et al., Fribourg, 1985), pp. 545-56. Various anecdotes about Legge coping with the religious contentions afflicting Cambridge during his lifetime are given in the course of H.C. Porter, *Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1958), cf. index s.v. I have not read the unpublished monograph about Legge by Lord McNair in the Gonville-Caius College Library.

of Cambridge" are identified as "our best for Tragedy." Legge's reputation was achieved by his trilogy *Richardus Tertius*², a work of considerable significance in the history of English drama both because it is the first known dramatic adaptation of a Chronicle subject—since several future London playwrights (Green, Lodge, Peele) were at Cambridge at the time of its production in 1579 or at least soon thereafter, while its memory was fresh (Marlowe, Nash), it must have made an impression on them—and because there is considerable reason for thinking that, indirectly or even directly, it served as a source for Shakespeare's *Richard III*³. It may therefore be no great exaggeration to say that Legge was the father of the Tudor history play. Legge wrote, but never produced, a second trilogy, *Solymitana Clades*, a dramatization of Flavius Josephus' account of the Jewish rebellion under Nero and its suppression by Titus and Vespasian. This is preserved in the single manuscript Cambridge University Library Add. 7958, acquired in 1974; so far it remains unpublished.

Our biographical information about Legge is chiefly derived from accounts by two seventeenth-century antiquarians⁴. In view of the subject of this article, it is necessary to print both texts *in extenso*.

The sources in question are the obituary contained in the entry for 1607 in William Moore's continuation of the *Annals* of Gonville and Caius College, written in 1655, and Thomas' Fuller's *The Worthies of England*, published posthumously in 1662. First, Moore:⁵

Thomas Legge Nordovicensis, socius primo Collegii Trinitatis, secundo Jesu, inde a fundatore Johanne Caio, jam vivente, constitutus est hujus Collegii Custos decumus nonus anno 1573. Legum Doctor, unus magistrorum Cancellariae, Curae de Arcubus Doctor, Academiae Commissarius, et bis Procancellarius, annis scilicet 1587 et 1592, obiit Julij 12, 1607 anni aetatis 72^o postquam Collegii regimini foeliciter praefuisset annis 34 et septimanis 2^{bus}. Hunc virum placidis-

² Cf. Robert J. Lordi, *Thomas Legge's Richardus Tertius: A Critical Edition with a Translation* (New York-London, 1979). G.B. Churchill, *Richard III before Shakespeare* (Berlin, 1900, repr. Gloucestershire Eng.-Totowa N.J., 1976), pp. 265-394, remains the most illuminating discussion of this work.

³ Cf. Churchill, *ib.* 393-5 and Geoffrey Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare* (London-New York, 1960) 3, pp. 234-237. Elsewhere I hope to be able to adduce further arguments favoring the idea that Shakespeare read the trilogy and learned from it.

⁴ A biographical notice about Legge in Anthony Wood's *Athenae Fasti* (1692) for the year 1586 is no more than an abbreviated copy of the passage from Fuller's *Worthies*.

⁵ The *Annals* have been edited by John Venn (Cambridge, 1904).

simi mores plurimum ornabant, unde sibi Collegii socios omnes, amoris atque observantiae vinculo, habuit semper devinctissimos, studiumque ejus promovendi bonas literas, et remunerandi conatus juvenum eo aspirantium, spectandum valde simul et amabilem reddidit: solebat vir alioqui gravis, et continuis fori negotiis occupatissimus, speciendis et componendis fabulis, praesertim tragediis, fessum animum recreare, quarum una, quae truculentos mores Richardi tertii repraesentabat, publice olim acta erat in Aula Collegii Divi Johannis Cantabrigiae summo cum Academicorum applausu; alteram de excidio Hierosolymitano, quamdiu vixit, horis subsicivis sub lima⁶ polivit, quo elimatiorem eam tandem proponeret spectandam; cumque jam omnibus numeris absoluta esset, plagiarum nescio cujus piceatis manibus spes nostra misere frustrata erat. Leggo, executorum sumptibus, extructum est monumentum pensile, ad australe latus sacelli, infra quod ejus conditur depositum. Superiorem partem monumenti ornant arma Gentilicia, cum lemmate epigraphico: *Coll legame della legge*; tum nomini, tum professioni, alludente. Infra statuam (orantis speciem referentem) monumento titulus ascriptus: Thomas Legge Legum Doctor quondam Custos huius Collegii obiit anno Domini 1607, 12^o die Julii, aetatis suae 72^o. Et Gostlinus (qui cum eo conjunctissime vixerat) titulo subjunxit hoc disticon;

Junxit Amor vivos, sic jungat terra sepultos;
Gostlini reliquum; cor tibi, Leggus, habes.

subscripto symbolo, Christiano homine dignissimo, *Moriendo vivit*. Quando in honore claruit Leggus apud alios satis constat ex elogio illo celeberrimo eruditi cujusdam viri literas ad eum datis Calendis Jan. 1585 ubi haec habentur: "In antiquitatis studio, tam egregie versatus es, ut id de teipso potes quod de se Apollo Ennii:

'A me omnes Cantabrigienses consilium expetunt in literis incerti, quos ego mea ope ex incertis certos compotesque consilii dimitto.

Abest a meis scriptis vanitas et... "

[There then follows further matter not relevant to this paper].

Now Fuller:⁷

Thomas Legge was born in this city [sc. Norfolk]; bred first fellow in Trinity, then Jesus College in Cambridge, until he was chosen by doctor Caius (then surviving) the nineteenth master of Gonvil Hall, and the second of Gonvil and Caius College. He was doctor of the

⁶ So the transcription printed in Alan H. Nelson, *Records of Early English Drama: Cambridge* (Toronto, 1989) II.282f. Venn read *sub luna*.

⁷ This passage (with modernized orthography) is most easily consulted in Fuller's *The History of the Worthies of England* (ed. P.A. Nuttall, London, 1840, repr. New York, 1965) II, p. 491.

law and Arches⁸, one of the masters of the Chancery, twice vice-chancellor of the university, and thirty-four years master of his college therein. There needeth no other testimony for to avouch his great learning than the character given him by J. Lipsius, in his (hitherto unprinted) Epistle, "In Antiquitatis studio tam egregie versatus es, ut id de teipso potes quod de se *Apollo* Ennii: 'A me omnes Cantabrigienses consilium expetunt in literis incerti, quos ego, mea ope, ex incertis certos, compotesque consilii dimitto.'"

This doctor, though himself a serious man, used to recreate himself with delightful studies, observing gravity in his very pleasures. He composed a tragedy of the destruction of Jerusalem; and having at last refined it to the purity of the public standard, some plagiarist filched it from him, just as it was to be acted. He formerly had made a tragedy of the life of king Richard the Third, presented with great applause (queen Elizabeth, I suppose, being a beholder thereof)⁹ in Saint John's College Hall. On the same token that John Palmer (afterwards dean of Peterborough) who acted king Richard therein, had his head so possessed with a prince-like humour, that ever after he did what then he acted, in his prodigal expences; so that (the cost of a sovereign ill befitting the purse of a subject) he died poor in prison, notwithstanding his great preferment...[here follows some material about the donations made to the College by Legge and other early Masters] ...Doctor Legg died July 12, 1607, in the 72nd year of his age.

Fuller's essential dependence on Moore is acknowledged in a note, *Ex Annalibus Coll. Gonv. et Caii*¹⁰. But although Moore is Fuller's principal source, Fuller contains some items of information not derived from Moore. This is most conspicuously true of the bit about the eccentrically profligate Dean Palmer¹¹. But the same observation is true about the Lipsius letter, which has escaped the notice of the modern editors of Lipsius' epistles¹². Each authority contains informa-

⁸ The Court of Arches was an ecclesiastical court under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Ely.

⁹ Fuller's supposition is in fact incorrect.

¹⁰ Because this note is written in Latin, I assume this is Fuller's and not that of Nuttall the editor, although Nuttall took no care to distinguish his own notes from those of Fuller.

¹¹ At the cost of a longer excursus, Fuller could have supplied some picturesque details. Palmer had already gotten into trouble as Bursar of St. John's College, Cambridge, in the mid-1580's for flagrant fiscal mismanagement. As Dean of Peterborough, he was supposed to have sold off the lead from the cathedral roof in an attempt to settle his debts. There is evident reason for thinking that Fuller was justified in insinuating that the man was mentally unbalanced.

¹² M.A. Nauwelaerts and S. Sué, *Iusti Lipsi Epistolae* (Brussels, 1983) vol. II, which covers the year in question, lacks this letter. (In further footnotes this series, now comprising three volumes and covering the years 1564-87, will be abbreviated *ILE*).

tion about the letter missing from the other's account: Moore mentions the date and accidentally quotes the beginning of a further sentence, but merely attributes the letter to *eruditi cujusdam viri*; whereas Fuller does not provide the date but identifies the letter's author as Justus Lipsius.

Since the College *Annals* were not printed until the beginning of the present century, in the course of his researches Fuller must have visited Caius College and inspected them (if he did so before March of 1659 he may have been shown them by their author, who died at that time). Legge, we may suppose, would have been proud of such a high complement on his prowess as a Latinist and kept the letter, and so it was left among his papers. Hence we must evidently conclude that it must have been preserved in the College long enough for Moore to have seen it¹³.

Moore must have written his continuation of the *Annals* in some haste. This continuation was authorized by the College in May, 1665, and we happen to know that Moses Horne, the local scrivener who wrote the extant fair (paper) copy died in mid-June of the following year¹⁴. This probably is the reason for the carelessness of the extant copy. The words *abest a meis scriptis vanitas et* represent the beginning of a further sentence and have been copied into the transcript accidentally. Possibly Moore gave the letter to the copyist with instructions to copy in an indicated passage¹⁵, and for some reason the copyist added a few words too many.

Since Moore did not state the identity of the letter's author, how did Fuller learn it? And was his identification correct? Fuller was a careful antiquarian and he would not have made this identification without

¹³ This raises the obvious question of whether the letter may still be extant. It is not listed in M.R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Library of Gonville and Caius College* (Cambridge, 1907-8). In response to a request that it be searched for, I have been informed that it evidently is not preserved. "The Librarian has been unable to trace the original of the letter to Dr. Legge quoted in Moore's continuation of the College *Annals* and I regret that I have likewise failed to locate it in the Archives. I feel that if such a letter had been consciously kept by the College and preserved either in the Library or the Archives, it would not have escaped the notice of John Venn and other scholars familiar with the College archives and manuscripts." (Letter of Anne Nearby, Archivist of Gonville and Caius College, 13 July, 1990).

¹⁴ For the circumstances of the writing of the *Annals* continuation see pp. viiif. of Venn's edition.

¹⁵ If the letter had been handed about in this way, it would be easy to see why it has been lost.

cause. Certainly his remark that the letter is "hitherto unprinted" suggests that he troubled himself to look through the *Centuries* in order to observe that this letter was not among the humanist's published epistles. Surely the natural supposition ought to be that he learnt of the identity of the letter-writer from Moore's own lips.

The fragmentary letter to Legge bears a striking resemblance to a passage from another epistle written by Lipsius to an English humanist, Sir Philip Sidney (March 17, 1586):¹⁶

Idque domi et foris, toga et sago, cum vegeta illa animi vis ad omnia
sufficiat et Marti ita lites, ut sacrum numquam deseras Sophiae et
Musarum. Quod Archilochus ille de se gloriatus olim: tu magis iure

Εἰμὶ δ' ἐγὼ θεράπων μὲν Ἐνυαλίου ἀνακτος,
καὶ μουσέων ἐρατὸν δῶρον ἐπιστάμενος.

(Sum quidem ego famulus cultorque Dei omnipotentis.

Sed tamen et Musarum incluta dona habeo.)

Sed libo hoc laudum tuarum limen, non penetro. Quia ut sacra cum
silentio potius quam plausu spectamus: sic tuas ego virtutes.

Deft use of a classical quotation in order to pay a compliment, followed by a personal deprecation intended to take the edge off the magisterial pronouncement is quite similar.

The Ennius fragment quoted by Lipsius is fr. 151-4 Vahlen¹⁷, from the *Eumenides*, quoted by Cicero, *de Oratore* 1.45, 199, in which Apollo is the speaker:

unde sibi populi et reges consilium expetunt
suarum rerum incerti quos ego ope mea
ex incertis certos compotesque consili
dimitto, ut ne res temere tractent turbidas

The implication is of course that Legge's Cambridge colleagues regarded him as a veritable oracle on the subject of Latinity. It is worth noting that Lipsius had a certain propensity for quoting Ennius: in the three published volumes of his epistles the Latin poet is quoted eighteen times.

We of course do not know the immediate reason why Lipsius wrote this epistle, but it is easy to form a supposition about the context in which it was composed. He was planning a visit to England in the summer of 1585, a trip that eventually was cancelled. He used interme-

¹⁶ *ILE* II.461.

¹⁷ J. Vahlen, *Ennianae Poesis Reliquiae* (third ed., Leipzig, 1928).

diaries to form contacts with prominent English intellectuals whom he might meet during that projected sojourn. The case of the Cambridge theologian William Whitaker¹⁸ is especially instructive. On November 21, 1584¹⁹ Lipsius wrote to Johannes Drusius (Jan van den Driessche), then staying in London, asking him to convey his greetings to Sir Francis Walsingham, the Earl of Leicester, and Edward Dyer. He continued *Reverendo Viro D[omino] Wittakero si eum vides, salutem, quem amo ex scriptis et miror*. We happen to have a letter from Whitaker to Lipsius, written June 10, 1585:²⁰

Et quidem spero his literis iacta esse fundamenta perpetuae inter Lipsium et Whitakerum amicitiae. quam ego santissime colam, quoad vixero, non quo me tanti viri dignum amicitia censeam, sed ut dignitatis longe inferiorem, benevolentiae parem locum teneam. Qui has ad te literas defert, Abrahamus Mylius Delphius est, iuvenis doctus, modestus, pius; is apud nos biennium studuit bonis literis et iam patris sui literis domum revocatus charissimam sui memoriam nobis relinquit. Eum ut tibi commendem nihil opus est, cum eius ipse potius apud te commendatione indigeam. D[ominum] Drusium saluta (quaeso) a me; is a te mihi salutem hyeme superiore dixit, quod me nunc etiam fecit audaciorem ad scribendum.

If all we had were the Whitaker letter, it would appear to be entirely unsolicited. But in view of Lipsius' earlier letter to Drusius, "unsolicited" is not at all the right verdict, since obviously a word had been put in Whitaker's ear that correspondance with the continental humanist would not be unwelcome. It is likely that the letter to Legge was part of the same campaign to manufacture English ties²¹.

The University of California,
Irvine.

¹⁸ Then a Fellow at Trinity. In 1586 he was elected Master of St. John's.

¹⁹ *ILE* II.391.

²⁰ *ILE* II.423.

²¹ The aforementioned Abraham Mylius (Van der Myle) was also a correspondant of Lipsius (*ILE* II.422), and so was another possible source of information about the Cambridge scene, who could have aided in the effort to forge links with University intellectuals.

Georgius Korzeniowski

DE SIMONIS SIMONIDAE¹ ΑΝΤΙΛΑΒΩΝ USU*

*Iosepho Mantke
sexagenario*

Antequam de ἀντιλαβῶν usu Simonideo disserere incipio, liceat mihi de Simonidae trimetro iambico eiusque metri exemplaribus, de nonnullis generalibus quaestionibus metricis, de ἀντιλαβῶν denique apud Senecam Plautum Terentiumque usu ea quae mihi maxime necessaria videntur paucis expedire. Praeterea hoc unum adiungam, quod Simonides, quamquam duas tragoedias scripsit atque edidit, ἀντιλαβᾶς nisi in fabula quae *Castus Ioseph*² inscribitur nusquam alibi adhibuit. Qua de

* Viris illustrissimis Herberto Myśliwiec qui optimas inuestigandi rationes ac vias mihi ostendit et indefessus consilio animum adiuuit, Iosepho Mantke qui semper largus auxilio Latine recte scribere me docebat, Robino Nisbet qui totam disputatiunculam diligentissime bis perlegit et hic et illic egregie emendauit maximas gratias ago.

¹ Simon Simonides [Szymon Szymonowicz (1558-1629) uel Szymonowic, ut quidam malunt] praestantissimus eruditissimusque poetarum Polono-Latinorum qui tum floruerunt fuisse uidetur. Qui uir non mediocris ingenii multa panxit carmina quibus Pindarum et Horatium poetas arte imitabatur. Qua de causa Angelus Maria Durini, qui Simonidae carmina omnia huc et illuc sparsa uno uolumine collegit atque anno 1772 edidit, Pindari Poloni titulo atque honore poetam auxit. Scripsit quoque Simonides duas tragoedias, quae *Castus Ioseph* (1587) et *Pentesilea* (1617) inscribuntur. De eius uersibus Latinis uide: J. IJsewijn, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies* (Amsterdam 1977), pp. 163-165, p. 172; idem, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies. Part I: History and Diffusion of Neo-Latin Literature. Second entirely rewritten edition, Suppl. Hum. Lov. V* (Leuven 1990), p. 243, atque disputationem Lydiae Winniczuk "Die lateinische Dichtung des S. Simonides (1558-1629)". In: J. Irmscher (ed.), *Renaissance und Humanismus in Mittel- und Osteuropa* (Berlin 1962), uol. II, pp. 139-148.

² Fabula bis edita est: Simonis Simonidae *Castus Ioseph*, Cracoviae 1587; Simonis Simonidae ... *Opera omnia* ... procurante Angelo Maria Durini ..., Varsaviae 1772, pp. 13-69, quae editio paucissimis commutationibus erroribusque omissis ex omni parte editionem principem reddit ut si libri altera esset impressio. Singulis uersibus numeros ipse addidi, sed ut locum facile inuenias, paginam et uersum editionis Duriniana D littera signatae semper affero. Restat fortasse ut explicetur, cur factum sit ut Simonides in fabula quam de *Pentesilea* scripsit ἀντιλαβῆν numquam adhiberet. Sed de ea re unum tantum scio me nihil scire et superuacaneum est in eius rei causa inquirenda tempus consumere. Vulgo tamen existimatur *Pentesileam* fabulam esse statariam.

causa omnia quae ad eius uersus iambicos inter uarias personas diuisos pertinent nunc peculiari studio sum tractaturus³.

I DE SIMONIDAE TRIMETRI IAMBICI NATURA AC QUALITATE

In tragoedia quae *Castus Ioseph* inscribitur choris exemptis 1352 trimetri iambici inueniuntur quorum prosodia uitii prorsus caret. Trimetri qui uitiosam prosodiam exhibeant ita sunt rari, ut eos silentio praeteream⁴. Secunda quarta sexta thesis semper est breuis, alioqui quidem manifestum fit poetam in prosodia recte adhibenda cautissimum se praeuisse, cum in thesibus paribus uel saepenumero *o* finalem corripit uel interdum consonam geminatam omitti uoluerit. Attamen a Senecae uersu iambico Simonidae trimeter constructione magnopere differt. Qua in re animaduersione dignissima sunt haec:

1. Saepe trimetri ita constructi sunt, ut qualibet caesura careant⁵, quod quidem apud Plautum et Terentium nonnumquam accidere solebat⁶.
2. Multi trimetri duas diaereses post primum scilicet et post secundum metrum exhibent, ut u. 744 [p. 37/17 D]:

³ Cf. J. [= G.] Korzeniowski, *Trymetr jambiczny tragedii Sz. Szymonowicza pt. "Castus Ioseph"*. Wybrane zagadnienia [= *De Simonis Simonidae tragoediae q. i. "Castus Ioseph" trimetro iambico quaestiones selectae*], (Wrocław 1988). Dissertatio ad titulum magistri philologiae classicae adipiscendum in seminario feminae doctissimae Ludouicae Rychlewska conscripta. Exemplar machinula scriptoria exaratum in Bibliotheca Instituti Philologiae Classicae Vratislaviensis custoditur. Qua dissertatione Simonidae uersus iambicos cum Senecae trimetris, quos uir doctissimus Ladislaus Strzelecki summo ingenii acumine inuestigauerat, comparauit. Cf. L. Strzelecki, *De Senecae trimetro iambico quaestiones selectae*, Kraków 1938. Iam illo tempore, quod non feci, Simonidae trimetros cum senariis iambicis ueterum scaenicorum Romanorum comparandos esse postulabam. Illa re facta quatenus ad ἀντιλαβὴν pertinet, nonnullas opiniones, praesertim de ratione inter ueterum scaenicorum senarios et Simonidae trimetros intercedente, nunc corrigere opus esse censeo.

⁴ Cf. Korzeniowski, l. l. caput I.

⁵ Circa 280 trimetros.

⁶ E.g. Plaut. *Amph.* 949 (ed. W. M. Lindsay):

AL. ēg(o) īstūc cūrāb(o). *IV.* ēuōcāt(e) hūc Sōsīam

Asin. 41: *DE.* etiāmn(e)? *LI.* āgē quāēss(o) hērcl(e) ūsqu(e) ēx pēnītīs faucībūs, et praeterea *Aul.* 81; *Bacch.* 276; *Ter. Eun.* 853 (ed. C. Dziatzko):

Āmītītē: s(i) ālī(am) ādmīsēr(o) ūmqu(am), ōccīdītō,

Hec. 100: V̄xór(em) hābēr(e). *PA.* Hābēr(e) āut(em)? *PH.* Ēhō t(u), ān nōn hābēt?, quibus adde *Phorm.* 62, 350; *Ad.* 390, 729, 927.

Cōnvīvīs, || ōrnātībūs, || spēctaculīs
uel u. 912 [p. 42/30 D]:

Nē cāetēros || nōstrām | vīcēm || lāb(i) āccīdāt⁷.

3. Versibus caesura carentibus saepe multae sunt elisiones, quod pris-
cos Romanorum comicos in memoriam nobis affert.

4. Caesura media, cuius circa 280 exempla inuenias, non rarior est
quam caesura semiquinaria aut semiseptenaria, quo fit ut ἀντιλαβή in
medio trimetro occurrere possit. Admoneam necesse est interuallum,
quod post tertiam fit arsin caesurae semiquinariae uel semiseptenariae
loco, non esse a Plauti Terentiique placitis alienum, quod interuallum in
senariis iambicis, quos pedum numero metrorum uice mensos esse
constat, non caesuram sed diaeresin dicamus⁸.

5. Caesura etiam post solutum elementum poni potest.

6. Variarum elisionis⁹ species, quas Seneca cautissime euitabat, hic sunt
admissae, uerbi gratia:

⁷ Quotienscumque Simonidae uersus affero, semper editionis scripturam sequor. Tri-
metri illis similes in Aristophaneis comoediis occurrunt. Nonnulli unam tantum diaeresin
exhibent. E.g.:

Au. 3 (ed. V. Coulon):

Τί, ὃ πόνηρ, | ἄνω κάτω || πλανύττομεν;

Lys. 51: Κροκωτὸν ἄρα || νῆ τῷ θεῷ | γὰ βάψομαι

Lys. 439: Εἰ τᾶρα νῆ || τὴν Πάνδροσον || ταύτῃ μόνον

Lys. 443: Εἰ τᾶρα νῆ || τὴν Φωσφόρον || τὴν χεῖρ' ἄκραν

Lys. 445: Τοῦτ' εἴ ῥ' ἔστιν; || Ποῦ τοξότης; || Ταύτης ἔχου

Equ. 10: Μοῦ μὲ μὲ || μὲ μὲ || μὲ μὲ || μὲ μὲ μὲ.

De trimetro ita composito Marius Victorinus, *gramm.* VI 79, 24-25 scripsit: *Pessimus
autem qui singula uerba in dipodiis habet, qualis est*

Praesentium || diuinitas || caelestium.

Cf. tamen Ter. *Eun.* 190 [p. 141 F]:

PH. Ἰν ἧς βιδυῶμ, || Θαῖς, υἱῷ. || *TH.* Μὲ Φαεδρίᾳ.

⁸ Vt puta: Plaut. *Curc.* 458:

CA. quid quod iuratus sum? || *LY.* quid id refert tua,

et *Bacch.* 257, 806 (cum hiatu); *Epid.* 477; *Most.* 772; *Poen.* 191; *Rud.* 117; *Trin.* 56; *Frg.*
44 (= X); Ter. *Haut.* 848:

CH. Quaesō quid t(u) hominis es? || *ME.* Quid est? *CH.* Iamn(e) oblitus es,

Andr. 751; *Eun.* 901; *Phorm.* 134, 420; *Ad.* 403, 646, 841. Sunt praeterea comicorum
senarii, qui praeter diaeresin in medio uersu etiam caesuram semiquinariam exhibeant.
Saepe accidit ut post tertiam thesin ἀντιλαβή fiat, tertia autem arsis monosyllabo sit
expleta, e.g. Plaut. *Pseud.* 1067:

uenitn(e) hom(o) ad te? | *BA.* non. | *SIMO* quid est igitur boni?

Ter. *Ad.* 803:

MI. non aequom dicis. | *DE.* Non? | *MI.* Nam uetus uerb(um) hoc quidemst,

quibus adiunge hos: Plaut. *Bacch.* 114; Ter. *Andr.* 780; *Haut.* 821; *Phorm.* 375; *Ad.* 803,
891. Ex illorum numero Plauti *Men.* 299 [p. 428 L] et *Most.* 475 [p. 387 L] excludo, quia in
Lambini editione aliter leguntur.

a) elisio ante sextam thesin (quam et Plautus et Terentius quoque adhibuit);

b) elisio uocis monosyllabae bisyllabum antecedentis ante sextam thesin, qua elisione bisyllabum a consona incipiens fit (typus: $\cup^5 \acute{_}$, (\cup) , $\cup^6 \acute{_}$ / $m(e)^6 \ddot{e}r\acute{i}t$);

c) elisio ante sextam arsin (typus: $\ddot{d}\ddot{o}m(um)^6 \acute{h}\ddot{a}nc$), quam synaloe-pham et Plautus et Terentius passi sunt;

d) elisio ante quintam arsin uocis monosyllabae cum uoce monosyl-laba sequenti ita coalescentis, ut monosyllabum a consona incipiens fiat (typus: $m(e)^{5A} \acute{a} \ddot{D}\ddot{e}^6 \ddot{o}$); haec synaloepha in tragoedia Graeca occurrere solebat¹⁰.

7. Quintam thesin breuem esse licet, qua in re Simonides Senecam minime est secutus¹¹.

8. Vox trochaica monosyllabum, quod aliud est quam uox enclitica, in trimetri fine positum praecedit (typus: $\acute{_}^{5A} \cup^6$, \cup). Semel apud Simoni-dam uox pyrrhichia occurrit (typus: $\cup^{5A} \cup^6$, \cup).

9. Permultae sunt cretici formae in trimetri exitu positae quae elisione factae sunt, exempli gratia:

$\bar{i}nqu(am) \ddot{e}\ddot{a}t$, $m(e) \bar{a}u\ddot{f}\ddot{e}r\ddot{o}$, $\bar{i}mp\ddot{e}t(um) \bar{a}$, $su\ddot{a}v\ddot{i}s \bar{e}st$.

Sunt praeterea facilia inuentu, quae non solum apud Senecam, sed etiam apud Plautum Terentiumque frustra quaeras, uerbi gratia:

10. Monosyllaba, quae non sunt uoces encliticae ab *esse* deductae, in trimetri fine reperiuntur¹².

⁹ Voce elisionis uti malo, cum de renatae aetatis poeta dixi; cum de antiquo, synaloephae uocem usurpauero.

¹⁰ Aesch. (ed. D. Page) *Ag.* 1295; Soph. (ed. H. Lloyd - Jones, N. G. Wilson) *Ai.* 34; *Oid. T.* 1391, 1455; *Ant.* 76, 1279; *Trach.* 162, 333, 1135; *Phil.* 339, 923, 1393; *Oid. K.* 254, 407, 583, 881; Eur. (ed. G. Murray) *Alc.* 1061; *Cycl.* 262, 687; *Med.* 1198; *Heraclid.* 340; *Hipp.* 81, 313, 378; *Andr.* 397; *Hec.* 575, 678, 1130; *Herc.* 201, 480, 591; *Ion* 32, 309, 402, 821, 1393; *El.* 391, 1027; *Iph. T.* 285, 1312; *Hel.* 36, 530, 724, 1229, 1283, 1372; *Phoen.* 1184, 1641; *Or.* 1039, 1063, 1120, 1220, 1360, 1643; *Bacch.* 642, 1322; *Iph. A.* 107, 1223, 1418. Sunt praeterea eodem trimetri loco aphaeresis exempla, ut puta: Eur. *Hel.* 75, 467; Soph. *Ai.* 278. Licet eius rei causam non difficile sit aperire, hic tamen locus minime est opportunus ut inquiram, cur ea ἀντιλαβῆς species a Graecis poetis sit admissa, a Romanis alienissima fuerit.

¹¹ Cf. Strzelecki, l. l. p. 20, qui uir doctissimus affert illic Diom. *gramm.* I 507, 11-13. Cui adiungo Mar. Victorin. *gramm.* VI 80, 7-9, qui reapse rem obscuriorem quam clariorem fecit.

¹² Cf. Men. (ed. F. H. Sandbach) *Epitr.* 391 [= 215 Koerte — Thierfelder³], 1090 [= 792]; *Dysc.* 86, 342, 377, 630; *Col.* 42; *Asp.* 257, 275, 419 [= 77]; *Dis exap.* 112.

11. Trimetri exitus uoce tribrachica (uel tribracho)¹³, quae cum apud Graecos tum apud Romanos numquam occurrit, expleri potest.

12. Simonides undecim formis usus est, cum trimetri finem paeone IV explere uoluit, Seneca unicum genus — uocem proceleusmaticam dico — quater adhibuit¹⁴.

13. Accentus et ictus saepe inter se discrepant, cum pes aut uoce tribrachica dactylicaue, aut longiore uocabulo, cuius finis tribrachi aut dactyli mensura est, formatur¹⁵.

Hinc efficitur ut poetae, qui antiquissimis temporibus medio aeuo renata aetate floruerunt quique non audiendo sed legendo didicerunt quantitatem, quam ego ideo *oculorum ope cognitam* dicere uolo, in uersibus componendis prosodiae ab omni uitio uacuae maximam uim tribuerint: alia enim artis metricae principia antiquis poetis usitata et quasi innata sane ignorabant. Quae quidem uersuum componendorum uia et ratio Simonis Simonidae trimetro iambico — quis neget — prorsus est confirmata. Si autem de rectissima Simonidae prosodia dicimus, illius temporis, non nostri cognitionem rei metricae et lexicographiae scientiam opus est considerare. Si denique retineri non possum, quin Simonidae trimetros iambicos aestimem, statuam *Casti Iosephi* auctoris uersus, qui rectissimam exhibent prosodiam, non solum non tam uenustos esse quam Annaeanos auresque nostras asperitate saepe offendere, sed etiam antiquorum aures, si eis declamati essent, certe laesuros fuisse.

II DE ANTIAABQN APUD SENECAM PLAUTUM TERENTIUM USU

Nimirum poetae, ut fabulae siue tragicae siue comicae uiuidius agerentur, uarias in uno uersu personas loquentes inducere non dubitauerunt. Ut Senecae placita in hac praesertim re perdiscerem, egregia disputatione a uiro doctissimo Ladislao Strzelecki composita usus sum. Qui uir rei metricae peritissimus in Menandri quoque comici praeceptis cognoscendis est nobis auxiliatus¹⁶. Equidem cum primum

¹³ Tribrachum a uoce tribrachica distinguo et tribrachum dico formam quae elisione facta est, ut 1), ∪(∪), ∪∪, uel 2), ∪∪(∪), ∪.

¹⁴ Strzelecki, l. l. p. 33.

¹⁵ E.g. u. 1388 [p. 57/25 D]:

Vll(um) [˘]inuenio[˘] modum, Dōminā[˘]: tantis malis

u. 177 [p. 19/21 D]: Solum[˘] colere[˘]; quanquam haec negotii haud ita

u. 187 [p. 19/31 D]: Cor obriguit[˘]: aures sonescunt: horruit.

¹⁶ L. Strzelecki, "De *Dyscolo* Menandrea quaestionum metricarum specimen". In: *Eos* LI (1961), p. 261-273.

inter Senecam et Simonidam in trimetro componendo et in ἀντιλαβῶν usu plus discrepare quam congruere statui, ἀντιλαβῶν exempla, quae illis Simonidanis simillima sunt, ex Plautinis Terentianisque fabulis exhausti, ut hoc modo comprobarem illorum comoedias diligentissime a poeta Polono perlectas exemplar ei artis metricae ad imitandum propositum certe fuisse. Postquam enim Plauti Terentiique senarios diuisos examinaui, plures ἀντιλαβῶν formas apud eos quam apud Senecam esse persuasum habui, quod Simonidae consuetudini non dissimile mihi uisum est. Perspicuum est et Plautum et Terentium inter aut duas aut tres personas senarios diuidere consueuisse¹⁷. Non tamen in personarum numero rei medulla sita est, sed in uia atque ratione qua personae in uno uersu mutantur nec non quo uersus loco et quomodo altera fabulae persona partes suas suscipiat: utrum in personarum mutatione synaloepha fiat, utrum denique post solutum elementum uel inter duas breues elementi soluti ἀντιλαβῆ fieri possit, ut alia praetermittam.

III DE QUAESTIONIBUS METRICIS GENERALIBUS DE HUIUSQUE DISPUTATIUNCULAE RATIONE AC VIA

Quis est qui dubitet antiquos Romanorum poetas non modo syllabarum quantitatem uoce reddidisse, sed etiam et synaloephae aphaeresisque enuntiandae et integrorum uersuum declamandorum propriam habuisse rationem¹⁸, quae nobis in tenebris latet quaeque iam antiquissimis temporibus a nullo memoria retenta erat. Itaque grammatici Romani elisionis uocem iam pridem inuentam¹⁹ aut collisionis illam synaloephae loco adhibuerunt²⁰. Quae elisionis uel collisionis uoces non duarum in unam syllabam coagmentationem conglutinationemque,

¹⁷ E.g. Plauti: 1) inter duas personas loquentes diuisi: a) in duas partes (*Bacch.* 907 et alia innumera exempla); b) in tres partes (*Asin.* 42); c) in quattuor partes (*Asin.* 791); d) in quinque partes (*Merc.* 749, *Poen.* 430); e) in sex partes (*Pseud.* 1066); 2) inter tres personas: a) in tres partes (*Aul.* 323); b) in quattuor partes (*Curc.* 673 A - B - A - C; *Trin.* 1102 A - B - C - B). Terentii: 1) inter duas personas diuisi: a) in duas partes (*Eun.* 901 et sescenta alia exempla); b) in tres partes (*Andr.* 40); c) in quattuor partes (*Haut.* 167); d) in quinque partes (*Haut.* 821); e) in sex partes (*Eun.* 697); 2) inter tres personas: a) in tres partes (*Phorm.* 389); b) in quattuor partes (*Phorm.* 375, 618 A - B - C - B); c) in quinque partes (*Phorm.* 1004 A - B - C - A - C). De Senecae seuerissimis in ea re normis u. Strzelecki, l. l. p. 3-12.

¹⁸ Cf. Quint. *inst.* IX 4, 109 (ed. L. Radermacher): "nam synaliphe facit ut duae ultimae syllabae pro una sonent".

¹⁹ Cf. Sen. *epist.* 99, 19.

²⁰ I. [= H.] Rubenbauer, "elisio", *ThLL*, col. 393, 9-23; "ecthlipsis", col. 60, 8-41; A. Leissner, "collisio", *ibidem*, col. 1633, 75 - 1634, 15.

sed ultimae syllabae uocabuli antecedentis in hiatu omissionem — aphaeresi scilicet exempta ubi *e* uocalis uerbi *es* uel *est* sequentis omittitur — significasse uidetur²¹. Institutum illud — syllabae nouissimae omissionem dico — quod et nos sequi oportet, synaloephae uice functum est. Qua re fiebat ut uersus non esset hypermeter, sed suam mensuram, id est tempus suum expleret. Quae cum ita sint quaestio exoritur necesse est, utrum Simonidae trimetri et simillimorum poetarum cum uersibus illis Romanorum, qui quantitatem non oculis sed auribus sentiebant, inter sese conferri possint. Possunt profecto, quia uersus Plauti Terentii Senecae a poetis posterioribus non aliter lecti sunt atque a nobis leguntur. Et Simonides, qui neque synaloepham intellexit neque quantitatem audiit, non aliter scaenicatorum Romanorum uersus legebat atque eos quos ipse composuit²². Itaque in trimetris iambicis pangendis ueterum poetarum Romanorum senarios trimetrosque iambicos imitabatur. Normas, quas apud poetas Romanos obseruauerat, in suos trimetros inducere conatus est, praeceptorum, quae linguae natura stabant, saepe inscius. Et cum synaloephae, quam pro elisione habebat, innumera in senariis animaduerneret exempla, ipse elisionem in personis mutandis admisit. Qua de causa egomet ipse Simonidae rei metricae exemplaria in Plauti Terentiique senariis agnoscere uolo. Quae sententia eo magis corroboratur, quod Simonides comoedias Plautinas iterum atque iterum accuratissime perlegit eisque diuersis uitae temporibus studuit. Nobis autem res non est incerta. Placuit enim Fortunae nobis fauere et idem Plauti exemplar quod Simonides ipse possidebat seruare. Exemplar illud, in quo Simonides sua manu 160 glossas scripsit, ad hunc diem in Bibliotheca nomine Hieronymi Łopaciński ornata Lublinski adseruatur²³. Quo ex libro peruoluto intellegi potest neque

²¹ Cf. praesertim apud grammaticos haec (ed. H. Keil): Don. *gramm.* IV 396, 23-26; Sacerd. *gramm.* VI 453, 4-8; Diom. *gramm.* I 442, 15-19; 453, 1-2; Seru. *gramm.* IV 445, 19-25; Pomp. *gramm.* V 298, 11-30; Consent. *gramm.* V 401, 6-15; Seru. *ad Aen.* 11, 243 (ed. G. Thilo, H. Hagen), praesertim p. 504, 23-505, 6. Sunt enim qui aliter terminos usurpauerint: Pomp. *gramm.* V 287, 26-288, 5; Macr. *exc. gramm.* V 650, 17-20; Isid. *orig.* (ed. W. M. Lindsay) I, 32, 9.

²² Quae hoc in negotio poetas, qui renata aetate uixerunt, impediissent, nec non quomodo quibusque libris difficillimas illas quaestiones soluere conati essent Philippus J. Ford paucis est complexus. Qui de lingua Latina enuntianda et quantitate cognoscenda in eadem est opinione, ex qua ego neutiquam pendeo, cum liber eius nonnisi post disputatiunculam perfectam mihi in manus inciderit. Cf. P. J. Ford, *George Buchanan Prince of Poets. With an Edition (Text, Translation, Commentary) of the "Miscellaneorum Liber"* by P. J. Ford, W. S. Watt (Aberdeen 1982), p. 12-43.

²³ M. Accius Plautus (sic!) opera D(ionisii) Lambini emendatus, Lugduni 1577 uel Coloniae 1578. Cuius libri pagina prima quae titulum exhibebat et duae proximae paginae

Simonidam arti metricae perscrutandae operam dedisse²⁴, in qua re ab eiusdem aetatis hominibus nihil differebat, neque Dionisium Lambinum in uberrimo quem scripsit commentario rem attigisse. Attamen dolendum est, quod Terentii exemplar, quod Simonides possidebat, iam est deperditum. Itaque ut Terentianum illius aetatis textum constituerem, Gvaltheri Fabricii editione usus sum²⁵.

Opus est denique de rationibus ad hanc disputatiunculam conscribendam adhibitis breuiter tractare. Sunt enim metricae normae quaestiones leges, quae a uiris doctissimis saeculo XIX et XX florentibus ingenii acumine satis sunt enucleatae quaeque nobis non sunt ignotae. Sed uiri litteratissimi, qui renata aetate florebant, harum normarum legumque adeo erant ignari, ut nemo tum sentiret eas ad uersus a Romanorum poetis compositos aliquid ualuisse. Verbi gratia locum Jacobsohnis et legem de breuib. breuiantibus respice²⁶. Itaque perspicuum est XVI saeculi poetas aliter quam nos uersus iambicos in pedes et metra diuidisse. Qua de causa et ego, ut artis metricae traditionem ostendam, senarios Plauti Terentiique ita pedibus attribuam, ut si nostrorum scientiam metricam pro nihilo putarem, quod quidem, quamquam a

desiderantur. Scimus tamen eandem Lambini editionem bis Lugduni anno 1577 et semel Coloniae anno 1578 in lucem emissam esse. Cf. H.M. Adams, *Catalogue of Books Printed on the Continent of Europe, 1501-1600 in Cambridge Libraries* (Cambridge 1967), vol. II, p. 98, Nos 1502-1504; W. Szwarcówna, *Biblioteka Szymona Szymonowica* (Lublin 1989), pp. 41-45, p. 64.

²⁴ Satis est hos uersus in editione Lambini positos considerare:

Trin. 587 [p. 733 L]:

LE. mēām nēglīgēntī(am). *ST.* ī mōd(o). *LE.* ō pāter

Epid. 504 [p. 306 L]:

FI. tām fācīlē quām m(e). *PE.* ūb(i) hābitāt? *FI.* pōstquām lībērā'st ūbī, quorum alter breuior, alter longior est. *Respice et Poen.* 691 [p. 608 L]:

LY. quīd ītā? *CO.* quī(a) ā mūscīs sī mīh(i) hōspītīum quāērērēm.

Simonides tamen ne uerbo quidem rem attigit. Nam aliis rebus scrutatissime inquirendis praesertim se dedit; cf. Szwarcówna, l. l. Quamquam uirtutes poetae qui de lectionibus Plautinis corrigendis bene est meritis non sunt minuendae.

²⁵ P. Terentii Afri *Comoediae sex* ... Coloniae Agrippinae. Per Gualtherum Fabricium, 1555.

²⁶ H. Jacobsohn, *Quaestiones Plautinae metricae et grammaticae* (Göttingen 1904); F. Skutsch, *Plautinisches und Romanisches. Studien zur plautinischen Prosodie* (Leipzig 1892); idem, "Iambenkürzung und Synizese". In: *Satura Viadrina* ... (Breslau 1896), pp. 122-144 [= F. Skutsch, *Kleine Schriften*, hrsg. von W. Kroll (Leipzig - Berlin 1914), pp. 93-113, ubi praesertim adn. 3, pp. 92-93, in qua doctissimus ille uir Vratislaviensis legem exposuit, conferas]; O. Skutsch, *Prosodische und metrische Gesetze der Iambenkürzung* (Göttingen 1934); J. Soubiran, *Essai sur la versification dramatique des Romains. Sèneire iambique et septénaire trochaïque* (Paris 1988).

nostra antiqui metri scientia aperte dissidet, cum Simonidae eruditione optime consentire mihi uidetur. Non enim licet uinum nouum in utres ueteres mittere. Sed de rationibus hactenus.

Restat ut explicem quomodo poetarum uersus allaturus sim. De Simonidae trimetris in adnotatione 2 satis dixi. Nunc hoc addo, ipsius me uersus sine poetae nominis nota afferre. Scaenicorum Romanorum senarios ex editionibus his temporibus comparatis²⁷ exhaurio, nisi lectiones ab illis quae in editionibus Lambini et Fabricii inueniuntur discrepant. Ictum metricum, quem Carolus Dziatzko supra primam tertiam quintam arsin posuit, iterabo. Quotienscumque Lambini et Fabricii editiones sequor, post numerum quem W.M. Lindsay et Carolus Dziatzko adscripserunt, in uncinulis quadratis solam paginam et editoris notam [L, F] semper affero. Vltimae uersus syllabae, quae anceps uel indifferens nominatur, propriam quantitatem semper indicauero.

IV DE SIMONIS SIMONIDAE ANTIAABQN USU

Tota fabula, quae *Castus Ioseph* inscribitur, uiginti trimetri iambici ita compositi sunt, ut pars uersus ab altera excipiatur persona. Inter eos sedecim trimetri semel, id est in duas partes, quattuor bis, id est in tres partes diuisi sunt et semper inter duas quae loquuntur personas. Ex hoc manifestum est Simonidam usum Senecae, a quo trimeter in tres partes numquam erat diuisus²⁸, sequi prorsus noluisse. Sed trimetros et senarios iambicos ita diuisos et apud Sophoclem Euripidemque et apud Plautum Terentiumque inuenias²⁹. Sed de hoc satis.

1. Trimetri semel diuisi:

a) post tertiam thesin:

u. 130 [18/7 D]: *IO.* Bōnā vērbā quāēsō: *FA.* Nūm lōquī vīdēōr mālā?

u. 535 [31/6 D]: Nōn īpsā nārō. *NV.* Prōch Dīī Dēaequē, quīd

u. 1115 [49/2 D]: Mīserēscē dēnīquē. *NV.* Qu(o) īs! qu(o) ābīs! quō
t(e) ābrīpīs

b) post quartam thesin:

u. 131 [18/8 D]: *IO.* Mōdēstīus mēc(um) āgīte; *FA.* Nīl māgīs vōlō.

²⁷ T. Macci Plauti *Comoediae*, recogn. W. M. Lindsay, t. I-II (Oxonii 1903); P. Terenti Afri *Comoediae*, rec. Carolus Dziatzko (Lipsiae 1884).

²⁸ Strzelecki, l. l. p. 11.

²⁹ Ibidem, p. 11-12. Praeterea e. g. in Plauti *Amph.* 937; *Asin.* 42, 109; *Poen.* 1309; *Bacch.* 588; Terentii *Andr.* 40; *Eun.* 76 et in multos alios uersus oculos conuerte.

- u. 1480 [60/21 D]: Lāngvōr mēūs pērmōvīt. *FAE*. Īt(e) ōmnēs mēī;
 c) post primam arsin:
 u. 1429 [59/3 D]: Iūvās. *FAE*. Jūvēm lībēns; mōdūm dōcēās mōdō.
 u. 1432 [59/6 D]: Mēīs. *FAE*. Quid ēst! quīs t(e) āppētiīt īniūrīā!
 d) post secundam arsin:
 u. 1428 [59/2 D]: *FAE*. Mēlī ōrā Dīī: *IE*. Pēreō, Dōmīnē, pēreō, nīśī
 u. 1526 [62/1 D]:
IO(S). Ādsūm Dōmīn(ē). *FAE*. ūbī fūīt! ūbī lātūīt! ūbī tām³⁰;
 e) post tertiam arsin:
 u. 534 [31/5 D]: *NV*. Nōstrūmnē Iōsīppūm! *IE*. lōquēntēm t(e) āudiō;
 u. 1435 [59/9 D]: Cōnsōrtīī nōstrī. *FAE*. Quid ēst! fār(e) ōcūs.
 u. 1437 [59/11 D]: Pūdōr, tūūs pūdōr. *FAE*. Quīs īmpūdīc(am) hābēt!
 u. 1476 [60/17 D]: Qu(o) ērūpīt? āut ūbī sīt? *IE*. Quid ēgō mīser(a) īd
 scīām!
 u. 1527 [62/2 D]: Sūbītō rēpērtūs ēst! *FAM*. Īn ārē(a) aediūm.
 u. 1536 [62/11 D]: Scēlēstē rēspōndēs! *IO*. Quid ēgō rēspōndeām!
 f) post quartam arsin:
 u. 1463 [60/4 D]: Jōcōn' lōquērīs, ān sērīō! *IE*. Nūnc tū tuūm.

2. Trimetri bis diuisi:

- a) post secundam et post tertiam thesin (cf. 1a):
 u. 478 [29/15 D]: Jōsīppūs. *IE*. Āch mē. *NU*: pūngīt hīc tē scīlīcēt.
 b) post tertiam arsin et intra quintam arsin solutam (cf. 1e):
 u. 1540 [62/15 D]: Quid vēstīs hāec! cūiā (e)st! *IO*. mēā Dōmīnē. *FAE*.
 vīdēō
 c) post tertiam thesin cum elisione et post quartam arsin solutam
 (cf. 1a, 1f):
 u. 1424 [58/28 D]: Vxōr, sātīn' sālū(ae): *IE*. ō Dōmīnē. *FAE*. Quid
 hābēs! quīd ēst!
 d) post secundam thesin et post quartam arsin (cf. 2a, 1f, 2c):
 u. 1425 [58/29 D]: *IE*. Ō Dōmīnē. *FAE*. fārē quīcquīd ēst! *IE*. Pērī(i),
 ōccidī.

³⁰ De ἀντιλαβῆς in hoc versu loco infra uberius tractare in animo habeo, praesertim cum ἀντιλαβή, si elisionem admittimus, non post sed intra secundam arsin solutam fiat. Me quoque non praeteriit in u. 1429 unumquemque pedem singulo expleri uocabulo idemque paene in u. 1428 fieri.

Ut ratio quae inter Simonidam et Senecam intercidit appareat, exponemus tabellis ἀντιλαβῶν numerum et locum.

Trimetrorum copia	Ἀντιλαβή post theses	post 2 T	post 3 T	post 4 T	Summa
1352	Sim(onides)	2	5	2	9
8503	Sen.	16	177	45	238

Trimetrorum copia	Ἀντιλαβή post arses	post 1 A	post 2 A	post 3 A	post 4 A	intra 5 A solutam	Summa
1352	Sim.	2	2	7	3	1	15
8503	Sen.	7	4	—	10	—	21

Quo facto ad rem fusius explicandam accedo. Primum Simonidae et Senecae trimetros inter se conferre in animo habeo.

1. Apud Senecam personae saepissime in caesura, id est post tertiam uel post quartam thesin mutantur³¹. Nonnumquam ἀντιλαβή post secundam thesin occurrit. L. Strzelecki hanc legem, contra quam nulla fit exceptio, definiuit: “*Post primam, quintam, sextam thesin Senecae trimeter inter uarias personas diuidi nequit*”³². Cui normae nullus Simonidae trimeter aduersatur, quod hac in re unicum est Senecae et Simonidae commune placitum. Sed ob materiei exiguitatem nullo modo licet conicere Simonidam ante oculos Senecam habuisse.

2. “*Post solutum elementum (siue de arsi siue de thesi agitur) personarum mutatio occurrere nequit*”³³. Attamen Simonidae uersus 1115 et 1424, quos supra attuli, post solutum elementum diuisi sunt³⁴.

3. Bernhardus Schmidt magno cum mentis acumine obseruauit synaloe-
pham in personis mutandis apud Senecam nullo pacto ferri posse³⁵.

³¹ M. Hoche, *Die Metra des Tragikers Seneka* (Halle 1862), p. 13; Strzelecki, l. l. p. 3, ubi uir artis metricae peritissimus “*post tertiam scilicet aut quartam arsin*” scripsit, cum pro arsin thesin ponendum esset. Cf. ibidem, adn. 4.

³² Ibidem, p. 4-6.

³³ Ibidem, p. 9; legito infra de *Herc. Oet.* uersu 892 in recensionibus deprauato.

³⁴ Cf. adn. 30.

³⁵ Cf. B. Schmidt, *De emendandarum Senecae tragoediarum rationibus prosodiacis et metricis*, (Diss. phil.) (Berolini 1860), p. 20; Strzelecki, l. l. p. 8-9.

Duo tantum trimetri cum hac lege pugnant, qui nomina propria contineant³⁶:

Agam. 794: *AG.* Credis uidere t(e) Ili(um)? *CA.* Et Priamum simul.

Oct. 457: *NE.* Decet timeri Caesar(em). *SE.* At plus diligi.

Simonidae tamen uersus 1424 et fortasse 1526 huic regulae repugnant.

4. "*Nullus Senecae trimeter bis (i. e. in tres partes) diuiditur*"³⁷. Simonidae quattuor trimetros bis diuidere placuit, quorum duo — u. 1424 et 1540 dico — etiam reliquas normas Annaeas uiolant.

Restat ut memoretur quaedam Simonidae consuetudo, de qua iam pridem mentionem feci, cum caesurae mediae usum quantum opus erat paucis attigi. Si enim pro uero habemus caesuram in medio trimetro admitti posse, quod reapse accidit, fieri non potest quin consentiamus ἀντιλαβήν in caesura media, uel in qualibet alia, idoneum habere locum. Ergo luce clarius fit Simonidam propria Minerua permisisse, ut personae in caesura media mutarentur, cuius rei apud Senecam nec uolam esse nec uestigium non est quod miremur. Nam poetam Cordubensem a caesura hoc loco posita abhorruisse constat³⁸, neque umquam trimetrum tam foede comparasse ut caesura, semiquinaria scilicet aut semiseptenaria, neglecta sit³⁹. Quamquam in tragicorum Graecorum fabulis plura inuenias trimetrorum iambicorum exempla qui caesuram mediam exhibeant. Qua de re perscrutanda Thomas D. Goodell bene est meritus⁴⁰. Qui uir doctissimus recte existimabat eius rei causam in Graecae linguae natura positam esse, praesertim in accentu et uersus declamandi consuetudine, quibus rebus lingua Graeca Latinae longe dissimilis fuisse multis uidetur⁴¹.

³⁶ Qua de causa, ut L. Strzelecki scripsit, ambo ἀντιλαβή exempla excusationem habent; cf. l. l. p. 8; W. Schulze, *Quaestiones epicae* (Hildesheim 1967; repr. Nachdruck der Aug. Gütersloh 1892), pp. 1-15. Non aliter uir doctissimus Otto Zwierlein in recentissima editione (Oxonii 1986) hos uersus edidit, qui quidem — paenitet me — Ladislai Strzelecki disputatiunculae in librorum indice p. XIII-XVII oblitus est.

³⁷ Cf. Strzelecki, l. l. p. 11-12.

³⁸ Ibidem, p. 7-8.

³⁹ Ibidem, p. 36.

⁴⁰ T.D. Goodell, "Bisected Trimeters in Attic Tragedy". *Classical Philology* I (1906), pp. 145-166; G. Basta Donzelli, "Cesura mediana e trimetro euripideo", *Hermes* 115 (1987), pp. 137-146, ubi plures libri laudati sunt.

⁴¹ T.D. Goodell non solum caesurae mediae in trimetro iambico Graecorum occurrentis exempla attulit, sed etiam uirorum artis metricae peritissimorum opiniones siue uerisimiles siue falsae sunt examinavit, qua in re partem ueri perspexisse uidetur. De synaloepha tamen (p. 151) falso mea sententia iudicauit.

His rebus examinatis descriptisque ne unum quidem — ut credo — reperiam, qui dubitet an Simonides Senecae artem metricam cognouerit et sequi uoluerit. Qua de causa alios artis metricae fontes, quos poetae ante oculos stetisse opinor, nunc demonstrare uolo, ut nonnulla saltem praecepta quae ad eius metrorum notitiam spectant ex obscuro in lucem prolata sint. Sed antequam sermonis finem facio paucis tantum admoneo alios nisi ueteres Romanorum poetas, illis renata aetate florentibus exceptis, ne uerbo quidem me attacturum esse aut perquam raro. Cur enim? Quia de ui eorum ad Simonidae artem metricam explicandam incerti sumus et adhuc in obscuro uagamur. Etiam in Graecorum exemplis citandis parcius fortasse uideor et eo magis, quod aliunde notum est Simonidam Homeri linguae peritissimum fuisse et Graecorum poetarum tragoedias diligentissime lectitasse⁴². Ne quis enim facilius me reprehendat, satis me — ut opinor — defendam, si dicam permulta tragicorum Graecorum ἀντιλαβὼν exempla in Ladislai Strzelecki libello nec non in aliis magni momenti disputationibus⁴³ inueniri, quae tamen ad nostram causam uix aliquid conferant. Nunc autem ad propositum redeo.

Ad 1a et 2c)

Versus 1115 et 1424 post solutum elementum ἀντιλαβὴν exhibent: unus post tertiam thesin, alter post quartam arsin. Primum de personarum mutatione post theses incidente dixero.

Plauti Terentiique senarii iambici personarum mutatione post tertiam thesin solutam occurrente prorsus carent⁴⁴. Sed non ita res se habet post alias theses solutas, e. g.:

⁴² Simonides quoque carmina Theocritea carminibus bucolicis in lingua Polona compositis imitabatur; cf. J. Ławińska, "Szymonowicz jako naśladowca Teokryta" [cum summario Latino "De Simone Simonide Theocriti imitatore"], *Eos* LI (1961), pp. 135-149.

⁴³ Schmidt, I. I.; idem, *Observationes criticae in L. Annaei Senecae tragoedias*, Ienae 1865; Aem. [= E.] Ackermann, "De Senecae *Hercule Oetaeo*". *Philologus, Suppl.* - Bd. X (1905-1907), Heft 3., (1906), p. 323-428; M. Hoche, I. I.; W. Köhler, *Die Verbreitung bei den griechischen Tragikern*, (Diss.) (Darmstadt 1913).

⁴⁴ Plaut. *Most.* 605 in Lindsayi editione post tertiam thesin solutam diuisus est, sed in editione Lambini [p. 391] uersus aliter legitur:

Δᾶτέ μῆν' ἰὼν ἄνδρα? *TR.* ἰὼν ἄνδρα ἴλλ' (post 3 T)

In *Dyscolo* Menandrea ἀντιλαβὴν post solutam thesin alienissimam esse, post solutam tamen arsin legitimam Ladislaus Strzelecki testatur; cf. "De *Dyscolo*...", pp. 267-270. Unus trimeter — uersum 857 dico — post quartam arsin solutam a Menandro diuisus est. Aristophanes tamen ἀντιλαβὴν intra quintam thesin solutam admisit (*Nub.* 1192); cf. ibidem, p. 269, adn. 32. Alii tamen aliter uersum legunt: προσέθηκεν; B.B. Rogers, V. Coulon (ita et L. Strzelecki); προσέθηχ' F.W. Hall & W.M. Geldart, A. Meinecke; προσέθηκ' inepte ante ἴνα A.H. Sommerstein.

Plaut. *Pseud.* 479: *sēd* quīd āis? quīd hōc quōd tē rōgō? *PS.* sī quīd uīs rōgā (4 T soluta)

Pseud. 1066: *Sīmō.* *SIMO.* quīd ēst? *BA.* iām. *SIMO.* quīd iām? *BA.* nihīl ēst quōd mētūās. *SIMO.* quīd ēst? (1 T et 1 A solutae)

Truc. 331: *AS.* līcēt. *DI.* audīn ētiām? *AS.* quīd uīs? *DI.* dī mē pērdūint. (1 T soluta)

Bacch. 789: *NI.* cēdō. *CH.* nōscē sīgnūm. *NI.* nōu(i). ūb(i) īpsē (e)st? *CH.* nēsciō. (1 T soluta)

Ter. *Haut.* 378⁴⁵: *CLIT.* Sīnē. *SY.* Nōn sīn(am) īnquām. *CLIT.* Quāesō pāulīspēr. *SY.* Vētō. (1 T soluta)

Eun. 675: *DOR(IAS).* Īstūc pōl uērō bēnē. *PY.* Ūbīst? *PH.* Rōgītās? nōn uīdēs? (3 A et 4 T solutae)

Eun. 692⁴⁶: *Rēspōndēāt.* *PH.* Rōgā. *PY.* Vēnistī hōdī(e) ād nōs? nēgāt. (2 T et 2 A solutae)

Eun. 697: *PH.* Frātern(e)? *DO.* Ītā. *PH.* Quāndō? *DO.* Hōdīē. *PH.* Quām dūdum? *DO.* Mōdō. (2 T soluta).

Nunc ad artes solutas transeo, quam rem in exemplis supra allatis praeteriens tetigi. Sunt enim in prisca comoedia Romana ἀντιλαβῆς exempla ubi personae post quartam arsin solutam mutantur, sed ita ut

⁴⁵ Ter. *Haut.* 848 Fabricius [p. 290] *est* omisit, quo facto senarius post quartam thesin integram diuiditur. Excluduntur quoque:

Eun. 836 [p. 198 F]: *Nē?* *TH.* uīdēō. *PY.* cōmprēhēndī iūbē, quāntūm pōtēst;

Eun. 190 [p. 141 F] ubi *mea* omissum est;

Phorm. 609 [p. 529 F]: *GE.* Ādīb(o) hōsc(e): ō nōstēr Chremēs. *CH.* sālūē Gētā, quorum unus in Caroli Dziatzko editione post primam thesin solutam, alteri duo post quartam arsin solutam ἀντιλαβᾶς exhibent.

⁴⁶ Ter. *Eun.* 692 apud Carolum Dziatzko ita editus est:

Rēspōndēāt. *PH.* Rōgā. *PY.* Vēnist(i) hōdī(e) ād nōs? nēgāt

(ἀντιλαβῆ post tertiam thesin solutam fit). Ego autem cum hiatu ita legerem:

Rēspōndēāt. *PH.* Rōgā. *PY.* Vēnistī | hōdī(e) ād nōs? nēgāt

(ἀντιλαβῆ post secundam arsin solutam occurrit), quia ictus et accentus uerbi ueniendi inter sese congruunt, nisi Fabricius [p. 183] *uenistin'* — optime mea sententia — codicum fide poneret (cf. P. Terenti Afri *Comoediae*, recogn. ... R. Kauer, W.M. Lindsay, supplementa apparatus curauit O. Skutsch, Oxonii 1965 (repr. ed. 1958)). Quam quidem lectionem hi uiri doctissimi nescio qua de causa refutauerunt. Obseruationem rationis quae hic inter ictum et accentum intercidit uiro doctissimo Herberto Myśliwiec debeo, cui nunc iterum gratias ago.

uocabuli exitus cum uocabulo quod sequitur per synaloepham coagmentetur, quod a Simonidae trimetro longissime abest, e. g.:

Plaut. *Aul.* 103: *EVC.* t̃ac(e) ātqu(e) āb(i) ītrō. *STA.* t̃acē(o) ātqu(e) ābē(o). — *EVC.* ōcclūdē sīs,

Ter. *Andr.* 417: *DA.* Quāsi d(e) īnrōuīsō rēspīc(e) ād ē(um). *PA.* Ēhēm, pāter

Phorm. 626: *AN.* Quid hīc cōēptāt aut qu(o) ēuādēt hōdī(e)? *GE.* “Ān lēgībūs

Ad. 757⁴⁷: Ēg(o) hōs cōnuēnīō: pōst hūc rēdē(o). — *DE.* Ō Iūppīter

Ad. 887: Lūbēns bēnē fāxim. *SY.* Grātī(am) hābē(o). *DE.* Ātquī, Sūrē.

Unum apud Terentium inuenias exemplum quod post quartam arsin solutam sine synaloepha diuiditur⁴⁸:

Ter. *Haut.* 821 [p. 288 F]:

Tūā Bācchīs? *CL.* Āpūd nōs. *SY.* Nōn. *CL.* Ūb(i) īgītūr?

SY. Āpūd Clīnīām.

Saepe tamen accidit ut ἀντιλαβαί post alias arses solutas fiant, quarum pars synaloepham exhibent, pars prorsus carent. Hoc in negotio pluris rem ipsam aestimo quam eiusdem rei in trimetro locum, et ideo me a uero minime aberrare puto si dicam ἀντιλαβήν, quae post solutas fit arses, maiorem uim argumenti habere quam ipsius post quartam arsin solutam unico uersu Terentiano excepto absentiam. En exempla habes:

1. Post primam arsin solutam:

a) sine synaloepha:

Plaut. *Merc.* 782 [p. 541 L]: sēquīmīnī. *LY.* fōrtāssē t(e) īstūm mīrārī cōqūm

Poen. 705⁴⁹: Cō. quīd ītā? *LY.* quī(a) āurūm pōscūnt prāesentārīum

⁴⁷ Fabricius [p. 378] *conueniam* legit, quod tamen metrum non mutat.

⁴⁸ Ter. *Eun.* 190 in adn. 7 citatum, quamquam post quartam arsin solutam inter uarias personas sine synaloepha diuisus est, amoueo, quia in Fabricii editione [p. 141] aliter legitur: *Mea* ante Thaidis nomen primus Iulius Brix addidit (cf. C. Dziatzko, adn. crit. ad locum).

⁴⁹ Cf. adn. 24 ubi *Poen.* 691 [p. 608 L] afferro, qui idem exhibet initium quique in Lindsayi editione ἀντιλαβήν post primam arsin solutam continet. *Asin.* 110 [p. 63 L] ab *Vbicumque* exordium capit et totus unius personae est.

Poen. 996 [p. 617 L]: *AG.* quīd āit? *MI.* Hānnōnēm sēs(e) āit
Kārthāgīnē

Pseud. 77⁵⁰: *CALI.* quīd itā? *PS.* gēnū' nōstrū sēmpēr siccōcū-
lūm fūit

Pseud. 1066: *Simō.* *SIMO.* quīd ēst? *BA.* iām. *SIMO.* quīd iām?
BA. nīhīl ēst quōd mētūās. *SIMO.* quīd ēst?

b) cum synaloepha:

Plaut. Truc. 422: ādsīdū(o). *DI.* ĩmm(o) hērclē uēr(o) āccūbūō māuēlīm
Ter. Andr. 276 [p. 61 F]: Nōn fācī(am). *MY.* Hāud uērēār, s(i) ĩn tē sōlō
sīt sītūm

Haut. 309 [p. 248 F]: Itā tīmū(i). *CLIT.* Āt ēgō nīhīl éssē scībām,
Clīniā

Haut. 797: *CH.* Hāud fācī(am). *SY.* ĩmm(o) ālīīs sī līcēt, tībī nōn
līcēt

Haut. 924: *CH.* Quīd fācī(am)? *ME.* Īd quōd mē fēcīss(e) āiēbās
pārūm.

Apparet Plauto ἀντιλαβήν post primam arsin solutam sine synaloepha, Terentio autem cum synaloepha ante secundam thesin intercedente magis cordi fuisse.

2. Post secundam arsin solutam:

a) sine synaloepha:

Ter. Eun. 692 [p. 183 F] — cf. adn. 46;

b) cum synaloepha:

Plaut. Bacch. 1063: *CH.* nōn ēquīdēm cāpī(am). *NI.* āt quāesō.

CH. dīc(o) ūt rēs s(e) hābēt.

Trin. 191: *ME.* pōllīcēōr ōpēr(am). *CA.* ērg(o) ūb(i) ērīs pāullō
pōst? *ME.* dōmī.

Ter. Haut. 502 [p. 260 F]: Cōntīnū(o) hīc ādēr(o). *ME.* Itā quāesō. — dī
uōstrām fīdēm

Haut. 846 [p. 290 F]: *CH.* Cēdō quīd uīs fācī(am)? *ME.* Īnuēnist(i)
hōdiē fīlīām

⁵⁰ Apud Lambinum [p. 551] *genus* legitur. Si uero, ἀντιλαβή intra primam arsin solutam fieri mihi uidetur: *quīd itā* * *gēnūs* ..., ad quam rem infra transiero.

Haut. 871: *Sī* śāpīēs. *ME.* fācī(am). *CH.* Āb(i) ĩntrō: uīdē quīd
pōstulēt

Hec. 114: Fīdēm dō: lōquēr(e). *PA.* Āuscult(a). *PH.* Īstīc s(um).

PA. Hānc Bācchīdēm,

et quoque *Ter.* *Eun.* 70, 506; *Phorm.* 70, 932.

3. Post tertiam arsin solutam:

a) sine synaloepha:

Plaut. *Rud.* 117: quōī dēbēātūr nīhīl. *DA.* tēcē, Scēpārnīō

Ter. *Ad.* 646: Hūc āduōcātūm sībī. *AE.* Quīd? *MI.* Ēgō dīcām tībī

Ad. 891: *DE.* Ō quī uōcārē? *GE.* Gētā. *DE.* Gēt(a), hōmīnēm
māxūmī

Phorm. 375: *PH.* Rēspondē. *GE.* Quīs hōmōst? ēhēm. *DE.* Tāc(e).

GE. Ābsēntī tībī;

b) cum synaloepha:

Plaut. *Truc.* 366: *PH.* mān(e), ālīquīd fīet, nē āb(i). *DI.* āh! āspērsīst(i)
āquām⁵¹

Mil. 535: *PE.* uīn scīrē plānē? *SC.* cūpī(o). *PE.* āb(i) ĩntr(o) ād
uōs dōmūm⁵²

Ter. *Andr.* 416: *SI.* Vtrūmqu(e) ādēssē uīdē(o). *DA.* Ēm, sērūā.

SI. Pāmphīlē

Andr. 785: *CH.* Āudīu(i), ĩnqu(am), ā prīncīpī(o). *DA.* Āudīstīn,
ōbsēc(o)? ēm

Phorm. 954: *CH.* Mōnstr(i), ĩtā mē dī āmēt, sīmīl(e). *PH.* Īniēcī
scrūpūl(um). *DE.* Hēm

Hec. 439: *PAR.* Āt nōn nōu(i) hōmīnīs fācī(em). *PAM.* Āt fācī(am)
ūt nōuērīs,

quem numerum *Ter.* *Haut.* 788; *Phorm.* 139, 1006; *Ad.* 228 ampli-
ficant⁵³.

4. Post quintam arsin solutam ἀντιλαβή deest. Solus Plauti *Pseud.* 873
hoc loco a Lindsayo diuisus est, quem Lambinus ita legit [p. 574]:

⁵¹ Hic uersus, quamquam perdifficilem abhinc annos quadringentos fuisse necesse est credamus, inter Simonidae glossas ne uerbo quidem memoratus est.

⁵² Plauti *Pseud.* 850 praetereo, quia apud Lambinum [p. 573] ueni pro uenio legitur.

⁵³ *Ter.* *Ad.* 390 [p. 349 F] propter lectionis discrepantiam hic non consideramus: Dementia. *DE.* Haecine fieri flagitia! *SY.* Inepta lenitas.

CO. immo aedepol uero hominum seruator magis. BA. hem mane!
Qua de causa uersum quem senarium uocare nequit excludo.

Ex hoc efficitur ut Simonides quaedam ἀντιλαβῶν exempla, quae post theses et post arses solutas fiunt, facile animaduertere atque imitari potuerit.

Ad 1d)

Nunc ad u. 1526 qui mihi difficillimus uidetur transeo. Qui trimeter multimodis explanari potest, quippe cum aut hiatum aut elisionem fieri discernendum sit.

a) Cum hiatu:

Ādsūm Dōminē. FAE. ūbī fūit! ūb⁴ī lātūit! ūbī tām⁵⁴.

b) Cum elisione:

Ādsūm Dōmī(e). FAE. ūbī fūit! ūb⁴ī lātūit! ūbī tām.

Ad a) Hiatus non est ideo tantum remouendus, quod apud Simoni-
dam nisi semel non occurrit:

u. 1712 [68/1 D]: Cōepēre: néquē iām | ĩllē quóquē sīnē lācrymīs.

Itaque si hiatum admittimus, ἀντιλαβή post secundam arsin solutam fit, cuius generis exempla supra ostendi. Illic tamen hiatus nec uola fuit nec uestigium, nunc autem eos afferam senarios, qui in personis mutandis hiatum exhibeant⁵⁵, ut:

Plaut. *Bacch.* 114: LY. cūm tāntā pōmpā? | PI. hūc. LY. quīd “hūc?”
quīs ĩstīc hābēt

Bacch. 588: Bācchīdēm. | PI. ūtr(am) ērgō? nīl scīō nīśī Bācchī-
dēm,

qui nostri simillimus est⁵⁶,

Merc. 732-5 [p. 540 L]: DO. nōn tū scīs quāē sīt ĩllā? | LY.
īmm(o) ētiām scīō

⁵⁴ Posteriorem praesertim trimetri partem, quae Faetiferi est, difficile esse pedibus attribuire aliquis putet, sed res clarior fit si meminimus pares trimetri theses apud Simonidam semper breues esse.

⁵⁵ Hos uersus, qui apud Lindsayum hiatum in personis mutandis exhibent, Lambinus aliter legit, qua re hiatus fieri nequit: Plaut. *Cist.* 584 [p. 275], *Men.* 280 [p. 427] quem una eademque persona declamat, *Men.* 299 [p. 428], *Merc.* 283 [p. 529], *Mil.* 49 [p. 463]. Non aliter Fabricius hos: Ter. *Haut.* 379 [p. 252], *Ad.* 767 [p. 379].

⁵⁶ Lambinus [p. 341] nihil pro nil posuit. *Poen.* 191 [p. 593 L], *Men.* 299 [p. 428 L], *Merc.* 283 [p. 529 L] propter lectionis discrepantiam excludendi sunt, quippe cum nullum hiatum contineant. (V. quoque disputatiunculae partes quae ad ἀντιλαβήν post tertiam arsin et intra elementum solutum obuam pertinent).

Cist. 605: *ME.* quīd īstūc ēst uērbī? | *LA.* ēx priōrē mūliērē,
ubi W.M. Lindsay ictu *istūc* praedidit. Sed Simonides ita potuit:

ME quīd īstūc ēst uērb(i)? *LA.* ēx priōrē mūliērē;
(ἀντιλαβή post tertiam thesin cum synaloepha occurrit).

Ter. Eun. 409: Pērpāucōr(um) hōmīnūm. | *GN.* Īmmo nullor(um),
arbitror

Eun. 697: *PH.* Frātern(e)? *DO.* Ītā. *PH.* Quāndō? | *DO.* Hōdiē.

PH. Quām dūdūm? *DO.* Mōdō.

Praeterea Simonidae u. 1526 cum hiatu lectus uersui 1424 similis fit, ubi quarta trimetri sedes exclamatione *ō Dōmīnē* formatur.

Ad b) Sunt apud scaenicos Romanos exempla ἀντιλαβῆς intra duo elementa uel arsis uel thesis solutae occurrentis, sed ita ut ultimae duorum uocabulorum syllabae per synaloepham coagmententur (typus ... ∪ (∪), † ∪), e. g.:

Plaut. Stich. 660: *SA.* Stīch(e). *STI.* hēm! *SA.* quīd fīt? *STI.* ēugāe!
Sāngārīnē lēpīdīssūmē

Ter. Haut. 866: Dēspōnsām quōqu(e) ēssē dīcīt(o). *ME.* Ēm, īstūc
uōlūērām

Eun. 675: *DOR(IAS).* Īstūc pōl uērō bēn(e). *PY.* Vbīst? *PH.*
Rōgītās? nōn uidēs?

Ad. 655: Sīc ēst. *AE.* Mīlēt(um) ūsqu(e) ōbsēcr(o)?

MI. Īt(a). *AE.* Ānīmō mālēst.

Multi sunt quoque comicorum senarii, qui inter duas breues elementi soluti nulla synaloepha occurrente diuisi sunt. Hanc quaestionem indagandam infra denuo suscipiam, cum de u. 1540 tractauero.

Si denique decernendum mihi esset, utrum in u. 1526 ἀντιλαβή cum hiatu an cum elisione magis probanda fuerit, hoc responderem: si consideramus unum tantummodo apud Simonidam trimetrum cum hiatu occurrere, aliquot apud comicos Romanos senarios qui synaloepham inter uarias personas incidentem exhibeant, tum cognoscimus nos propensiores esse ad ἀντιλαβήν cum elisione agnoscendam. At aliud argumentum non habemus quo hiatum repudiemus.

Ad 1e et 2b)

Qua de causa Simon Simonides ἀντιλαβήν post tertiam arsin occurrentem admittere non dubitauerit iam supra disserui. Quod ἀντιλαβῆς genus poetae cordi maxime fuisse uidetur, cum eo trimetri loco septies

personas mutauerit. Etiam comicos eodem loco, id est in diaeresi quae post tertium fit pedem, uariis fabulae personis partes non inuito animo attribuisse facile nobis persuadere possumus, si tantum haec respiciamus:

Plaut. *Bacch.* 114: *LY.* cūm tāntā pōmpā? *PI.* hūc. *LY.* quīd “hūc?” quīs īstīc hābēt?

Bacch. 257: *NI.* quāmn(e) Ārchidēmīdēm? *CH.* qu(am), īn-qu(am), Ārchidēmīdēm

Bacch. 806 [p. 349 L]: *NI.* pēr sȳcōphāntiās? *CH.* ěgōn(e) ĭstūc dīx(i)? *NI.* ītā

Curc. 458: *CA.* quīd quōd iūrātūs sūm? *LY.* quīd īd rēfērt tūā

Epid. 477: prōduc(i) īntūs iūbēs? *PE.* hāec ērgō (e)st fidīcīnā

Most. 489: *TH.* quīs hōm(o)? ān gnātūs mēūs? *TR.* st! tac(e), āuscultā mōdō

Most. 772: *TR.* āt tāmēn īnspīcērē uōlt. *SI.* īnspīciāt, sī lūbēt

Poen. 191 [p. 593 L]: Āphrōdīsī(a) hōdiē sūnt. *MI.* scī(o) hōc. *AG.* ōcūlōs uōlō

Pseud. 1067: uēnītn(e) hōm(o) ād tē? *BA.* nōn. *SIMO.* quīd ēst īgītūr bōnī?

Trin. 56: uīuīt uīctūrāquē (e)st. *ME.* bēn(e) hērclē nūntiās

frg. inc. X [= u. 44]: *A.* quīs tū (e)s quī dūcīs mē? *B.* mū.

A. pērī(i) hērcle(e)! Āfēr ēst⁵⁷.

Ter. *Andr.* 751 [p. 100 F]: *DA.* Dīctūrā nē quōd rōg(o)? *MY.* Āu! *DA.* Cōncēdē ād dextrām⁵⁸

Haut. 821 [p. 288 F]: Tūā Bācchīs? *CL.* Āpūd nōs. *SY.* Nōn.

CL. Ūb(i) īgītūr? *SY.* Āpūd Clīnīām

Haut. 848 [p. 290 F]: *CH.* Quāesō quīd t(u) hōmīnīs ēs? *ME.* quīd?

CH. Iāmn(e) ōblītūs ēs

⁵⁷ Aliquot uersus propter lectionis discrepantiam secludo:

Most. 475 [p. 387 L]: *TR.* cāpītālīs caedēs fāctā'st. *TH.* nōn īntēllēgō.

Pseud. 486 [p. 563 L]: pāritās ūt auferās ā m(e)? *PS.* ābs t(e) ěg(o) auferām? (cf. quoque adn. 60), *Poen.* 661 [p. 608 L] nullam ἀντιλαβήν exhibet et breuior est quam ut senarius uocetur.

⁵⁸ Vbi metri causa synaloepham et *dexteram* exspectamus, quod recte C. Dziatzko.

Eun. 901: Nōn faciām Pŷthías. *PY.* Nōn crēdō, Chāerēā⁵⁹

Ad. 403: Mētūi n(e) hāerērēt hīc. *SY.* Ātqu(e) īrāt(um) ādmōdūm⁶⁰

Ad. 841 [p. 384 F]: Cūm primō lūc(i) īmmō. *MI.* Dē nōctē cēnsēō,
ad quos adiunge: *Andr.* 780; *Phorm.* 134, 420.

En uidimus quot eiusmodi ἀντιλαβῆς exempla apud Romanos exstent. Quem numerum amplificat senarii post tertiam arsin solutam diuisi, de quibus iam pridem satis explicui, nec non senarii post tertiam diuisi arsin, sed ita ut inter tertiam arsin et quartam thesin, quae non eiusdem personae sunt, synaloepha fiat, ut puta:

Plaut. *Bacch.* 1023: *CH.* ēstn(e) īstūc īstīc scrīpt(um)? *NI.* ēm spēctā,
tūm scīēs

Men. 334: tūā uērb(a) ēxpēriōr ēss(e). *MES.* ōpsēruātō mōdō⁶¹

Merc. 283 [p. 529 L]: *LY.* tāntūmst. *DE.* Lŷsīmāchē, sālu(e).

LY. ēug(e) ēt tū, Dēmīphō!

Pseud. 850 [p. 573 L]: mēā quō cōndūctūs uēn(i). *BA.* ād
fūrāndūm quīdē⁶²

Rud. 847: qu(om) ād mē prōfēctū's īr(e)? *TR.* ībīdēm nūnc sēdēt

⁵⁹ Fabricius [p. 202] *Non pol* legit, quod senarium destruit et in peius uertit.

⁶⁰ Ter. *Ad.* 803 apud Fabricium [p. 382] sine ulla personarum mutatione ut uersus integer legitur. *Ad.* 842 [p. 384 F]:

Hōdiē mōd(o) hīlārūm fāc t(e). *DE.* Ēt īstām psāltriām
αντιλαβήν alterius generis exhibet, quod uox monosyllaba quae ante quartam thesin posita est, cum uocabulo pedisequo per synaloepham coalescit. Vt nemo decipiatur, eius generis ἀντιλαβήν non post tertiam arsin, quod absurdum sit, sed ante quartam thesin occurrere dico. Ecce plura exempla: Plaut. *Men.* 299 [p. 428 L]:

sēd ūbī nōuīstī tū m(e)? *CY.* ūb(i) ēgō tē nōuērīm
Pseud. 486 [p. 563 L], cf. adn. 57.

⁶¹ Lambinus [p. 428] uersum ita edidit:

Tua uerba. *MES.* exterior hosce obseruato modo,
quem Simonides hac instruxit glossa: *Lipsius* "Antiqua" lib: 2. Cap. 13 sic egregie correxit:

Me. Iamne ille abivit! aedepol haud mendacia
Tua uerba experior esse: *Mes.* ob;
seruato modo.

(Vltimae uoces pars sunt uersus qui anteit. Simonides uocabulum in syllabas diuidit et uersus exitum infra adscriptit. G.K.). Cf. Justi Lipsii *Antiquarum lectionum commentarium* (Antverpiae 1575), qui tamen *edepol* scripsit.

⁶² Cf. adn. 52.

Truc. 418: *rēlīctūs*(e) *āps tē uīu*(am)? *PH.* ūb(i) īllūd quōd uōlō
et quoque: *Mil.* 496; *Pseud.* 828; *Truc.* 364⁶³;

Ter. Andr. 665 [p. 92 F]: *Fāctum*'st hōc, *Dāuē*? *DA.* *Fāct*(um). *CH.*
*Hēm, quīd āis? ō scēlūs*⁶⁴

Eun. 422 [p. 160 F]: *Plūs mīlīs i*(am) *āudīu*(i). *TH.* *Vn*(a) īn
*cōnuīuīō*⁶⁵

Eun. 534 [p. 168 F]: *PY.* *Fāc āmābō.* *CH.* *Nōn pōss*(um),
īnqu(am). *PY.* *Āt āpūd nōs hīc mānē*

Phorm. 62: *Tē fālēr*(e)? *GE.* *Ērg*(o) *āuscult*(a). *DA.* *Hānc ōpērām*
tībī dīcō

Hec. 109: *Tū*(am) īn *fīdēm cōmitt*(am). *PH.* *Āh nōlī, Pārmēnō*

Hec. 114: *Fīdēm dō: lōquēr*(e). *PA.* *Āuscult*(a). *PH.* *Īstīc s*(um).
PA. *Hānc Bacchīdēm*

Ad. 364 [p. 347 F]: *Nōn ōstēndām m*(e) *īd uēll*(e). *SY.* *Ōmnēm rēm*
mōdō sēnī

Ad. 650: *MI.* *Vīrgō* (e)st cūm *mātrē.* *AE.* *Pērg*(e). *MI.* *Hāc uīrg*(o)
ōrbāst pātrē,

et praeterea: *Andr.* 34, 119, 318, 747; *Haut.* 91; *Eun.* 689; *Phorm.* 72,
389, 901; *Hec.* 82, 113; *Ad.* 409, 417, 448.

Ex omnibus his exemplis luce clarius fit ἀντιλαβήν post tertiam arsin
in comoedia Romana satis saepe adhibitam esse, ut poetae, qui renata

⁶³ *Trin.* 522 Lambinus [p. 782] ita legit:

ēi r(ēi) ārgūmētūm dīc(am). *PH.* *āudīr*(e) *āedēpōl* lūbēt.

Si uersum senarium iambicum ducimus, Simonidae cum *ei* tum *rei* per synizesin legendum erat elisione scilicet admissa. In altero hemistichio *aedepol* metrum destruit, sed haec erat communis Lambini scriptura (cf. *Pseud.* 873 [p. 574], *Mil.* 49 [p. 463] e.a.). Carolus E. Georges *ēdēpōl* typis edidit (cf. K.E. Georges, *Ausführliches lateinisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch*, 7. Aufl., Leipzig, Bd. I. 1879, Bd. II. 1880), qui Augusti O.F. Lorenz sententiae accedit (cf. *Philologus*, Bd. XXXII (1873), p. 429), cum Hermannus Menge *edepol* ut uocem tribreum intellexit (cf. H. Menge, O. Güthling, *Lateinisch-deutsches Schulwörterbuch mit bes. Berücksicht. der Etymologie*). Quicumque metrorum scientiam his temporibus comparatam sequitur se ita senarium intellegere puto:

ēi rē(i) ārgūmētā dīc(am). *PH.* *āudīr*(e) *ēdēpōl* lūbēt. (aut: *ēdēpōl*?)

⁶⁴ Apud Carolum Dziatzko, quamquam lectiones paululum inter se discrepant, ἀντιλαβήν eodem inuenias loco. Terentii autem *Haut.* 522 secludo, quod apud Fabricium [p. 263] semel tantum post tertiam thesin diuisus est, apud Carolum Dziatzko non item.

⁶⁵ Versus caesura qualibet caret, quod saepius accidit, e.g. *Andr.* 34, 119; *Eun.* 534 [p. 168 F]; *Phorm.* 62, 901; *Hec.* 109, 114; *Ad.* 364, 448, et Plauti *Bacch.* 1023; *Men.* 334; *Mil.* 828; *Truc.* 364 et alia. Cf. quoque ea quae de caesura apud Simonidam obuia disserui.

aetate floruerunt, ea uti uellent. Non alienum quoque uidetur ea ἀντιλαβῆς exempla animaduertere, quibus Plautus et Terentius usi sunt ante quartam thesin cum monosyllabi praecedentis synaloepha nec non eos senarios respicere, qui a qualibet caesura uacui sunt. Sed ut de ἀντιλαβῶν post tertiam arsin usu Simonidano loquendi finem faciam, hoc unum addo, quod in quattuor trimetris e septem simul cum hoc ἀντιλαβῆς genere synaloepha ante quintam arsin occurrit.

Ad 2b)

Hic Simonis Simonidae iambicus trimeter — uersum 1540 dico — praesertim est animaduertendus, quippe cum ἀντιλαβῆ inter duo elementa quintae arsis solutae occurrat. Quam ob rem uersus minime distincta, sed potius molli et infirma terminatur clausula. Vt paulo ante, cum de personis post quartam arsin solutam mutandis disputauim, ἀντιλαβῆς genus pluris quam ipsius in uersu locum habui, ita et nunc sentio. Nullum enim apud scaenicos Romanos inuenias senarium, qui intra quintam arsin solutam (ⷰ, ⷰ⁵ | ⷰ | ⷰ) diuisus sit. Quamquam non raro personae inter duas breues uel arsis uel thesis solutae apud Plautum Terentiumque mutantur. Quem usum Simonides suscepisse uidetur. Equidem, ut rem bene explicem, nunc loci Jacobsohnis obliuiscor senariosque in pedes ita distribuere uolo sicut id Simonidam fecisse arbitror. Primum exempla, quae ad artes pertinent, deinde ea, quae ad theses spectant affero.

1) Plaut. *Asin.* 791 [p. 93 L]: tōllām. *DI.* quīd n(i)? *PA.* āudī rēlīquā⁶⁶.

DI. lōquēr(e), āudīō (intra 4 A)

Curc. 255: *PA.* fātēōr. *CO.* ābī, dēprōm(e). *PA.* āgē t(u) īntērē(a)
hūic sōmniūm (intra 1 A)

Poen. 191 [p. 593 L]: Āphrōdīsī(a) hōdiē sūnt. *MI.* scī(o) hōc.

AG. ōcūlōs uolō (intra 4 A)

⁶⁶ Cf. *OLD* s. u. *reliquus* de quantitate adnotationem. W.M. Lindsay *relicua* edidit. Licet quoque *reliquā* legere si quis uult, quod minime probatum mihi uidetur. Cf. quoque Philippi Melanchthonis de eadem re sententiam (*Grammaticae Latinae partes, orthographia, prosodia, etymologia et syntaxis ... denuo recognitae et auctae*, 1549, ch. S₂¹), cuius grammaticae summarius saeculo XVI saepe typis editum est et longe lateque notum: "Exceptiones: Re in tribus praeteritis producitur propter literae geminationem, ut **repperit**, **reppulit**, **rettulit**. Sic **relligio**, **reliquae** producuntur".

Curc. 45 [p. 187 L]: mīnūs fōrmīdābō, n(e) ēxcīdāt.

PH. ōdīōsus ēs⁶⁷ (intra 4 A)

Trin. 818: mīttām. | *CA.* ē(o) ēg(o) ġītūr ĩntr(o) ād ōffīcīūm
mēūm (intra 1 A cum hiatu)

Truc. 393 [p. 763 L]: m(e) hābēbat ānnō⁶⁸ d(um) hīc fūit.

DI. ēgō sēnsērām (intra 4 A)

Ter. Phorm. 996: *Ā*uscultā. *CH.* Pērgīn crēdēre? *NA.* Quid'ēg(o)
ōbsēcō. (intra 4 A)

2) Nunc ad senarios qui intra theses solutas diuiduntur transeo:

Plaut. Bacch. 857: *NI.* quīd nūnc ēgō fācīām? *CH.* iūbē sīs m(e) ēxsōlūi
cītō (intra 3 T)

Bacch. 1065 [p. 356 L]: uēl d(a) ālīquēm quī mē sērūet.

NI. ōh(e) ōdīōsē fācīs (intra 4 T)

Cas. 490: *LY.* scīn quīd nūnc fācīās? *OL.* lōquēre. *LY.* tēnē
mārsūppīūm (intra 4 T)

Trin. 586: *LE.* nēqu(e) ēn(im) ĩllī dāmn(o) ūmqu(am) ēssē pātīār.

ST. ābī mōdō (intra 5 T)

Ter. Andr. 423: *DA.* Sūm uērūs? *BY.* Ērūs, quānt(um) āudī(o), ūxōr(e)
ēxcīdīt (intra 2 T)

Haut. 821 [p. 288 F]: Tūā Bācchīs? *CL.* Āpūd nōs. *SY.* Nōn.

CL. Vb(i) ġītūr? *SY.* Āpūd Clīnīām (intra 2 T)

⁶⁷ In Lambini textu *Nimis formido ne exedat...* legimus. Simonides ad uersum bis glossas adscripsit, quarum una — *ne excidat* — subfusco encausto scripta est et ad Lipsii emendationes refert [*Antiqu.* lib. 1, cap. 21], altera — *Minus formidabo, ne excidat* — atramento facta est. Attamen difficile est discernere utrum *minus* ante *formidabo* pyrrhichia uox tum fuerit. Si non, ita legendum est:

Mīnūs fōrmīdābō, n(e) ēxcīdāt. *PH.* ōdīōsus ēs.

Tum ἀντιλαβή post quartam arsin solutam occurrit, quam prius (cf. adn. 48) apud Plautum frustra quaerebam.

⁶⁸ Lambinus *annum* impressit, quod tamen Simonides Lipsii auxilio correxit. *Plaut. Asin.* 110 [p. 63 L] corrupte editus est:

(..., ūb(i) ērīs?) 110: *LI.* Vbīcūnquē lībītūm fūērīt ānīmō mēō

(aut: ūb(i) ērīs? *LI.* ...). W.M. Lindsay *erit* pro *fuerit* posuit, quo facto uersum sanat, ambiguitatem in prima sede haudquaquam amouet. *Epid.* 471 [p. 305 L] et *Merc.* 751 [p. 541 L] cum ἀντιλαβήν alio exhibeant loco, a me secluduntur. Tragici Graeci a personis post prius arsis solutae elementum mutandis prorsus abstinuerunt. Apud comicos L. Strzelecki duo certa obseruauit exempla: Aristoph. *Acharn.* 1023 et Men. *fab. inc.* 25 (Koerte — Thierfelder³); cf. “De Dyscolo ...” p. 270 (ubi Men. trimeter ut u. 23 allatus est).

Ad. 84 [p. 324 F]: *Quīd īs fēcīt?* *DE.* *Quīd īllē fēcērīt?* *quēm nēquē pūdēt* (intra 2 T)

Ad. 389: *SY.* *Ēll(am) īntūs.* *DE.* *Ēh(o) ān dōmīst hābītūrūs?*

SY. *Crēd(o), ūt ēst*⁶⁹ (intra 2 T).

Exemplis perpensis certiores facti sumus multos senarios, quos modo attuli, nostrorum scientia metrica applicita aliter diuidendos esse. Sed ars Simonidae longissime a nostra distabat. Qua re cognita me rectam uiam pedibus terere existimo cum uersus ita diuiderim, ut si locum Jacobsohnis et breues breuiantes ignorauissem. Licet mihi praeterea de Plauti et Terentii hac in re usu paucis mentionem facere. Animaduerti enim senarios Terentianos, unico *Phorm.* 996 secluso, intra secundam thesin diuisos esse, cum Plautinos, etiamsi ἀντιλαβαί theses tertiam quartam quintam non fugiant, saepius intra solutas arses, praesertim intra quartam, ἀντιλαβήν exhibere. Ni mirum, si respiciamus H. Jacobsohnis praeceptum, ni mirum, si meminimus id ad Plautum uim habere, ad Terentium non item. Cui normae solus *Phorm.* 996 aduersatur, qui eo qui Jacobsohnis uocatur loco inter uarias personas diuidatur.

Nullus senarius intra quintam arsin — ut Simonidae trimeter — diuisus est, quod rigida erant praecepta quae senarii exitum componendum defini-
rent⁷⁰. Attamen Simonides, ut iam ostendi, in trimetro iambico claudendo multo fuit liberior. Qui poeta quinquagies et bis uocem tribrachicam aut tribrachum⁷¹ in trimetri exitu admittit, quod apud Senecam nullo pacto accidit⁷². Quam ob rem ἀντιλαβή hoc trimetri loco posita non minus probabilis facta est quam illa quae in caesura media occurrit. Sunt fortasse qui me reprehendant, quod unicum exemplum non satis sit. Illis respondeo mihi uel unum sufficere nulla centesimarum partium ope. Haec enim ἀντιλαβής forma, scilicet intra elementum solutum, multo rarior est quam illa quae in medio fit uersu. Satis est scaenicorum Romanorum huius illiusque ἀντιλαβής exempla numerare. Quae cum ita sint quis est, qui plura Simonidae exempla inter uiginti tantum trimetros tam inhabili loco

⁶⁹ Ter. *Andr.* 781 [p. 101 F] et *Ad.* 901 [p. 391 F] hinc excludo. *Haut.* 530 dignus est commemoratu, quod monosyllabum ante quartam arsin positum propter synaloepham euanesceat si hiatum et breues breuiantes a Simonida adiudicamus:

Hōmīnē pīstrīnō dīgnūm. *SY.* *Qu(ēm)?* *CH.* *Īstūnc sērūōlūm.*

⁷⁰ Praeter Jacobsohnis normam legum Luchsii et Porsonianae meminisse uelis.

⁷¹ Tribrachum a uoce tribrachica distingo. Tribracha uoco ea quae sunt tribrachi mensura, sed aut per synaloepham facta sunt aut atonam uocem adiungunt, e.g.:

dōmīnā (e)s, īt(a) ēnīm, īn ēūm.

⁷² Cf. Korzeniowski, l. l. p. 65-68.

expectet? At si in trimetri exitu paenultimum uocabulum ante ultimum tribrachum terminatur, ἀντιλαβήν fieri posse quis neget? (typus:

υ-υ-υ | υ-υ-υ | υ-υ, υ-υ-υ.

Ad 2 c)

De synaloepha in personis mutandis occurrente sermo iam fuit. Nunc tamen exempla synaloephae quae ante tertiam fit arsin examinare uolo. Hos uersus Plautinos tecum reputa:

Amph. 949: *AL.* ēg(o) īstūc cūrāb(o). *IV.* ēuōcāt(e) hūc Sōsīam

Cist. 605: *ME.* quīd īstūc ēst uērb(i)? *LA.* ēx priōrē muliērē

Curc. 255: *PA.* fātēōr. *CO.* ābī, dēprōm(e). *PA.* āgē t(u) īntērē(a) huīc sōmnīum

Mil. 565 [p. 482 L]: ōrātīōnēmqu(e). *SC.* ēgōnē? sī pōst hūnc dīēm⁷³.

Ad quos Terentiani accedunt:

Haut. 379 [p. 252 F]: *CLIT.* Sāltem sālūtār(e). *SY.* Ábēas sī sápis.

CLIT. Ēō⁷⁴

Eun. 835 [p. 198 F]: Hābēmūs hōmīn(em) īps(um). *TH.* Vb(i) īs ēst?

PY. Ēm ād sinīstrām uidēs⁷⁵

Phorm. 682: *AN.* Gēt(a). *GE.* Hēm. *AN.* Quīd ēgīst(i)? *GE.* Ēmūnx(i) ārgēntō senēs

Phorm. 984: Tēcūm. *DE.* Lēg(e) āgīt(o) ērg(o) *PH.* Ālterāst tēcūm, Chrēmēs

Ad. 901 [p. 391 F]: *DE.* Quīd āgītūr, Āeschīn(e)? *AE.* Hēm, pātērmī, t(u) hīcērās?, inter quos etiam hos habeas: *Andr.* 277, 751 [p. 100 F]⁷⁶; *Eun.* 345, 825; *Phorm.* 392; *Ad.* 127, 468, 672⁷⁷.

⁷³ Praeterea ad *Trin.* 587 [p. 733 L] cf. adn. 24. Qui uersus, si uelut senarius legitur, ἀντιλαβήν post tertiam thesin occurrentem cum synaloepha exhibet.

⁷⁴ Cf. adn. 55 et Caroli Dziatzko textum. De uerbi sapiendi in 2 persona sing. Ind. praes. act. (*sapīs*) prosodia uide C.F.W. Müller, *Plautinische Prosodie* (Berlin 1859), p. 51 (*cupīs*), pp. 67-68, p. 631-632; W.M. Lindsay, *The Latin Language* (Oxford 1894), p. 475; R. Kühner, F. Holzweissig, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache. 2. Aufl., Bd. 1.: Elementar-, Formen- und Wortlehre* (Hannover 1912), pp. 115-116; O. Skutsch, l. l. p. 44; M. Leumann, *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre* (München 1977, Neuauflage), p. 519, 542-543, 545, 567-569. De ueterum scaenicorum prosodia uide quoque J. Soubiran, l. l.

⁷⁵ Luce clarius est hunc uersum supra iustum senarii modum esse. Cf. adn. 24.

⁷⁶ Cf. adn. 58 et textum ad quem spectat.

⁷⁷ Occasione oblata obseruationes de ictu et accentu afferre uolo. Si apud Plautum synaloepha in personis mutandis ante tertiam occurrit arsin, tertia senarii thesis *longa* semper expletur syllaba, quae quamquam paenultima est et acuenda, ictu praedita esse sane nequit. Ex tredecim tamen exemplis Terentianis octo tantum huic normae satisfaciunt (cf. exempla ad 2c allata).

Scito Terentianum huius ἀντιλαβῆς usum constantiorem esse quam Plautinum. Terentius enim sexies fecit ut tertia arsis monosyllabo efficere-tur⁷⁸, ter anapaesto semelque, quod idem est, uoce tribreui quibus simul quarta expletur thesis⁷⁹, ter denique aliud uocabulum ibi posuit⁸⁰. Plautus uero monosyllabo abstinuisse uidetur, si tantum *Trin.* 587 [p. 733 L] uersum laceratum putamus, quem ille noster Fridericus Ritschl coniectura palmari restituit.

Exempla a me allata satis esse confido ut tibi persuadeatur. Sunt tamen alia quae ἀντιλαβήν eodem exhibent loco, sed alio quodam modo:

a) ἀντιλαβή post tertiam thesin occurrit, ubi hiatus obseruatur:

Plaut. *Bacch.* 114⁸¹,

Ter. *Eun.* 409: Περπαύcor(um) hōmīnūm. | GN. Ἰmmō nullōr(um) árbitrōr

Eun. 697: PH. Frātern(e)? DO. Ἰτά. PH. Quāndō? | DO. Hódie.

PH. Quām dūdūm? DO. Mōdō;

b) ἀντιλαβή post tertiam thesin solutam cum ultimae syllabae syna-loepha fit:

Plaut. *Bacch.* 605: PA. uālē, dēntifrāngībūl(e). -PI. ét t(u) īntēgūmētūm
uālē

Ter. *Andr.* 477: SI. N(um) īnmēmōrēs dīscīpūl(i)? DA. Égō quīd nārres
nēscīō

Ad. 247: Nūmqūduīsquīnābē(am)? SA. Ἰmm(o)hērcl(e)hōc quāēsō, Sýrē;

c) ἀντιλαβή ante tertiam arsin ita fit, ut prior syllaba uocabuli, quo tertia expletur arsis, cum monosyllabo praecedenti, quod alterius personae est, per synaloepham coalescit:

Plaut. *Trin.* 590: ēnūmqu(am) āspīciām t(e)? -ST. ī mōd(o), ī mōd(o), ī
mōdō

Cist. 591: PH. quīd nūnc uīs fācērē m(e)?

LA. īntr(o) āb(i) ātqu(e) ānīmō bōnō (e)s

Ter. *Haut.* 824: CL. Lūdis fōrtāssē m(e)? SY. Ἰpsā r(e) ēxpēribērē.

Quaestione ad finem perducta, scaenicatorum Romanorum Senecaeque

⁷⁸ *Andr.* 751 [p. 100 F]; *Eun.* 345; *Ad.* 127, 468, 672, 901 [p. 391 F].

⁷⁹ *Andr.* 277; *Haut.* 379 [p. 252 F]; *Eun.* 835 [p. 198 F]: ūb(t) īs ēst; *Phorm.* 392.

⁸⁰ *Eun.* 825; *Phorm.* 682, 984.

⁸¹ Cf. Id ubi senarium attuli. Ad *Cist.* 605 et *Haut.* 379 uide exempla ad 2c allata et editiones quibus utor.

uersibus iambicis cum Simonidae trimetris comparatis proximum est, ut ea quae adhuc sunt disputata in breue cogam. Sed priusquam huic rei tractandae ultimam manum imponam, non abs re erit, si quas contrarias opiniones, quae fortasse obici possunt, refutauero.

Primum confiteor in Romanorum senariis in pedes distribuendis me semper et ubique constantissimum non praebuisse. Nam licentia nonnumquam uti ausus sum, praesertim cum manifestum sit uiros optimarum litterarum olim studiosissimos ad eiusdem rei auxilium confugisse, si senarios sine metri damno interpretari uellent. At summo opere caui, ne quis licentiae abusus fiat, quo ἀντιλαβῆς locus qualicumque modo incertus ambiguusque esse uideatur.

Deinde uiris litterarum Romanarum Latinarumque peritissimis, qui tamen artis metricae studiis operam non dederunt, opponere me uolo. Sunt enim certe, qui aduersus me dicant Senecae auctoritatem renata aetate tantam fuisse, ut nemo fere poetarum qui fabulas Latinas componerent tum esset, quin Senecam ut optimum exemplar imitaretur. Quod quidem si uerum est, non est uerum ab omni parte. Nam poetae illi, quod uulgo constat, argumenta Annaeanorum fabularum imitando exprimebant, non metra, multique eorum patrio sermone, non Latino, fabulas composuerunt⁸². Nullum apud Polonos laudabile opus scaenicum Annaeano more compositum saeculo XVI exeunte exortum est. Notum est nobis Senecae tragoedias in lectionum Uniuersitatis Iagellonicae Craouiensis conspectus anno 1490 introductas proximisque annis 1502, 1505, 1518 repetitas esse. Etsi Plautus et imprimis Terentius multo magis animos

⁸² De medii aevi renataeque aetatis nec non de Senecae fabulis receptis cf. Z. Żygulski, *Tragedie Seneki a dramat nowożytny do końca XVIII wieku*. Część I, Archiwum Towarzystwa Naukowego we Lwowie, dział I, t. VIII, z. 3 (Lwów 1939); J. Poplatek (S. I.), *Studia z dziejów jezuickiego teatru szkolnego w Polsce* (Wrocław 1957), caput II. Senecae latinitatem Marcus Antonius Muretus (1526-1585) egregie imitabatur, quem Albertinus Mussatus (Mussato, 1261-1329), qui non solum celeberrimam fabulam *Ecerinis*, sed etiam de Senecae metris dialogum cum Lupato (Lovato Lovati 1241-1309) magistro suo scripsit, multo praecesserat. Praeterea Georgius Buchanan Scotus (1506-1582) et Adrianus Roulerius (A. de Roulers, saec. XVI) Latine arte scribebant. In Germania Hollandiaque post annum 1530 fabulae in lingua Latina scholarum in usum compositae sunt, quae tamen plus Plauto Terentioque quam Senecae debuerunt; cf. P. Stachel, *Seneca und das deutsche Renaissancedrama. Studien zur Literatur und Stilgeschichte des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, Palaestra XLVI (Berlin 1907), qui uir doctissimus (p. 38-40) fabularum de Iosepho saec. XVI compositorum mentionem fecit; J. Jacquot, M. Oddon (edd.), *Les tragédies de Sénèque et le théâtre de la Renaissance* (Paris 1964), ubi commentarios a uiris doctissimis M. Pastore-Stocchi (p. 11-36), E. Rombauts (p. 211-219), R. Lebègue (p. 87-94) scriptos, in quibus recentiores quoque libri laudantur, conferas.

delectabant⁸³. Tantummodo in fabulis scaenicis quae a societatis Iesu sodalibus alumnisque compositae sunt plus Senecae sapitur⁸⁴, nihilo minus tamen in Ignatianorum sodalium collegiis Plautus et Terentius saepe ac libenter lecti, adamati, interpretati sunt. Itaque uidimus Plautum et Terentium non minoris, si non pluris quidem apud Polonos illa aetate aestimatos esse. Sed de hac re hactenus.

Tum illud notatu longe dignissimum est, quod in Simonis Simonidae fabula quae *Castus Ioseph* inscribitur uerba et obsoleta, et Ciceroniana, et Christiana, et noua quidem inusitataque inter se omnia pariter commixta sunt. Magna eorum pars a Plautinis fabulis et saepe metri causa petita est⁸⁵, sunt tamen uocabulorum priscae formae, quae aliter nisi ueterum scaenicorum imitandi cupiditate explanari non possint quaeque facile cum optimis formis compensatae sunt⁸⁶.

Denique maximi est momenti Plautinum illud uolumen quod Simonides saepe manu euoluit et ter glossis instruxit, ad nostram memoriam seruatum esse. Cuius gratia scimus quantopere poeta studiis Plautinis se dedit. Idem quoque de Terentianis studiis conici potest. Itaque aequum fuisse puto me unam ex tot editionibus, quae tum erant, et haud ignotam elegisse ut Terentii textum reuocarem. Existimo quoque in comicorum senariis in pedes distribuendis et in ratione ad eius generis uersus examinandos adhibenda me rectam iisse uiam, cum praesertim ipsius Simonidae eiusque simillimorum poetarum — ut opinor — ratione ac uia uterer. Occasione oblata admoneo comicos tantam schematum uarietatem exhibere, ut Simonidae trimetri iambici, qui hac in re Senecae illos multo superant, eis cedant eo tantum discrimine interposito, quod nonnullae formae, quas ibi frustra quaeras, ipsius Simonidae uel eius praeceptorum sunt. Graecorum poetarum trimetros plus comparandi quam comprobandi causa attuli, quod illorum auctoritas apud eos qui ab humanitate acceperunt nomen, si quid ad uersus Latinos pangendos ualuit, grauissima non erat. Attamen non est prorsus despicienda ac pro nihilo putanda. Etiam Menandri, cuius obliuio tum erat, exempla raro ostendi. Ex his similia quaedam perspiciuntur, ex quibus Simonides nullo modo pendet, quo tamen demonstrari

⁸³ Cf. W. Hahn, "Literatura dramatyczna w Polsce XVI w." *Archiwum Naukowe*, uol. I (Lwów 1906); Żygulski, l. I.; Poplatek, l. I.; Stachel, l. I., Rombauts, l. I. p. 212.

⁸⁴ Cf. Żygulski, l. I. p. 122 sq.; Poplatek, l. I. caput II.

⁸⁵ E.g. *obfuas* u. 791 [p. 38/31 D], *perduim* u. 774 [p. 38/16 D], *fuat* u. 794 [p. 39/1 D], *dixti* u. 939 [p. 43/24 D], *faxo* u. 977 [p. 44/29 D] et alia.

⁸⁶ Verbi causa imperatius praes. act. *dice* ante uocalem, u. 467 [p. 29/4 D] uel *antidhac* in trimetri exitu, u. 469 [p. 29/6 D].

potest, quam difficile nonnumquam sit de metrorum exemplaribus certior fieri, praesertim cum simus incerti quibus enchiridiis summariisque unusquisque poeta usus sit.

De Simonis Simonidae ἀντιλαβῶν usu dixi. Ex his quae disserui luce clarius fit Simonidam Plauti Terentiique senarios iambicos et ἀντιλαβῶν usum intentis oculis contemplatum esse eosque praesertim suis trimetris reddidisse, quod sescentis comprobatur exemplis. Itaque uix quisquam reperitur — ut credo — qui id in dubium uocare audeat. Mihi autem erit pergratum, si quis aliquando aliquid lucri ad renatae aetatis artem metricam digne aestimandam ex hac disputatiuncula ceperit.

Vratislaviae — Oxonii
e Collegio Corporis Christi
A.D. MCMLXXX

LORE WIRTH-POELCHAU

GELEGENHEITSGEDICHTE
EINES KRONSTÄDTERS UM 1700:
MAGISTER MARCUS FRONIUS (1659-1713)

Die Veröffentlichung nachstehender Gedichte des Kronstädter Stadtpfarrers Marcus Fronius (1659-1713) dient dem Zweck, den Autor, sein Leben und seine Werke bekannt zu machen und durch die Beschäftigung mit seiner Person Einblick zu geben in die humanistischen Bildungsgrundlagen und in die geistigen Interessen und Probleme der in der Verantwortung stehenden Menschen in Siebenbürgen am Ende des 17. und am Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts, in einer historisch ungeheuer schwierigen und belasteten Situation.

Diese Gedichte stellen sicherlich keine große und originale Dichtkunst dar, — und sie erheben darauf auch nicht den geringsten Anspruch, — sondern sie sind Gelegenheitsdichtungen im weitesten Sinne. Denn die Gelegenheit gab sich dem Autor nicht nur bei Anlässen wie Hochzeiten, Todesfällen oder beruflichen Auszeichnungen und Beförderungen, obwohl er auch derartige *Casualcarmina* verfaßt hat. Vielmehr hat Fronius häufig den Gedanken und Gefühlen, die ihn momentan bewegten, in poetischer Form Ausdruck verliehen, zumal in seinen umfangreichen, lateinisch geschriebenen Tagebüchern, in denen die metrischen lateinischen Gedichte eng mit der Thematik und dem Gedankengang der Prosatexte zusammenhängen. Hierin zeigt er sich ganz als Kind seiner Zeit, ist es doch geradezu ein zeittypisches Merkmal, daß kein hypostasierter Begriff von Poesie den Autor daran hindert, gleiche Themen und Inhalte in prosaischer wie in poetischer Form auszudrücken und je nach Belieben von der „*oratio soluta*“ in die „*oratio poetica*“ überzugehen. Die Fähigkeit dazu stand ihm mit Leichtigkeit zu Gebote, denn er hatte das Versemachen ja bereits im Lateinunterricht in der Schule gelernt und seither immer wieder geübt.

Marcus Fronius gilt in Kronstadt (rumän. Braşov) als der bedeutendste Stadtpfarrer nach dem Reformator Johannes Honterus († 1549)

und wie dieser trat er als Theologe, Wissenschaftler, Kirchen- und Schulorganisator hervor¹. Er wurde 1659 in Kronstadt geboren und wuchs zunächst in Neustadt (rum. Cristian) auf, wo sein Vater Pfarrer war. Seine Schulausbildung erhielt er in Kronstadt, in Neumarkt (rum. Țîrgu Mureș) (er sollte dort die ungarische Sprache erlernen) und in Hermannstadt (rum. Sibiu). Dort beendete er das Gymnasium im Jahr 1679 unter dem bekannten Rektor Isaac Zabanius und anderen namhaften Lehrern. Anschließend ging Fronius zum Theologiestudium nach Wittenberg, wo er 1682 die Magisterwürde erlangte. Nachdem ihn 1685 die Nachricht vom Tode seines Vaters erreicht hatte, kehrte er nach Hause zurück. Damals begann er, seine jüngeren Brüder und andere Kronstädter Schüler in allen Fächern des wissenschaftlichen Kanons zu unterrichten und sie auf das Hochschulstudium vorzubereiten.

Ein einschneidendes Ereignis war der große Brand von Kronstadt am 21. April 1689, durch den die Stadt fast völlig zerstört wurde und der auch Fronius persönlich sehr hart traf. In einem ausführlichen, lateinisch geschriebenen Augenzeugenbericht beklagt er den unersetzlichen Verlust seiner Bibliothek und seiner Musikinstrumente und auch eines fertigen Manuskripts über die Geschichte Siebenbürgens².

Als sich das Leben in Kronstadt wieder zu normalisieren begann, wurde Marcus Fronius 1690 zum Lektor am Gymnasium gewählt, trat aber bereits 1691 als Stadtprediger in den kirchlichen Dienst. 1695 folgte seine Berufung ins Pfarramt nach Heldsdorf (rum. Hălchiu), 1701 nach Rosenau (rum. Rîșnov), bis er im November 1703 zum Stadtpfarrer von Kronstadt gewählt wurde. Er genoß hohes Ansehen und bekleidete ab 1707 zusätzlich noch das Amt des Dechanten des Burzenländer Kapitels, bis er am 14. April 1713 in seiner Vaterstadt starb.

Aus diesen Lebensdaten geht ebenso wie aus zahlreichen schriftlichen Äußerungen des Marcus Fronius hervor, daß er aufs engste der Lebenswelt verhaftet war, in die er sich hineingeboren sah. In Kronstadt war es der Stadtrichter, der als Bürgermeister das Gemeinwesen verwaltete und lenkte. Aber der Stadtpfarrer war das geistig-geistliche Haupt der Bürgerschaft, dem gleichzeitig als Inspektor die Sorge für das gesamte

¹ Julius Groß, *Markus Fronius, Leben und Schriften* (Kronstadt 1925).

² Maja Philippi und Lore Wirth-Poelchau, "Magistri Marci Fronii Fatalis Urbis Exustio Anno 1689. 300 Jahre seit dem Großen Brand von Kronstadt", *Siebenbürgische Semesterblätter* 3 (1989), 133-164.

Schulwesen der Stadt aufgetragen war. Diese vielseitigen Aufgaben machte Fronius zu seinem eigensten Anliegen, nachdem er der Wahl zum Stadtpfarrer nach einer ausbedungenen Bedenkzeit einmal zugestimmt hatte.

Theologie und Kirche mögen dem Pfarrerssohn und -enkel von Haus aus nahe gelegen haben. Von einem gründlichen Theologiestudium zeugen einige Dissertationen aus der Wittenberger Studienzeit; als verlässlicher Theologe wurde er bis zum Ende seines Lebens von der Synode der Siebenbürgischen Landeskirche mit der Ausarbeitung von theologischen Stellungnahmen beauftragt. Sein Interesse an der neu aufkommenden religiösen Strömung des Pietismus schlug sich in ausführlichen schriftlichen Reflexionen nieder. Im seelsorgerlichen Beruf wandte er sich mehr der praktischen Vermittlung der christlichen Glaubenslehre zu, die er vor den Studenten des Kronstädter Gymnasiums lateinisch und für das Gemeindepublikum deutsch bearbeitete. Aus der Kritik an der üblichen Predigtpraxis erwuchs sein *Diaconus Barcensis*³, eine Anweisung und Unterstützung für den „Burzenländischen Prediger“. Die kirchliche Disziplin suchte er zu verbessern und das Glaubensleben zu festigen, indem er die Visitation der Gemeinden von neuem einführte und dazu ein „Visitationsbüchlein“ verfaßte⁴.

Als Fronius sich 1686 vor die Notwendigkeit gestellt sah, seine Brüder in allen wissenschaftlichen Fächern zu unterrichten, organisierte er den gesamten Lehrstoff in einem Unterrichtskursus und führte die einzelnen Fachgebiete in wissenschaftlichen Abhandlungen aus. Einiges davon scheint er nach dem Verlust durch den Brand von 1689 wiederholt zu haben. Aber in jedem Fall war er gut vorbereitet, als er zum Lehrer am Gymnasium berufen wurde, und machte mit seiner Einführungsrede Eindruck, mit der er unter dem Titel *De studiorum impedimentis* Probleme des Unterrichts und des Studierens behandelte⁵. Als Schulinspektor ließ er dann 1704 eine neue Schulordnung folgen, das *Consilium de schola*⁶. Andere Seiten seines Wirkens sind in den erhalte-

³ „Diaconus Barcensis“, in: *Quellen zur Geschichte von Braşov-Kronstadt*, Bd. VIII, *Schriften des Magister M. Fronius* (Braşov-Kronstadt 1926), S. 1-61.

⁴ Visitations-Büchlein des Marcus Fronius, veröffentlicht von Julius Groß, *Markus Fronius, Leben und Schriften* (Kronstadt 1925), S. 267-312.

⁵ „De studiorum impedimentis“ (oder: „De schola et studiis“), *Quellen*, Bd. VIII, S. 143-155.

⁶ „Consilium de schola“, *Quellen*, Bd. VIII, S. 156-166. Auch bei Friedrich Teutsch, *Die siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Schulordnungen*, 1. Band, 1545-1778 (Berlin 1888), S. 107-130.

nen Predigten — deren Gliederung er oftmals lateinisch konzipierte — und in seinen Briefen zu erkennen. Und natürlich tragen viele persönliche und private Eintragungen in den Tagebüchern zu einem Bild vom Menschen Marcus Fronius bei. Dazu gehören auch seine ästhetisch-künstlerischen Begabungen, seine Musikalität und seine dichterischen Neigungen und ein auffallendes graphisches Talent, dem viele Zeichnungen, Ornamente, Spruchbänder und kalligraphische Ausschmückungen zu verdanken sind.

Sicherlich ist es sehr zu bedauern, daß die von Fronius verfaßte Siebenbürgische Geschichte in den Flammen seines Hauses unterging und er diese Arbeit nie wieder aufgenommen hat. Denn zweifellos hatte er über die persönliche Anteilnahme an der heimatlichen Geschichte hinaus die besonderen Fähigkeiten, die allgemein einen guten Historiker ausmachen. Das zeigt am deutlichsten sein Bericht von 1689 *Fatalis urbis exustio*⁷, der unter seinen Händen zu einer detaillierten und dramatischen Erzählung wird und doch von großer Gewissenhaftigkeit und einem hohen Gerechtigkeitssinn getragen ist, denn er versäumt es nie, Gerüchte und Vermutungen als solche zu kennzeichnen, und er hütet sich vor einem vorschnellen Urteil, wo es um die Frage geht, ob der Brand vom österreichischen Militär gelegt oder zufällig entstanden ist. Und in dieser Frage objektiv zu bleiben, verlangte von einem Siebenbürger Sachsen in der damaligen Zeit ein großes Maß an Selbstbeherrschung und ein hohes charakterliches Niveau.

Das Fürstentum Siebenbürgen, das seit 1542 unter türkischer Oberhoheit gestanden hatte, geriet seit der Schlacht am Kahlenberg 1683 zwischen die Österreicher und die Türken, die beide erbittert um den Besitz Siebenbürgens kämpften, das durch den Wechsel der militärischen Erfolge in übelste Mitleidenschaft gezogen wurde. "Diese 13 Jahre (1686-1699), in denen Siebenbürgen gleicherweise von der kaiserlichen Armee, von Türken und Tataren verwüstet wurde, in deren Folge die Pest ins Land einbrach, gehören zu den schwersten der Geschichte dieses Landes", schreibt die Kronstädter Historikerin Maja Philippi⁸. Die österreichische Besatzung hauste wie in einem eroberten Land und drangsalierte die entrechteten Bürger, die unter Einquartie-

⁷ "Fatalis urbis exustio" (1689-1691), lateinischer Text herausgegeben von Julius Gross in "Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Brassó" (Kronstadt), Bd. VI (Brassó 1915), S. 408-570.

⁸ Maja Philippi, "Der Bürgeraufstand von Kronstadt 1688". *Siebenbürgisches Archiv*, Bd. 17: *Beiträge zur Geschichte von Kronstadt in Siebenbürgen* (Köln-Wien 1984), S. 227.

rungen, übermäßigen Kontributionen an Geld und Naturalien, unter Übergriffen der rohen Soldateska, Demütigungen, Hunger und Not zu leiden hatte. Als eine Gruppe von Kronstädter Bürgern im Mai 1688 einen Aufstand versuchte, wurde er erbarmungslos niedergeschlagen und die Anführer wurden enthauptet. Der Gipfel des Unglücks war für die Kronstädter jedoch der große Brand vom 21. April 1689, dem die Stadt zum Opfer fiel. Doch ungeachtet dessen wurde das Land weiterhin ausgesogen und die Rechte der Bürger ignoriert, unter Mißachtung auch des von Kaiser Leopold I im Dezember 1691 unterzeichneten sog. "Leopoldinischen Diploms", das die alten Rechte und Privilegien des Landes und der Bürger anerkannte. Die Lage besserte sich nicht; die kaiserlichen Truppen hielten das Land weiterhin besetzt und die Bevölkerung mußte für deren Unterhalt aufkommen. Auch die Unruhen, die vom Emmerich Tököli ausgingen, der von den Türken zum neuen Fürsten von Siebenbürgen ernannt worden war, brachten dem Land nur Schaden. Erst mit dem Frieden von Karlowitz 1699 und dem Verzicht der Türken auf Siebenbürgen kam es zu einer vorläufigen Beendigung der Kriegshandlungen. Doch schon 1703 entbrannte der Kurutzenkrieg, der von Ungarn ausging und unter der Führung von Franz Rakoczy II den Aufstand gegen die unbeliebte habsburgische Herrschaft bedeutete. Wiederum hatte die Bevölkerung des Landes unter Raub, Plünderungen und allen Arten von Kriegsgreueln zu leiden, die erst mit dem Frieden von Sathmar am 1. Mai 1711 endeten. Daß diese Schreckenszeiten den Kronstädter Stadtpfarrer persönlich oder in der Sorge für die ihm anvertrauten Menschen betrafen, daß die politischen Ereignisse ihn bewegten und die von der habsburgischen Herrschaft angestrebte Rekatholisierung der Siebenbürger ihm Not bereitete, das bezeugen die Aufzeichnungen in seinen Tagebüchern in eindrucksvoller Weise⁹.

Fronius beginnt den schon erwähnten Bericht von 1689 *Fatalis urbis exustio* mit einem Gedicht von 23 Hexametern, dem er zwar ein griechisches Bibelzitat aus Joh. 16 voranstellt, das dann aber deutlich und mit wörtlichen Übernahmen die Zerstörung Kronstadts in Parallele setzt zu Vergils Schilderung vom Untergang Trojas. Diese klassische Reminiszenz drängt sich ihm auf für die Darstellung der erlebten

⁹ Die Tagebücher des Marcus Fronius sind auszugsweise in den *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Brassó*, Bd. VI/VII (Brassó 1915/1918), abgedruckt. Die Originale befinden sich im Archiv der Schwarzen Kirche in Kronstadt.

Katastrophe, und er läßt den skizzenhaften poetischen Versuch stehen, obwohl die vergilischen Halbverse am Schluß darauf hindeuten, daß er ihn nicht zu Ende geführt hat. Aber keine biblischen Berichte haben ihn zum Dichten angeregt, sondern antike Vorbilder, wie er sie im darauf folgenden Prosatext nennt:

“Si fabulosus Aeneas hoc nomine lacrimas sibi, non orationem concedi postulat, si Iosephus, ille Iudaeorum Plinius, dolorem in patria historia deprecatur, si Seneca miseriam in consolatione suam principio confitetur, qui possum ego in patriae cineribus flosculos orationis legere aut eloquentiam inter mei sanguinis funera exercere? Nemo id, nemo iure postulet, exspectet nemo”.

Der Text des Gedichtes lautet:

- Venit summa dies et ineluctabile fatum
 Brassoviae. Fuimus Barcenses. Ecce Corona
 Lapsa ruit! cecidit montosae Lucifer urbis!
 Gloria Brassobi cineres videt atque Coronam
 5 Sylvanae gentis cernit pede conteri inulto
 Et turpi volvi caeno. Vulcanius aether
 Omnia consumpsit. Fuit urbs; cinerum nunc mons est.
 Quis cladem illius noctis, quis funera fando
 Explicet aut possit verbis aequare dolorem?
 10 Templi Dei summi, toto celeberrima regno,
 Quae Phrygiae poterant fana ipsa aequare Dianae,
 Caesaris olim, non nostris sumptibus aucta
 Structaque praecipiti ceciderunt funere. Clara
 Bibliotheca ruit peregrinas nota per oras:
 15 Magnaque scriptorum copia, ut dispersa per aedes
 privatas, flammae est diro consumpta furore.
 Et iam Brassobum prorsus liquere sorores
 Thespiades, priscas liquit sapientia sedes,
 Et veneranda domus sancti niveique senatus
 20 Concidit et turres et propugnacula vasta,
 Totaque nunc bustum est urbs. Quid? Quod civica turba
 In flammis periit vel paupertate laborat
 Vel quaerit pagos. Ruit alto a culmine Brasso.
 Quae ipse miserrima vidi
 25 Et quorum pars magna fui¹⁰.

Im Spätherbst 1703 beschäftigte Fronius das sich dramatisch zuspitzende Schicksal des Sachsengrafen Sachs von Harteneck, den er

¹⁰ Aus “Fatalis urbis exustio” (1689-1691), abgedruckt in *Quellen* VI, S. 408-570 (Julius Gross; vgl. Anm. 7), hier S. 408-09. — Die Originalhandschrift konnte nicht eingesehen werden, weil sie sich noch immer im Nationalmuseum in Bukarest befindet.

als Sohn seines Hermannstädter Lehrers Isaac Zabanius seit langem kannte. Dessen überragenden Begabungen und Fähigkeiten entsprach ein erstaunlicher Aufstieg in den öffentlichen Ämtern des Landes: Er wurde 1697 Königsrichter in Hermannstadt, wurde vom Wiener Hof geadelt und erreichte 1699 das höchste Amt eines Comes der Sächsischen Nation. Fronius hat ihn in den *Tusculanae Heltesdenses* (Gespräche in Heldsdorf) in besonderer Weise geehrt und apostrophiert, indem er das 7. Gespräch vom 6. August 1703, das "Johanni Sachse, Phil(osophiae) Mag(istro), Sac(ri) Rom(ani) Imp(erii) equit(i) ab Harteneck" gewidmet ist, mit einem Gedicht beginnen läßt, in welchem sich Fronius mit seiner Muse folgendermaßen unterhält:

- F. Quo te, Musa pedes? M. En, quo via ducit, in urbem.
 F. Quem quaeris? M. Nostrum. F. Quem, mea musa? M. Meum.
 F. Hic tuus, hic vester, quis? M. Quis? Rari mihi nati.
 Millibus ex multis vix hic et iste probus.
 5 F. Quid? M. Fallit species. F. Cave, ne fallare tu <te> ipsa.
 M. Fallitur is, qui nos fallere sese putat.
 F. Merx tua contempta est. M. Spernunt me non nisi spreti
 Et Musas, Musae quem coluere, colit.
 F. I laetis avibus. M. Nec tristibus, inde redibo.
 10 F. Sic tandem, hic vester quis sit, et ipse sciam¹¹.

Je höher Sachs von Harteneck in seinen Machtbefugnissen stieg, umso mehr scheint ihm sein heftiges Temperament und seine zunehmende Selbstherrlichkeit Feinde gemacht zu haben. Zudem stand natürlich auch er in den Spannungen zwischen der österreichischen "Besatzungsmacht" und den Siebenbürger Sachsen, die auf ihre angestammten Eigenrechte pochten. Nachdem er den Schässburger Bürgermeister wegen Geldfälschung und schlechter Amtsführung verurteilt hatte und ihn, trotz der Begnadigung durch Kaiser Leopold I doch hatte hinrichten lassen, wurde er selbst im Herbst 1703 vom kaiserlichen Gouverneur Graf Rabutin verhaftet und in Fogarasch in Gewahrsam genommen. In dieser Situation schrieb Marcus Fronius ein Gedicht in sein Tagebuch und setzte dazu an den Rand die ahnungsvolle Bemerkung: "Occasio decollatus Schäsburgensis, causa longe alia".

Exul qui fuerat, Judex est Regius. Illum
 Pressit fortuna, ut tolleret in melius.

¹¹ Exemplare der "Tusculanae Heltesdenses" von 1704 befinden sich in Kronstadt im Staatsarchiv und im Archiv der Schwarzen Kirche.

- Eiecit patriis, peregrinas misit ad oras.
 Namque alios alibi sors manet atque foveat.
 5 O ne sustulerit, quod crebro factitat illa
 Dementans, lapsu quo graviore ruat.
 Hoc Ithacus velit, hoc magno mercentur Atreidae.
 Vis invisā aliis est, metuenda aliis.
 Verum si quidquam prodest prudentia, vicit
 10 Ac major surget Sachsii ac cecidit.
 Sin fortuna regit casus et temperat artes.
 Est, sibi quod speret; est, sibi quod metuat¹².

Eine weitere Bemerkung, voll Schärfe und Resignation, wirft ein Schlaglicht auf das ungute Verhältnis zwischen dem Kaiserhof in Wien und der Sächsischen Nation in Siebenbürgen und zeigt die Verbitterung gerade auch des protestantischen Kirchenmannes, der übrigens genau in diesen Tagen zum obersten Geistlichen von Kronstadt gewählt wurde.

“Si moram impetret periculum Sachsii, si aditum ad Leopoldi aulam
 suetam nebulonibus parcere, fideles premere, erit, quod cum Sachsio
 et pro illo speremus. Certiora eventus docebit”.

Der “eventus” jedoch gibt der pessimistischen Ahnung recht: Die Dinge wenden sich für den Sachsengrafen zum Schlechten, er wird zum Tode verurteilt und am 5. dezember 1703 auf dem Marktplatz von Hermannstadt enthauptet. Tragischerweise wurde der Bote, der die kaiserliche Begnadigung überbringen sollte, von den Feinden des Sachs von Harteneck so lange in Reussmarkt aufgehalten, bis die Hinrichtung vollzogen war.

Ein nicht weniger dramatisches Schicksal, aber nun eines unbekannten Bauern, beschreibt Fronius 1692 in seinem Tagebuch in einem eindrucksvollen hexametrischen Gedicht. Die schauerliche Geschichte, die in ihrer Weise das Elend und die Not der damaligen Zeit illustriert, erzählt einen Fall aus Rosenau, einem Dorf unweit von Kronstadt, in dem Fronius später selbst Pfarrer gewesen ist. Es gelingt ihm, die Erzählung als spannungsgeladene Ballade zu gestalten, und er tut es mit einem solchen dramatischen Geschick, daß nur zu bedauern bleibt, daß er das Stück anscheinend nicht vollendet hat, — obwohl sich der Leser ein explizites Ende gar nicht unbedingt wünschen würde.

¹² Abgedruckt in *Quellen*, Bd. VII, S. 290.

Casus Rosonensis

- Triste mihi fatum narrandum, exesto lepores.
 Rusticus e vico, faciunt cui nomina Rosae,
 Quî factus exul, quo fato aut arte peremptus,
 In silvis vitam posuit, iam nunc memorabo.
- 5 Alter ab undecimo septenorum ordo dierum
 Iverat; iste domi consuetos forte labores
 Rure, suos pellens sudores rusticus egit.
 Interea vaccors, apud hunc qui miles hibernat,
 Officio functus vigilis, cum vespere primo
- 10 Hospitium repetit, brevioribus ecce lupatis
 Cernit quadrupedem vacua ad praeseptia vinctum.
 Praefectum quaerulus quaerit, deponitur hospes,
 Verbera bis centum insonti tremuloque parantur.
 Procumbens hic voce Deum testatur et omni
- 15 Se culpa purgat, si purgantem audiat ille;
 Sed ferus in nostros miles et nescius uti
 Sceptro, cui pareat, si ius est ira furorque?
 Iudicis iste metus miserum per compita tuta
 Abstulit in silvas longe latebrasque ferarum.
- 20 Hic casam extruxit, secuit ligna atque recessu
 Laetus nonnumquam capit atrum a coniuge panem
 Et vitam pascit miseram fluvialibus undis.
 Exacta hic pars quarta est anni. Tempore quodam
 Cubanti ad lentos quos lignis struxerat ignes
- 25 Accedunt socii suspecti quinque Valachi.
 Insidet hic tergo, crus ignibus ingerit alter
 Exuritque pedem, mox lumen utrumque
 Eripit infando latronum tertius ausu ...¹³

Es war zu erwarten, daß der Theologe Fronius die Geschehnisse um ihn herum von seinem christlichen Weltbild her zu verstehen und zu interpretieren versucht. Seine Tagebücher sind voll von derartigen gedanklichen Auseinandersetzungen. Schon im Brandbericht von 1689 deutet er das über die Stadt hereingebrochene Unglück als Strafgericht Gottes, von dem sich die Menschen abgewendet hätten. Sie täten gut daran, die Zeichen des göttlichen Zornes wahrzunehmen und die Warnung nicht zu überhören. Etwa in die gleiche Richtung zielen die Hexameter der Aufzeichnung vom 24. Oktober 1690.

Omnis spes patrum nempe fortunaque nostrum
 Numinis auxiliis semper stetit; impius ex quo
 Iste atque hic, sed enim scelerum patrator uterque,

¹³ *Quellen*, VII, S. 264.

- Corripuere sacros homines manibusque cruentis
 5 Virgineos ausi Iovae contingere honores,
 Ex illo fluere ac retro sublapsa referri
 Spes urbis, fractae vires, aversa Dei mens.
 Nec dubiis ea signa dedit Pronoëa monstris¹⁴.

Doch er findet auch Trost in der Bibel und richtet sich in Not und verzweiflungsvoller Lage an der göttlichen Verheissung auf. Daraus entsteht am 26. Oktober 1690 eine Paraphrase der letzten drei Verse des 12. Psalmes in drei Distichen:

- Sermo Tuus, Deus, est argento purior omni,
 Quod flammis fabri terque quaterque tulit.
 Hic tibi sit curae, hunc et nos a gentibus istis
 Eripe et ereptos, o pie Christe, fove.
 5 Omnia namque implent hae gentes improbitate,
 Exemplum istorum latius ire solet¹⁵.

Unter dem 27. Oktober, inmitten von Berichten über die Untaten des Militärs und die Leiden der Menschen, befreit er sich von den übermächtigen Sorgen durch ein langes Gedicht nach biblischen Motiven, das ihn schließlich zur Ruhe kommen läßt in der Gewißheit, daß Gott alles verfügt und plant. Als Vorlage dient ihm dafür Jesaja 8, 9-22.

- Quid facitis populi? Spumantes nunc coquite iras
 Iratique fugam properando capessite. Nunquid
 Nondum haec auditis, peregrinis quotquot ab oris
 Venistis? Ferrum lateri praecingite acutum
 5 Armatique fugam properando capessite. Ferrum,
 obsecro, vos ferrum femori praecingite acutum
 Armatique fugam properando capessite. Iam nunc
 Consultate viri, et tepidas spargatur in auras
 Consilium, eventus cui non respondeat ullus.
 10 Currite, sermones varios conferte, superbas
 Jungite nunc vires, et fallent spesque minaeque.
 Cur? Quia nobiscum Deus est, (Advortite mentem),
 Immanu-El nomen sit formidabile vobis.
 Namque ait haec Dominus memet Iehovaprehendens
 15 Dextra, ne populi sequerer vestigia, cuius
 Nil sonat ore aliud, quam foedus. Foedera sola,
 Dum metuit, loquitur. Spes est in foedere tantum.
 Sic ego ne metuam, ne sic ego mente pavescam,

¹⁴ Wie Anm. 10, jedoch S. 506.

¹⁵ Wie Anm. 10, jedoch S. 512.

- Sanctificem potius Dominum, deus ipse monebat.
 20 Sit Dominus solus noster terrorque metusque.
 Sic fiet sancta is turris, quo tempore duro
 Confugiam. Fiet pariter tam petra ruinae,
 Quam lapis offendens domibus laqueusque duabus,
 Tendicula hic etiam fiet Jerosolymorum
 25 Civibus, impingentque cadent et confringentur
 Atque irretiti tandem multi capientur.
 Haec obsignarem tacitus, monuit Iehova Sabaoth.
 Quare praestolor Dominum, quamvis averterit (eheu!)
 A populo faciem Jacobigenasque relinquat
 30 Vexandos hosti, tamen hunc praestolor et isti
 Confido, expecto Dominum, spes unica semper
 Immanuel, dulci quem voco nomine Iesu.
 En adsum, mi Iesu, adsum, sanctissime Iesu,
 Natus adest etiam, quem Tu mihi, Iova, dedisti
 35 (Transferre huc vatis si fas est verba sacrata)
 in signumque in prodigiumque, ut tempora nobis
 Olim monstrabunt, saltem mihi vita supersit
 Tantisper, nostros validus nec deserat artus
 Spiritus et superent isthoc in corpore vires,
 40 Istos ut videam, quis cura est nulla salutis,
 Nulla Dei, quibus est mendax pro numine Python:
 Istos dum videam plagis ac fame subactos
 Errare huc illuc, qui quando fame prementur
 Irati regique Deoque suo ... maledicent,
 45 Spectantes sursum pavidi terramque deorsum
 Spectantes. Nihil hic usquam nisi crassa caligo
 Atque urgens feras terrore angustia mentes.
 Namque trement misere semper noctisque per umbram
 Passibus incertis certa haud vestigia figent,
 50 Ut narrat fuse capite haec octavo Esaïas.
 Quae, quando verum fas dicere erit, memorabo
 Fusior et, quantas adflicto in pectore gignat
 Spes, dicam, misero si possum reddere versu.
 Ultima iam noctis, freno haud remorante, volavit
 55 Hora, suum linquens spatium se pone sequenti
 Primae qua numerum. Medius ivit habetque
 Antipodes, properans, qua noster prostat Horizon,
 Pellere equos, proprior frenum praevertere Phoebe
 Nititur et claudunt laterum fessique sinistram
 60 A dextro revoluta thoro nunc membra levantes.
 Nos nox insomnis tenet ardentesque iuventae
 Exhaurit vires, dum terror iungitur illi.
 Pone metum iam nunc, Psyche, Dominus disponet¹⁶.

¹⁶ *Quellen*, VI, S. 521-522. Enthält offenbar mehrere Lesefehler. Die Handschrift der *Fatalis urbis exustio*, die sich im Nationalmuseum in Bukarest befindet, konnte leider

Und noch am gleichen Tag, nachdem er von einem empörenden Unrechtsfall berichtet hat, folgt — sicher nicht zufällig — unter der Überschrift “Vivit Jehova” das Bekenntnis

- Diligo te, Domine, ex animo te diligo, Iova,
 Robur, petra, arx, ereptor, deus atque salus et
 Scutum perpetuum, cornu, exaltatio nostra.
 Laudabo nomen Domini semperque vocabo
 5 Et conservabor, pereuntibus hic inimicis.
 Circum — me — dederant mortis fatique dolores,
 Torrentes Belial terrebant, vincula nigri
 Me circumstabant orci laqueusque paratus
 In mortis manibus vincebat prae-que-valebat.
 10 Cum premeret nostrum tanta haec angustia pectus,
 Clamavi ad Dominum Dominumque Deumque vocavi:
 Hic exaudivit de templi limine vocem
 Ascenditque meus clamor sacra pectora et aureis
 Confestim penetrans, compos sum factus voti.
 15 Ex altis misit prenditque, extraxit aquarum
 Ex fundo, eripuit pactor de forti inimico,
 Odia serpentina in me qui forte vomebat.
 Quis Deus est, praeter nostrum? Quis et arripotens est,
 Hunc praeter Dominum? Mars quid? Quid? Fabula certe.
 20 Bellonae nomen vanum vanumque est Caesaris atque
 Othomani. Bella hic hominum pater et superum rex
 Quo vult, mox vertit: certa est victoria Jovae.
 Quas dicam grates? Vivit Jehova. Perennis
 Laus haec, haec spes est miserorum artesque perennes,
 25 Quas nullus novit nequam. Spes ista perennis
 Dum vita hic durat, nobiscum (quaeso) perennet.
 Vivit Jova Deus, Deus hic Jehova perennat¹⁷.

Naheliegend war es für Fronius sicher, Schriften theologischen Inhalts mit religiösen Gedichten zu schmücken, wie sie sich am Anfang und am Ende der Schrift “Patriam quaerens exul psyche” von 1705 finden. Hierzu heißt es: “Als Stadtpfarrer trug er selbst den Studierenden im kleinen Hörsaal des Gymnasiums die Theologie unter dem Bild der reisenden Psyche vor, hielt mit den Academicis Disputationen auf der Parochie über die Glaubensartikel ...”¹⁸, und es werden Namen der

nicht überprüft werden. Wir verbesserten V.23 (“laqueusque domibus duabus”), V.24 (“Findicula”) V.27 (“Sabaotos”) und V.31 (“experto”).

¹⁷ *Quellen*, VI, S. 525-526: Für das Gedicht *Diligo te Domine* gilt das gleiche als für *Fatalis urbis exustio*. Wir emendierten V.1 (“Deligo”), 2 (“ars”), 14 (“noti”), und 16 (“erupuit”). Vorlage war Ps. 17.

¹⁸ Joseph Trausch, *Schriftsteller-Lexikon der Siebenbürger Deutschen*, Bd. 1 (1868), S. 350 (Anm. 3).

Disputationsrunde genannt, von denen einer vielleicht die drei einleitenden Distichen komponiert hat:

- Terra domus animis non est accomoda nostris
 Altius it nostrae conditionis honos.
 Qui nimium terras amat et mortalia tecta,
 Fallitur. Est alio patria nostra loco.
 5 Hic sumus extorres alienaque regna tenemus
 Sub gravis exilii servitiiq[ue] jugo¹⁹.

Der von Fronius gesetzte Schluß spielt in traditioneller Manier Möglichkeiten des Dichtens durch, die zu dem formal auffallenden Ergebnis führen:

- CHRISTE, meae vires, mea spes, mea gaudia, CHRISTE!
 Consiliumque meum, praesidiumque meum!
 CHRISTE, mei plausus, mea laus, mea gloria, CHRISTE!
 5 Auspiciumque meum, fama decusque meum!
 CHRISTE, meae gazae, lucrum, possessio, CHRISTE!
 Praemia Tu, merces, divitiaeque meae!
 CHRISTE, meae lacrumae, gemitus, suspiria, CHRISTE!
 Sponse, salus, Princeps, vota precesque meae!
 10 CHRISTE, meum coelum, mea gratia et omnia, CHRISTE!
 Auxiliumque meum! Deliciumque meum!²⁰

Einen persönlicheren Ton vermittelt dagegen wieder ein Gedicht aus einem Tagebuch, das Fronius zu Ende des Jahres 1707 eintrug und in dem sich Bekenntnis und Gebet verbinden.

- Dummodo Te teneam, nil curo polumque solumque.
 Ipse mihi peream dummodo Te teneam.
 In coelis una es, JESU, mihi stella polaris,
 In terris alae Spiritus ille Tuus.
 5 Evolat hoc nisu cor hinc terramque relinquit
 O volet et felix aurea id astra petat!
 Dummodo Te teneam, curo nihil astra polumque.
 Astrum Tu mihi sis, Tu mihi, Christe, polus²¹.

Die religiöse Thematik hat sich immer schon vornehmlich für Leichengedichte angeboten, und wenn gar ein Theologe dichtet, wird sie geradezu von ihm erwartet und erhofft. Bei Anlaß eines so frühen

¹⁹ "Patriam quaerens Exul Psyche" (1705), latein. Manuskript, Archiv der Schwarzen Kirche Kronstadt, Y 3.

²⁰ Ibidem.

²¹ Aus "Habet suam iste quercum" (1707/1708), Ms. Archiv Q 3.

und traurigen Todes wie dem des Pfarrerssohnes Samuel Sinonius am 21. März 1700, der als Student von nur 20 Jahren aus dem Leben gehen mußte, wurde die Notwendigkeit, mit dem verheißenen Leben im Jenseits zu trösten und die dort erreichte Glückseligkeit auszumalen, sicher besonders stark empfunden, und so hat Marcus Fronius bei dieser Gelegenheit gedichtet:

- Cum coelum levius sit sitque gravissima terra,
 Quare plus ista ponderis illud habet?
 Obscura est terra, et parva est, dat febriculosa
 Gaudia, inops rerum est, denique plena malis;
 5 At coelum illustre est, tegit omnia, et omnia transit:
 Absunt inde vices, nescit item lachrymas:
 Marte ac Morte caret, nil dat nisi gaudia plena;
 Solum felices aut facit, aut recipit.
 Terra vale, dixit, salve, dixit quoque, coelum
 10 Illic sunt luctus, hic habitare bonum est²².

In irdischere Sphären führt Fronius' poetische Gratulation²³, die er Martin Harnung zur Wahl zum Kronstädter Stadtpfarrer am 12. September 1691 widmete. Dieser war zuvor Pfarrer in Brenndorf gewesen. Das Stadtpfarramt in Kronstadt versorgte er von 1691 an zwölf Jahre lang, und sein Nachfolger im Amt wurde Marcus Fronius. Im Herbst 1691 aber war Fronius als Stadtprediger in Kronstadt nächster Mitarbeiter unter dem Stadtpfarrer. Daß er bei dieser Gelegenheit mit unter den Gratulanten auftrat, versteht sich von selbst. Daß er dazu den Chor der Musen mitsamt dem Musenführer aufbietet und das ganze mit der Kronstädter Situation verflucht, zeigt, daß er viel Sorgfalt und Kunst auf die Verse verwandt hat. Häufig werden die letzten vier Hexameter zitiert, die wie in einem Merkvers die Namen der 12 Stadtpfarrer von Kronstadt seit der Reformation zusammenfassen, beginnend natürlich mit dem Reformator Johannes Honterus, der von 1544 an Stadtpfarrer gewesen war.

Taedia solliciti fugiturus longa laboris
 Nuper in apricum, qua mons huic altior urbi
 Imminet, et casum praerupti saxa minantur,
 Veni. Jam medio coeli mihi culmine Phoebus

²² Aus "Kronstädter Leichen-Gedichte 1654-1825", gesammelt von Joseph Franz Trausch, im Archiv der Schwarzen Kirche in Kronstadt, P 5.

²³ Aus der gleichen Sammlung.

- 5 Occurrit, libram dextra versante reflectens:
 Ambiguo similis nunc has, mox respicit illas
 Partes. Mirabar, quid cui decerneret ille.
 Accessi propius, fines Heliconis adivi.
 Tentavi, ascendi, emersique receptus in orbem,
- 10 Quem faciebat ovans ter trina caterva Sororum,
 Calliope, Euterpeque, Eratoque, Polymnia, Clio,
 Terpsichore, Uranieque, Thaliaque, Melpomeneque.
 Invidia in dumis mixta est Serpentibus atris.
 Dum sto, dum miror, dum jam circumfero nostra
- 15 Lumina, Mercurius complosis advolat alis,
 Quid fers, nate Deo? Referebat proelia Martis.
 Ergo Coronae? inquam. M: Usta virum surgunt monumenta,
 Sublimem scandit turrin campana, superba
 Moles jam templo, redeunt araeque viaeque
- 20 Atque trabes; foribus cardo jam stridet ahenis;
 Decrescit mixtae quoque mons praeruptus arenae,
 Templi quem casus dederat turpisque ruina.
 Instant ardentes operi; pars ducere muros
 Molirique domos, manibus subvolvere tigna,
- 25 Pars trabibus longis atque alto incumbere tecto,
 Fervet opus. C: Quid id est? Vereor timeoque futura.
 M: Non est quod metuas. Eut: Rem tandem edissere quaeso.
 M: Honterum audistis fato cessisse. C: Quid inde?
 M: Alter successit. P: Quisnam is? M: Tu confice. T: Noster
- 30 Albrichius noster, bene vertice notus utroque.
 M: Est alius. Eut: Quis is esse potest? M: In gurgite vasto
 Nantes tam raros ne jam cogitate Sorores.
 Mel: Monstra canis. Paucis finxit Praecordia Titan
 De meliore luto. Er: Tu perge exponere coepta.
- 35 Num puer Iliacum tantos invenit honores
 Tyndaris in gremio? M: Hunc infesta Minerva removit.
 Cal: Ergone Glossiqueus, quod nemo retur, habebit?
 M: Neuter in his. Ur: Quid? An Autocalos? M: Clarissimus
 HARNUNG.
- In: Hiccine erat? Multos graviter qui bajulat annos.
- 40 Usque senem vultis? quin quaerite membra juventae.
 Ph (!): Invidia alterius rebus marcescat opimis.
 Plaudite sacriloquae, Pietatis praemia sunt haec.
 Invidiae numquam placeat, simulataque vitet,
 Aurea lingua dedit non raro plumbea corda.
- 45 Macte autem, cum Te nos hic libramine justo
 Praeferimus multis, macte Venerabilis HARNUNG,
 Quo virtus ducit, quo Fors comitatur euntem,
 Aggredere o meritos coelo tandem auspice honores.

- M: Hic fuit Honterus, Wagner, nec fidus Amicin²⁴,
 50 Mellebriger, Bogner, post Massam, Fuchsius, Albel,
 Electus Plekker, post Honterusque Mederum.
 HARNUNGUS decimus numerabitur atque secundus.

Jahre später, im Herbst 1702, hat Fronius in seinem Tagebuch in lateinischen Distichen eine Gratulation für Martin Harnung skizziert, der einer akuten Krankheit nicht erlegen war, sondern sich auf dem Wege der Besserung befand. Als bedingt durch das Amt des Stadtpredigers Fronius unmittelbar in Harnungs Nähe beschäftigt gewesen war, hatte er unter dessen Reizbarkeit und Schroffheit zu leiden gehabt, wie gelegentliche Bemerkungen erkennen lassen, aus denen aber auch hervorgeht, daß er den tieferen Grund für das Verhalten des Stadtpfarrers in einer freudlosen und spannungsreichen Ehe sah, so daß er Ungerechtigkeiten ohne Klage hinnahm. Fronius hielt Harnung auch weiterhin die Treue, als er längst selbständig und Pfarrer in Heldsdorf bzw. in Rosenau war.

Das Glückwunschgedicht zur Genesung ist in mehreren Fassungen, mit Streichungen und Korrekturen aufgezeichnet und legt den Prozess des Dichtens offen, bis das Ganze folgende Gestalt erhält:

- Scilicet et coluber renovati temporis ortus
 Emensus veteres exuit exuvias;
 Scilicet et rostro decertat acumen adunco
 Regina illa avium seseque fit junior;
 5 Scilicet et pondus nimium, sua cornua, cervus
 Abjicit atque novus crescit honos capiti:
 Sic ille, ut coluber, ligno suspensus ab alto,
 Promissi veteris praestitit hicce fidem,
 Dum fecit sacro vim rejuvenescere rostro
 10 Vocemque audiri rursus in urbe Tuam.
 Nominis hac etymon firmant Superi ratione
 HARNUNGI atque Tuis fata favent meritis.
 Non medicis magis haec quam votis, optime, nostris,
 Et precibus tribuo fata, Patrone, piis.

²⁴ (Zu S. 16, V. 28): Der Kronstädter Stadtpfarrer Titus Amicinus wurde im Juni 1561 als Stadtpfarrer eingesetzt, aber 10 Wochen später abgesetzt, weil er der "Schweizer" Lehre (Zwingli, Calvin) zuneigte. Cf. Paul Philippi, "Luthers umstrittenes Erbe in Wittenberg und in Kronstadt. Ein neues Dokument über Titus Amicinus", in: *Festschrift 500 Jahre Martin Luther* (Hermannstadt 1983), S. 101-116. So mag sich auch die Form "nec fidus Amicin" erklären.

- 15 Constantem esse velit Deus hanc precor usque salutem
 Et praestent eadem vota, medela, preces.
 Summo praecipitis plaudebam in vertice montis
 Lentus ego Rhodias Tityrus inter oves²⁵.

Nur wenige poetische Stücke zeigen den Autor in seinen intimsten und privatesten Zügen und in seinem Verhältnis zu seinen nächsten Angehörigen. Im Frühjahr 1692 starb seine erste Frau Catharina geb. Latz und hinterließ ihm zwei kleine Söhne, die zu dem Zeitpunkt aber auch schwer krank waren. Da überwältigt ihn die Trauer und das Vermissten und in einer bewegenden Klage macht er seinem Schmerz Luft.

Epicedium

- Talis erat mea Nympha, mihi cum nubserat illa,
 Inque toro licitos dabat (hei!) lususque jocosque,
 Postque jocos natum geminum, pia praemia amoris.
 Mors praepes rapuit matrem cum conjuge amatam.
 5 Quid possum miseram nisi planctu ducere vitam?
 Atque orbem tristis posthac invisere lectum?
 O mea Nympha! placens mea Sponsa! o gaudia lecti!
 O mater prolis geminae! o tristissima imago!
 Parjeti quam specto, rapuit mihi pallida Morta.
 10 Est testis paries inscriptus nomine Nymphae,
 Quam te dilexi, Catharina, et semper amavi.
 Huc formam pingi (quae si pulcherrima posset
 Pingi, quam cuperem!) Subscribo carmen amoris,
 Parthenopen, nuptam, nostram uxorem genitricem,
 15 Adpello, ah modo non vocareris mortua tandem!
 Addo me tristem, laeto sum tristis in orbe,
 Heu quam sunt misera haec tristi solatia menti!²⁶

Leider ist vor diesem Text eine Seite herausgeschnitten worden, die von einer farbigen Zeichnung ausgefüllt war. Es bleibt unbeantwortbar, wer sie herausnahm, oder ob gar Fronius selbst die Zeichnung entfernt hat. Möglich wäre es, zumal zwischen dem am Pfingsttag vermerkten Tod seiner Frau und dem am 1. Sonntag nach Trinitatis eingetragenen Gedicht ein kurzer Nachtrag von Fronius' Hand "Scrib. Cor. IIX Sept. 1707" auf eine spätere Durchsicht hindeutet.

Aus der Heldsdorfer Zeit stellen die "Versus de hominum aetate", die sich im Tagebuch von 1698 finden, ein argloses Spiel mit Gedanken

²⁵ Aus dem Tagebuch "Posteritati" 1702-1708, Ms. im Archiv der Schwarzen Kirche Kronstadt, Q 7.

²⁶ Aus dem Tagebuch "Fata" 1692-1694, Ms. im Archiv der Schwarzen Kirche Kronstadt, Q 7.

und Worten dar und zeigen vielleicht einen gewissen Sinn für Systematik und Ordnung (der sich in Fronius' Schriften oft nachweisen läßt), aber keine sehr tiefen Gedanken.

Zehen Jahr ein Kind

Exultat levitate puer nullaue moratur
Sede diu, lusu deditus usque suo.

Zwanzig Jahr ein Jübgling

Est quia nec juvenis nec jam puer hic ab utrisque
Inficitur vitiis obruiturque suis.

Dreysig Jahr ein Mann

Sum juvenis validoque mihi stant robore vires
Aptus et ad Venerem Martiaque arma sequi.

Viertzig Jahr Wolgethan

Aetas me firmata virum nunc robore fecit,
Qui queat hostiles ense fugare manus.

Fünftzig Jahr Stillstahn

Postquam nunc exacta mihi pars optima vitae
Saepius hanc frustra praeteriisse queror.

Sechtzig Jahr gehts Alter an

Huic jam deterior canis aspergitur aetas
Altius ac faciem ruga senilis arat.

Siebentzig Jahr ein Greiß

Invidus alterius rebus tristatur opimis
Jam nec amicitias ut prius ille colit.

Achtzig Jahr nimmer Weiß

Sanguis hebet languentque effetae in corpore vires
quique inerat menti nunc vigor omnis abit.

Neuntzig Jahr der Kinder Spott

Ipse puer pueris illudor ab omnibus ac me
Mente vident puerum, sed tamen ore senem.

Hundert Jahr gnad dir Gott

Vixi quemque dedit cursum fortuna peregi
Mors properat densa cincta caput nebula²⁷.

Als einen ähnlichen Zeitvertreib hat er an gleicher Stelle die Himmelskörper, Menschentypen und die *Septem Artes Liberales* mit je einem Distichon charakterisiert.

Grammatica

Me puer a teneris discat non segniter annis,
In studiis felix qui cupit esse suis.

Dialectica

²⁷Aus dem Tagebuch "Fasti Heropolitani" 1697/98, Ms. im Archiv der Schwarzen Kirche Kronstadt, Y 3, S. 21-22 (siehe Abb.).

Non illum mea si quisquam praecepta sequetur
Ducet in ignotum devius error iter.

Rhetorica

Qui cupis ad summum conscendere culmen honoris
Me sequere et magnas dives habebis opes.

Musica

Saxa ferasque lyra movit Rhodopeius Orpheus,
Tanta est in numeris gratia visque meis.

Arithmetica

A numeris nomen graecum mihi, respice cunctis
Invenies rebus munus inesse meum.

Geometria

Describit terras radio spatiumque locorum
Metitur certis et juga summa modis.

Astronomia

Felices nimium quibus hanc cognoscere cura
Humana major conditione fuit²⁸.

Das letzte Gedicht, das wir hier vorstellen wollen, nimmt uns noch einmal ganz in das Leben und die Situation des Marcus Fronius hinein. Ein Tagebucheintrag vom 11. Oktober 1690 spiegelt lebhaft die Armut und Not und die beklemmende Ungewißheit wieder, unter denen die Bevölkerung leidet, die anderthalb Jahre nach dem fürchterlichen Brand von Kronstadt an die Wiederherstellung von Kirche und Rathaus denkt, sich aber von den fremden Besatzern verspottet und demütigen lassen muß: "frustra nos privilegia crepaturos, et templo et curia iam tum excidisse nec esse, quod de restauratione cogitemus, aliorum fore". Und noch böartiger: "Alius ait, frustra nos orare, preces non audiri a Deo". Fronius setzt seine feste Überzeugung dagegen: "Sed miserebitur nostri Dominus, sat scio".

Dann aber ist plötzlich das nächtliche Arbeitszimmer des Marcus Fronius da, der in der Stille der schlafenden Stadt noch bis zum ersten Hahnenschrei oder bis es drei Uhr vom Turm schlägt wach bleiben will und sich selbst zur Tätigkeit anspornt: "Musas abituras iniecta manu retine, ... psyche", und mit einem kunstvollen Gedicht, teilweise im elegischen Versmaß²⁹ und zum Teil in Hexametern, den langen Tag abschließt.

²⁸ ibidem, p. 25.

²⁹ Abgedruckt in *Quellen*, Bd. VI (wie Anm. 10), S. 488.

- Incipe, versifica, petens sic fallere tempus,
 Ne vincat Morpheus, incipe, versifica.
 Vivitur ingenio, sunt somni corporis huius,
 Non mentis vires. Vivitur ingenio.
- 5 Incipe, per-que-fice. Iam tertia tarda sonabit,
 Si modo, psyche, instes. Incipe, per-que-fice.
 Iam facit haec oculus, sed cur tarda hora moratur?
 Eio age, fac properes, iam facit haec oculus.
 Ni venias, abeo, fessaque haec lumina condo.
- 10 Audin, quae dixi? Ni venias, abeo.
 Quid facis? Eia veni, longa es, †mi† [nostri?] miseresce.
 Surda es, non audis? Quid facis, eia veni.
 Momento cita mors venit aut victoria laeta.
- Sic Mortem paucis describit rite poeta.
- 15 Quid tibi Teōkeōlyi, quid Loy evenerat horum,
 Hic expectati quod neuter cernitur usque?
 Spes nos, spes nostros, spes vos et fama fefellit.
 Rumpe moras cita mors vel tu victoria laeta,
 Quo fessis tandem liceat requiescere paulum.
- 20 Iam satis est, versu longas attraximus³⁰ horas.
 Ite domum fessae, sonuit nunc, ite Camoenae.
 Cetera cras melius Phoebo veniente canemus.
 Ite, redite iterum. Sonuit iam tertia. Dixi.

Fronius ist unermüdlich tätig gewesen und hat, je länger je mehr, sich unablässig um die Menschen gesorgt, die ihm anvertraut waren. Diese Seite seines Wesens wird insbesondere in den Leichengedichten hervorgehoben, die bei seinem Tode am 14. April 1713 auf große Leichencharren gedruckt wurden³¹. Er selbst hat, konform mit seinem Wahlspruch: "Serviando aliis consumimur", unter sein Porträt schreiben lassen:

Servio quando aliis consummar sub tamen alis,
 Christe, et praesidio concomitante tuo³².

Wolkenburgstrasse 5
 D-5205 St. Augustin 2
 BRD

³⁰ So im gedrucktem Text. Sollte man nicht vielmehr "attrivimus" lesen?

³¹ Lore Wirth-Poelchau, "Die Leichengedichte auf den Kronstädter Stadtpfarrer Marcus Fronius (1713). Ein Beitrag zur Person des Verstorbenen, zu den Gedichten und den Dichtern", *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 13 (= 84) (1990), 39-61.

³² Joseph Trausch, *Schriftsteller-Lexikon* I, S. 351.

Christus einen armen Sünder, der mit verzweiflung
 lung geängert, erschienen, ihm sein heiliges
 Stunden gezeigt, und zu ihm gesprochen:
 siehe lieber Bruder, diese Stunden habe
 ich deiner halben erlitten, und ich du wirst
 zweifeln siehst, wolle ich ehe noch sind für
 dich leiden.

Versus de hominum aetate.

John. Jahr im Kind.

Exultat levitate puer nullaque moratur,
 Seda dia, lusa dedens usq. suo.

Orantia Jahr im Jüngling.

Est quia nec juvenis nec jam puer suab utiq.
 Inficitur vitio obruiturq. suis.

Orantia Jahr im Mann.

Sum juvenis validosq. mihi sunt robore vires
 Artus et ad Venerim Martia arma /q.

Orantia Jahr im Alter.

Aetas me firmata virum nunc robore fecit,
 Qui queat hostiles infere fugare manus.

Orantia Jahr im Tode.

Postquam nunc ex aetate mihi pars optima videt
 Quis bona frustra perierisse queror.

20.

kan Gerecht machen, der Gerecht gehalten ist,
daß er sich für fromm in heiligem Glauben
verhält. Ambros. Herm. 4. 5.

Der Glaube kan auch einen Mörder fromm machen
und zu Aposteln, die von dem Herrn gesagt wurden
sind worden. Es muß ein großer Glaube in dem
Gehobenen Gerecht sein, daß er den für seinen Gott
und Herrn hält, der mit ihm als ein überlebender,
am Kreuz spricht.

Idem Herm. 4. 5.

Der Glaube hat die Kraft, daß er die Tünder
zu drücken, die misachtet überwinden, und alle einen
Mörder einen frommen Mann machen kan. und ob
gleich die Sünde groß ist, so ist doch die Gnade
daß Glaube noch größer. Es ist ein Pfaffen
vor uns, glauben als Sündigen, es ist Pfaffen
und Pfaffen, sich viel Gnade zu Gott anerkennen
als viel Sünde auf sich geladen haben.

Bernhardus.

Wenn alle Sünden und Tünder der Menschen
auf einer Nagelschloß liegen, und ein einziges
Bluttröpfchen Christi auf der andern, so
wird das einzige Bluttröpfchen Christi die
Sünden der Menschen überleben.

Carpus und Ignatius schreiben, daß der Herr
Christus

aus
Festherstellung
1697-1798
Ank. 13.

Mars.

23.

Ceu strictus notat sic ensis, ceu Martia monstrat
Arma, gero promptas at fera bella manus.

Mercurius

Merx mihi nec non laura placent et laura sequentes
Et facere excellens qui valet artis opus
Jupiter.

Compositi mores, probitas, sapientia, Virtus
Hae sunt ingenii munera firma mei.

Venus.

Hic ferus arma gerit, gerit hic sua bella Cupido
Pectora stulta puer que ferit ille facit.

Saturnus.

Torpidus incensus, tremulus, de formis et elger,
Difficilis gelidus, invidiosus, iners.

Sanguineus.

Cui rara surgunt moderato sanguine vena
Mitis is est et nil immoderate agit.

Colericus

Bile scaturit tenui; si vna calentia potet,
Arma crepat, lites voce manag' iet

Phlegmaticus.

Frigidus atq' humilis circum quondam sanguis
Omnia tanta facit, mensq' mang' sabant.

22.

Grethia Jaber g. h. to Alter an.

Huius jam deterior canis aspergitur etas
 Illius ac faciem ruga senilis arat.

Siebentia Jaber in Greiß.

Invidus alterius rebus tristatur opimis
 Jam nec amicitias ut prius ille colit.

Hestia Jaber in Greiß.

Sanguis sebet languentis effectus in corpore in
 Quis merat nunc nunc vigor omnis ab

Huntia Jaber der Kinder Spot.

Iste puer pueris illudor ab oib. ac me
 Mente videtur puerus sed in ore senum.

Bundert Jaber genad dir Got.

Vixi quemq. dedie casum fortuna pegeri
 Non prosperat diuisa cincta caput nebul

21.

Aqua.

Uada vesit pisces varios et grandia cete.

Terra ferax homin. q. viri in gramina pasci

Sol.

Ille ego qui summi factus virute Tonantis
 Spectans de regibus lumina, loq. bonis

Luna.

Luna nomine vocor tibi non male rem col

Relics operum nuncia quippe dies.

Mars

Sigurður Pétursson

NUPTIÆ HOLANÆ¹

In the 17th and 18th century the epithalamium had become well known in Iceland as a literary genre and thus examples of it are quite often found in manuscripts from this period. But the discovery of an epithalamium composed in Latin in the year 1696 and consisting of some 300 verses still deserved more than usual curiosity and attention². To write such a long poem in Latin and even adorn it with a little Greek could not possibly have been common practice, how popular the genre might have been. It was easy to draw the immediate conclusion that the wedding in question must have been a big one, possibly celebrated with proper festivities in an atmosphere of youth and romance so often connected with an occasion of this kind. A brief perusal led to a somewhat unexpected result. The groom was 63 years of age and the bride 50. What part romance played in this case is difficult to say but it was certainly not a wedding characterized by the youth of those marrying. But perhaps these unusual circumstances make the wedding and the epithalamium more interesting in a way and consequently prompt questions as to who the bride and bridegroom actually were, who wrote the epithalamium, what motivated the author and how he expressed in words his sentiments and congratulations to the aging couple.

The use of the Latin language alone implies that the bride and bridegroom belonged to a social class superior to the uneducated and unknown. And true enough, the bride and bridegroom did belong to the ruling class of Iceland. The groom was *Dominus Einarus Thorstenius*, i.e. the bishop of Hólar, Einar Þorsteinsson, born in 1633 and a

¹ The content of this article is fundamentally the same as that of a paper read at a Nordic Neo-Latin seminar at Hanasaari in Finland on the 23rd of April 1988.

² Lbs. 1298, 4to. (Lbs. = Landsbókasafn Íslands : The National Library of Iceland). The manuscript seems to be written ca. 1800 and according to the writer the text of the epithalamium is copied from the autograph manuscript.

widower with ten more or less grown-up children, and the bride *Matrona Ragnheida Jonæ filia*, i.e. Ragnheiður Jónsdóttir, born in 1646 and the widow of one of the groom's predecessors on the episcopal chair, Gísli Þorláksson (1631-1684). This at once enframes the event and to a person who has some knowledge of the 17th century history of Iceland and the complicated relationship and intermarriages of the most important families, it tells a lot about this marriage. To the bride, the well-situated childless widow of a bishop, it was definitely an advantage to marry this bishop. Thus she regained her former position and rank as one of the most prominent ladies of the country, living in surroundings she already was well acquainted with. And precisely this circumstance was of great importance to the bishop from the practical point of view, as he was marrying a dignified and experienced lady who knew exactly how to run a household like that of the episcopal seat at Hólar, which was of a considerable size measured by Icelandic standards. Moreover, it cannot be denied that by this marriage the bishop consolidated his position in the Icelandic aristocracy, since the bride, unlike the groom himself, belonged to the most powerful and learned families of the country both by birth and through her first marriage. Therefore the practical reasons for this marriage are quite obvious whereas we do not know what part love and affection may have played in its prelude.

The author of the poem was a young man, *Eiulfus Jonæus*, i.e. Eyjólfur Jónsson, who was born in Northern Iceland in 1670. As a young boy he had been sent to the house of his maternal grandfather, the clergyman Sveinn Jónsson (1603-1687) who was considered to be one of the most learned clergymen in Iceland in the seventeenth century. There he was brought up until he was sent to the cathedral school at Skálholt in Southern Iceland where he graduated in 1687. The following winter he spent in Copenhagen as a member of the retinue of a Danish high official in the Icelandic administration³, whereupon he returned to Iceland for the next four years. On the 8th of December 1692 he was admitted to the University of Copenhagen and a year later he graduated with a degree, *attestatus*, after having become well known for his learning, especially in Classics, for which reason he was called "the Greek Iclander" even by the scholars at the university. Then Eyjólfur Jónsson seems to have spent two years with his parents in

³ Chr. Heidemann.

Southern Iceland and ca. 1695 he became teacher at the cathedral school of Hólar, the position he held when he wrote the epithalamium on the occasion of the bishop's wedding. With his background in classical learning, his social communication with the highest officials of the country and his stay in Copenhagen, Eyjólfur Jónsson must have been very well acquainted with the genre of epithalamia and was without doubt as well prepared to write a poem of this kind as anybody could have been.

And what does a learned man like Eyjólfur Jónsson contrive to say in this situation and depict in 300 hexameter verses? For those who have some knowledge of the classical world there will not be much new, but nevertheless it may be interesting to have a look at the poem itself and its contents which could bring us to a better understanding of the thinking of a learned Iclander of the seventeenth and eighteenth century and how he cultivated his literary interests under external conditions which had very little in common with that world long past from which he drew his inspiration.

Taking a general view of the poem in order to see how the author has treated his subject matter, its main disposition can be sketched in the following way: Verses 1-24, the time of the event and a description of nature, its behaviour and unusual radiance; vv. 25-31, everything calls for joy, and fate has been so kind as to give the Icelanders the pleasure of a splendid spectacle; vv. 32-40, a description of a big house, presumably the episcopal seat, as the actual scene of the event; vv. 41-69, activity in the house; vv. 70-94, more subjective and personal thoughts of the author concerning the things he sees; vv. 95-299 a long speech addressed to the bishop, which is divided into several smaller parts; and vv. 300-315, congratulations addressed to the bride.

Keeping this main division in mind we will now proceed to a closer examination of the various parts of the poem.

1-24) "*Iam nova labenti veniunt spectacula seculo*". With these opening words the author indicates what has occasioned the poem, i.e. *nova spectacula*. Then there follows the description of the season, autumn, which now has commenced its path after summer's heat has waned. In spite of this change the colours of nature have not faded, on the contrary the grass is still green and the whole of nature is bursting with life and sprouting with force and does not fear the cold of the fierce winter which is rapidly drawing closer. In verse 14 the author rounds off the description of those unusual circumstances by saying "*Est cuivis*

proprium decus est sua fama nitoris”, whereupon he proceeds to the astronomical changes characterizing autumn, which do not carry the sadness one would expect but still emit vigorous rays of light.

As we know from the title of the poem that the wedding took place on the 13th of September 1696, it is fairly obvious why the author speaks about *labenti seculo* and autumn. In this way he sets the time of the *spectacula*, the wedding itself. But why is this autumn so particular, not bleak and sad, but full of life as if it were spring or summer? It is a well-known poetical device to let nature reflect human happiness and sorrows and as a wedding normally would be considered a joyful event, light and fertile characteristics would certainly be more apt than dark to express joy and happiness. Nonetheless I think it would be a more refined interpretation to regard this description as a polite allusion to the rather advanced age of the bride and bridegroom, which indeed was comparable to autumn, whereas a wedding usually takes place in the spring or early summer of a human life. Thus the author does not overlook the unusual aspect of the age of the bride and the groom, but emphasizes the flourishing vitality they possess and their fearlessness towards the waning powers of old age. This interpretation of the introduction of the poem is probably supported by verse 14 cited above, which apart from referring to the various plants and phenomena of nature might also be interpreted as a kind of compliment to the bride and the bridegroom containing an indirect reference to their age, and possibly at the same time as a defensive answer to gossip and criticism of the marriage. The description of the celestial bodies aims at the same effect as that of the vegetation but an allusion to the real facts is perhaps not so obvious, unless we are so bold as to interpret *Phæbus* (17) and *Hecate* (23) as an allegory of the bishop and his consort-to-be.

25-31) These verses may be described as a kind of a transition from the description of nature to the spectacle itself, where the author tells how “everything moves the vision, that which is seen creates enjoyment which leads to play and from play arises gracefulness.” Fair-minded Providence has not excluded the author’s fellow-countrymen from reaching the threshold of this spectacle and thus rejoicing with proper festivity and good wishes.

32-40) Now we are on the actual scene, i.e. we are told about the big house where the wedding feast is celebrated. This must be the manor-house of the episcopal seat and in almost encyclopaedic detail we are told how the edifice sparkles in all its different parts. Although the

section does not show much originality verses 35-38 deserve more attention, since the author describes some kind of tapestry in the following way: "*Conspicuos signis fert assula secta tapetas / Germen acus Phrygiæ, tersi monimenta laboris. / Fixus epistyllo defert velamina limbus / Candida sacrisonæ præsentans grammata Musæ*". The first question is, how literally *Phrygiæ* is to be taken. Does it signify something oriental and exotic or something refined and elegant without regard to its origin? Oriental textiles would have been very rare in Iceland in the 17th century, if they were to be found there at all, so personally I am more inclined to understand the attribute in the more general sense⁴. Secondly one might ask: What does the author mean by the words "*Fixus epistyllo defert velamina limbus / Candida, sacrisonæ præsentans grammata Musæ*"? I imagine that the description refers to a wall-hanging or curtain with a border decorated with a religious text and I think that the reference must be to real objects. The mention of a piece of artistry like this not only testifies to the value and quality of the object but certainly includes as well the acknowledgement of the skill of the person who made it. From medieval times there had been a continuous and highly developed tradition for artistic and delicate embroidery in Iceland, as may be seen, for example, from still extant wall-hangings. In the house of the bishop some magnificent examples of the kind would most probably have been on show, and as we know from other sources that the bride was considered to be an expert in this field, is it not tempting to infer that her works were to be seen at Hólar itself and that the author wished to express his admiration in this learned and poetical way?⁵

41-69) Here we are told what is going on in the house, or more correctly in the houses, because it turns out that there are two, which is quite natural bearing in mind that the old and complicated rules for an Icelandic wedding ceremony demanded that men and women were

⁴ In a discussion following the presentation of the paper at Hanasaari, dr. phil. Minna Skafte Jensen, lecturer at the University of Copenhagen, raised the question if *Phrygiæ* could refer to an alleged descendancy from the ancient Trojans. As some of the Icelandic noble families of that period probably claimed this legendary ancestry and the author was well acquainted with the genealogy of the nobility, I welcome this suggestion as a possible interpretation. Prof. J. IJsewijn has expounded the view in a letter to me that *acus Phrygia* simply means "embroidering in gold", comparing it with Vergil's use of the word *Phrygius* (Verg., Aen. 3,483) and the noun *phrygio*, "an embroiderer in gold". This would certainly be the most simple interpretation of the expression and I remain most grateful to Prof. IJsewijn for his valuable suggestion.

⁵ Guðjónsson, Elsa E., p. 58.

entertained in separate rooms or houses during certain parts of the wedding-feast. First we hear how the most illustrious gentlemen of the country enjoy an abundant meal and refresh themselves on ambrosia and nectar, but from verse 49 we find ourselves in the other house, where a noble gathering of ladies, both married and unmarried, is being entertained. There follows a more detailed description of the young virgins, their magnificent dresses, their sparkling physiognomy and their most precious ornament, modesty. In verse 56 the author seems to turn back to a general description of what is happening in both houses, where nothing is lacking to gratify the guests. Now there is music; a new Amphion sings assisted by his brother Zethus, a new Arion plays the cithar, and Leto's child, *Latonia proles*, plays the flute. A horn is blown, more instruments, like *crepitaculum*, *tympanon* and *sistrum* contribute to the musical entertainment and, in short, everything resounds with applause and joy.

It is obvious that by this poetical and mythologically-inspired description of the music performed at the wedding feast at Hólar the author wanted to emphasize the grandeur of the feast compared with customary standards of the day. But as always we must not forget the fact that although musical instruments were to be found in Iceland in the 17th century, all performance of music was very primitive by international standards. Therefore too much importance should not be paid to this passage as a reflection of the real situation⁶.

70-94) In this part the author describes what influence this grand spectacle has on himself. It is so magnificent that he feels a shiver through the whole of his body and compares the sensation to what he describes as "*non secus ac Libycis venissem nescius oris*" (72). But what does that mean? Possibly I am on the wrong track if I suggest that this could in some way or other be an allusion to Aeneas and the great banquet in Carthage given by Dido, but on the other hand I find it hard to imagine what else the author may have had in mind when using *Libycis* which could also be of any significance to his learned audience. In any case the author is so thrilled by the spectacle that it has a most powerful effect on his physical condition. This gracious day shines by the will of God and he therefore encourages people to continue their

⁶ The author might still have been thinking of some particular Icelandic instruments (cf. Jónasson, Jónas, p. 287), when he wrote this description but an exact identification does not seem possible.

celebration and applause. This is not a profane spectacle nor a vain hand that leads the choir nor immoral plays which are put on stage. No, it is God, *ipse Deus*, who has ordained it, so that we may belong to him by witnessing a great miracle and understand what he enacts by his sacred power. By introducing God into the poem amidst all the pagan reminiscences of the Graeco-Roman world the author reminds us of the true essence of life and at the same time this reference may be interpreted as foreshadowing what is to come later in the poem.

95-299) Now the poet thinks the time has come to turn to the main addressee, the bishop himself. This long chapter may be divided into shorter passages in the following way: vv. 95-103, introduction; vv. 104-121, the bishop's grief for the death of his first wife; vv. 122-258, how grief is turned into joy; and vv. 259-299, the author's inadequacy to treat the subject matter and a laudatio of the bishop and his noble qualities.

In the introductory verses (95-103) of this long address opening with the words "*Te decus Holanæ, decus immortale cathedræ*", the author says that this festive day has ratified the decree of the gods that he, the widower, should remarry under favourable auspices after the pain he had suffered. Then there follows (104-121) a more detailed description of the bishop's sorrow, as the author tells about the sad year that has passed from the death of the first wife. The author maintains he has not borne the heavy burden quietly, because the main part of this passage is devoted to a detailed description of how the bishop showed his grief through tears, moaning and sleeplessness and how his appearance suffered accordingly. To end this sad song the author asks his muse why she starts describing such a heavy suffering with such a modest poem.

Answering that it would suffice for him to treat how the mighty grace of God has shown mercy to the bishop in his hardship and swept away the sad hours by multiplying the joy of his happiness, the author opens the next long passage (122-258), which may be regarded as the central part of the poem with its theme of happiness and joy elaborated in several variations, richly ornamented with much learning and references to the Graeco-Roman world. The bishop is not the only person who rejoices over the happy change of his life, a splendid group of people (158 ff), led by a propitious star, heads for Hólar to see the spectacle and sing the bishop a song of praise worthy of his deeds. All participate unanimously in this rejoicing, the clergymen (170) and the leaders of

the school (178); the poor join the rich and write a song of joy, "*Nectit avens lætos versus cum divite pauper*" (179), which probably refers to the author himself with an intended modesty, and both young and old applaud. But why hesitate, the poet asks the bishop (181 -182), to describe how non-human phenomena sing new songs in his honour? The whole of nature participates in the jubilation. In this description there is not the touch of allegory found in the introduction to the poem; here we simply have several natural phenomena which show their approval through their characteristic behaviour. We meet the earth, heaven, seas, shore, winds, air, storms and clouds before we are introduced to Titan, Phæbe and the sparkling stars. Back on Earth again the mountains, woods and valleys take part in the rejoicing and so do all the trees, even the "*laurus vernans humilisque myrica*" (196). By mentioning these exotic plants the author has conspicuously left his native land and presently he points at Parnassus itself, which the bishop climbed in his youth. We are led to surroundings which are considerably milder than those of Iceland, and in the mountain landscape of the Greek mythology the learned poet is in his element. In a passage spanning 60 verses (198-258) we wander through this mythical world, where not only the mountains Parnassus, Helicon and Pindus offer their congratulations, but also their inhabitants such as Echo and mighty Jupiter's daughters, the Muses, whom the poet introduces one after another (206-250) by name, simultaneously describing the part played by each of them at the wedding. Finally Hymen himself, clad in a purple robe, appears on the scene, declares the wedding to be lawful and leads the chorus of congratulations which fills the house. Thus we are back at Hólar, where the Graces, Dryads and Napaeans have in the meantime taken their places at the nuptial bed to pray for the happiness of the newly-wedded couple.

Back in the real world (259-299), the author now rounds off the long address to the bishop by excusing his inadequacy for writing a poem on such a grand theme as the wedding and the merits of the bishop. A long time will have to pass before harsh Thule (i.e. Iceland) witnesses a wedding like this, which future generations shall speak of in wonder. Thus the author thinks (278) the time has come to end this passage by expressing once more his good wishes for the matrimonial happiness and personal fame of the bishop. Finally he wishes that the cathedral and school at Hólar may enjoy the leadership of the bishop for a long time and that the bishop himself will enjoy good health and live happily

until he reaches the age of king Arganthonius and afterwards obtains his starry place on Olympus.

300-315) In the final passage the author addresses the bride. As might be expected, he wishes her a long-lasting and happy marriage, whereupon he expresses the wish that she may cultivate her vine and bring the beautiful clusters of virtues to ripeness. May her good deeds equal the sweet grapes and her *pietas* stand as a firm support. Thus God's vineyard will rejoice in its abundance at her cultivation and she herself in a miraculous way will remain in a vernal state and live "*Grata Deo, dilecta Viro, populoque voluptas*" (313) until reaching a Nestorian age and finally finding her place with great delight in the halls of heaven.

The author has now finished his long epithalamium which must have cost him many hours' hard work and much careful thought. As we have already seen the author follows principally the classical tradition both in form and imagery and his educational background can clearly be seen through, for example, the presentation of Greek gods, the reminiscences from Vergil and Ovid and the use of anaphoras⁷. But for all its Graeco-Roman characteristics the poem certainly draws upon other sources as well. As the subject matter, the wedding itself, is Icelandic there are several references to Icelandic reality, both direct and more or less disguised, and finally there is the Christian aspect represented both in the attitude towards the happy change of the bishop's life and the use of biblical imagery. These three elements, the classical, the Icelandic and the Christian, all of which are important for the composition of the poem, make up a strange but quite charming combination. As regards the way its elements are interwoven, the poem probably resembles other Latin poems of this genre, and the author has most likely been following an almost international convention in general. But taking into consideration that the poem was composed in a country where there has always been a strong tradition for poetry in the vernacular language it is tempting to ask the question: Why did Eyjólfur Jónsson write his poem in Latin and not Icelandic, when both tradition, surroundings and occasion not only allowed the use of the vernacular language but in a way favoured it?

Attempts to answer this question must be made in close connection

with the

question

⁷ Verse 196: *humilisqve myrica* (Verg. Ecl. IV, 2); v. 251: *Sarrano ostro* (Verg. Georg. II, 506); v. 63: *Latonia proles* (Ov. Tristia, V, 1, 57). Anaphoras: vv. 61-62: Tum, Tum; vv. 259-260: Quid; Quid; vv. 268-269: Serius, Serius.

with the answer to the question we put in the very beginning, namely what incited Eyjólfur Jónsson to write the poem. It is not difficult to find practical reasons for writing it. In the first place it was not every day that such an ideal occasion was found to celebrate with a poem like this which alone supplies one motive. Secondly, the bishop was the superintendent of the school and thus the real master of Eyjólfur Jónsson, a fact which was of the greatest importance to his professional career. In other words this was a case of dependence, which the author not only admits but emphasizes by calling himself "*humillimus Neonymphorum cliens*" at the end of the poem, although he was probably not quite so dependent upon the bishop as one might imagine from these words. Nevertheless this was a good occasion for flattering his patron a little and as he was a learned man the most apt language to honour him would of course be Latin, especially as the poem was probably also intended to manifest the author's learning and expertness in the language which in that period was still considered to be the basic element in the curriculum of the cathedral school. That would draw attention to his qualifications for promotion and, by giving the Christian gospel such a dominant place in the poem, the author could show his knowledge of theology and Christian thinking in a manner which would enhance his merits for a good parish, which he undoubtedly hoped for. From the author's point of view it seems to have been less important that only very few people were able to understand and appreciate his work, unless he has been so optimistic as to cherish the hope of its being published abroad. It is unlikely that the bride herself was able to understand what was written to honour her, although it would be incorrect to exclude a priori the possibility that she knew some Latin, especially as her family seems to have been well disposed towards education of women. Obviously considerably more Icelanders would have understood his poem if it had been composed in the vernacular, but as we have already seen it would hardly have served the purpose so well, and possibly Eyjólfur Jónsson had not thought himself capable of such a task compared with the best poets of Iceland. He felt at home writing poetry in Latin and working on this particular poem was without doubt a source of enjoyment and personal satisfaction to the author.

How, then, was it received by the newly-wed couple, and did the author have his expectations fulfilled?

In spite of the author's hopeful wishes for the bishop's lasting

vitality, he was advanced in years - and perhaps all the festivities and their preparations overstrained him. He survived the wedding itself but only for four weeks, so the couple's matrimonial happiness did not last long. The widow, on the other hand, lived for many years in high esteem and died in 1715 at the age of 69 on her own farm⁸, where she educated young girls of the upper classes, especially in the art of sewing and embroidery. However much the bishop may have appreciated the learned poem, he was hardly able to show his gratitude by promoting the author. Eyjólfur Jónsson had to wait for some years until he obtained a reasonably good parish, Vellir in the diocese of Hólar, where he lived and worked to the end of his life, deeply engaged in his duties and literary work, primarily studying the Icelandic sagas, for which reason he was called "Eyjólfur the Learned" by his fellow-countrymen. When he died in 1745 at the age of 75, he left several manuscripts which are still partly extant or preserved in transcripts like the epithalamium from Hólar, which in a way may be regarded as a symbol of that strange world of contrasts he lived in: devoted to a never-fading interest in knowledge and learning and at the same time deeply rooted in the traditions of the classical heritage, which even the harsh external circumstances did not manage to weaken.

Bibliography:

- Espólin, Jón. *Íslands Árbækur* I-XII. Copenhagen 1821-1855.
 Eyjólfsson, Sæmundur, "Um minni í brúðkaupsveizlum og helztu brúðkaupssiði á Íslandi á 16. og 17. öld", *Tímarit hins íslenska bókmenntafjelags* XVII (Reykjavík 1896), 92-143.
 Guðjónsson, Elsa E. *Traditional Icelandic Embroidery*. Reykjavík 1985.
 Jónasson, Jónas. *Íslenzkir Þjóðhættir*. Reykjavík 1961.
 Ólason, Páll Eggert. *Íslenzkar æviskrár* I-V. Reykjavík 1948-1952.

⁸ Gröf on Höfdaströnd, not far from Hólar.

Μοῦσα ὑμνηαιοῦση

NUPTIIS

Auspicatissimis et vere θεωπίστοις¹

VIRI

Summè Venerabilis, Amplissimi atqve Nobiliss.

DN. EINARI THORSTENII

Holanæ Diæceseos in Aquilonari Islandia Episcopi
ut fidelissimi ita meritissimi

SPONSI

et

MATRONÆ

Generis Splendore, Pietatis honore juxta ac Virtutum
nitore condecoratissimæ

RAGNHEIDÆ JONÆ F.

SPONSÆ

frequenti gratulantium et prosperrima quæque pre-
cantium confluxu, debitaque festivitate celebratis

Holis Hialtadalensium Anno Salutis MDCXCVI

Idibus Septembris.

- Jam nova labenti veniunt spectacula seclo,
 Tempus agit dulces grato molimine ludos,
 Et licet æstivi diffugerit aura caloris
 Autumnusque locum flatu captârit acerbo,
 Non tamen expallet rebus color, omnia circum
 Herba viret nullis foliorum noxia damnis
 Germina continuant blandi protrudere fructus,
 Nec penitus liqvit teneros sua gratia flores;
 Gramina læta jacent, pleno stant ubere spicæ,
 10 Vernat ager, floretqve solum, campique virescunt
 Nec metuunt sævæ properantia frigora brumæ.
 Jam viridis montes ornat tinctura feraces,
 Vallibus obscuris defixa legumina pendent.
 Est cuivis proprium decus, est sua fama nitoris;
 Apparent placido rutilantia sydera vultu,
 Nil tristes obsunt Hyades, nil tristis Orion,

¹ *lectio incerta.*

- Et qvanqvam roseo præfulgens lumine Phæbus
 Inferiora petat nostrisque recedat ab oris,
 Haud tamen augustæ marcescit gloria formæ,
 20 Qvin solitos alto radios demittat Olympo,
 Nec parcus terram claris aspectat ocellis.
 Expandit faciem consveto more nitentem
 Clara micans Hecate, prodit simul æthra favorem,
 Mitia decurrunt stadiis cælestibus astra.
 Cuncta movent visum, visus nova gaudia firmat,
 Gaudia læta jocos pariunt, jocus ipse leporem
 Hæc eadem blandita manu fors æqva fluenti
 Non sinit externis arctari munera claustris
 Limina qvin tangant nostri, pariantqve decentem
 30 Ornatum, inclusam multis hilarantia turbam
 Prodiga prodigiis læti bona nuncia² fausti.
 Quid super hæc? totis fulget domus ardua cellis
 Eminent oblonga splendor trabe, clara tigillo
 Lux ardet, tabulata micant, micat alta columna,
 Conspicuos signis fert assula secta tapetas,
 Germen acus Phrygiæ tersi monimenta laboris.
 Fixus epistyllo defert velamina limbus
 Candida, sacrisonæ præsentans grammata Musæ.
 Mundus habet postes, pretiosus hyperthyra fulgor
 40 Æmula marmoreæ patet ingens janua lucis
 An solum referenda meo domus inclyta versu?
 Non vacuis regnat scamnis domus, undique circum
 Lunato pingves resident curvamine mensas
 Egregio splendore Viri, procuresqve verendi
 Consimiles genus speciem, vultusqve decoros
 Ambrosiæ intenti, laxantes nectare curas
 Commiscent gratis rorantia pocula dictis.
 An toties celebri versabor longius andro?
 Non equidem mittenda meæ domus altera Musæ
 50 Præsigni dotata lacu, magis ardua culmen
 Hac sedet ingenti matrum fulgore caterva
 Virgineusqve scito cingit chorus agmine mensam
 Pepla micans, vittasqve nitens, vestesqve coruscus

² *supra lineam additum. munera deletum.*

- Ora decens, malasque rubens, oculosque renidens
 Est pudor ornatae speciosum insigne coronæ,
 Conjungunt lætis operas domus utraque cæptis
 Atque avido raros gremio amplexantur honores
 Nec quid abest grati convivis, nec quid amici
 Auditur blando fervens sacra musica cantu.
- 60 Jam novus Amphion dulces scit fundere voces
 Tum frater Zethus redivivo concinit ore
 Tum faciles citharæ digitos novus aptat Arion
 Multa tonat svavi calamo Latonia proles.
 Nunc vastis pacata sonum dat buccina tectis
 Et genio miti jubet indulgere sedentes
 Dulcia succutiunt amplum crepitacula limen
 Instructis sonitum condunt nova tympana mensis
 Jucundum clangit grato modulamine sistrum
 Cuncta tremunt plausu summo, nil tristia spirat.
- 70 Munera quò tanti lustrans pretiosa decoris
 Abripior, percussa tremunt quid membra stupore
 Non secus ac Libycis venissem nescius oris?
 Haud equidem pendens animus mihi, natave lymphis
 Res hæret, dubiove labant mea pectora motu
 Causa patet dictæ nuper notissima pompæ
 Fausta dies roseum jubar extulit, omnia late
 Terrarum peragrans solenni lumine regna
 Deliciæ nostrum, nostri peramæna voluptas
 Illuxit veneranda dies, venit agmine facto
- 80 Vera poli demissa solo Dathus alma bonorum
 Rore madent pingvi vestigia sacra Jehovæ
 Ergo agite, eximii, gestus monstrate faventes
 Inceptos glomerate novo conamine plausus
 Svavia Threjiciis intendite gaudia chordis
 Nulla profana vacant spectacula, nulla choreas
 Vana leves agitat manus, abducitve seqvaces
 Nec turpes spatiosa movent proscenia ludi
 Ipse Deus nobis oculos majoribus implet
 Nos statuit sacro perquam bonus ipse theatro.
- 90 Ut simus illius miracula summa videndo
 Et pateat clarè sancto quæ numine verset.
 Hæcce dies nobis radios diffusa coruscos

- Reddidit æthereæ dictamina pervia sedis
 Qveis patris omniscii concluserat alma voluntas
 Te, decus Holanæ, decus immortale cathedræ
 O Præsul venerande mihi, dum manserit ætas
 Defessum viduæ, longinqvo tegmine spondæ
 Alitibus faustis tædas renovare jugales
 Ornataqve bonis rursum donare marita
 100 Festa dies, inqvam, præsentī candida ludo
 Cælicolum decreta dedit rata, qvæ tibi Præsul
 Longa nimis pullæ raperent curvamina vestis
 Inflictæqve prius ferrent medicamina plagæ
 Hos etenim³ lapso qvæ tu toleraveris anno
 Novimus, et qvantos servâris corde dolores
 Ah! qvantum tristi fuerit sub pectore vulnus
 Cum tua prædives virtutibus inclyta conjux
 Clauserat extremam miserando funere lucem
 Tum crebro mæstas fudisti pectore voces
 110 Rorabant lachrymis oculi, faciesqve venusta
 Commauit, salsis humebant imbribus artus
 Mala fuit tristis, roseum mutilata calymna
 Frons prius exporrecta graves ostendere sulcos
 Ossa tremor qvatiebat amens, luctumqve ciebat
 Atratum sacro pendebat vertice syrma
 Nil ultra gemitus resonabas, sæpe ego longos
 Plorando tristem memini recondere soles
 Luctibus umbrosæ fregisti tempora noctis
 Nec semel, heu, fletu privatus lumina somno.
 120 Quid tantos planctus, quid flumina tanta dolorum
 Musa canis? tenuiqve paras deducere filo.
 Sat fuerit nobis gracili comprehendere vena
 Præsulis ut miserata vicem nunc gratia duram
 Summa Dei, longè tristes averterit horas
 Accumulans pulso felicia gaudia luctu
 Curâritqve bono priscum medicamine vulnus
 Adsis O Venerande, Dei tu fide minister
 Antistes, Dominique vias mirare stupendas
 Te qvi mæstitiæ velatum nubibus atris

³ in margine scriptum. etiam deletum, ut videtur.

- 130 Eripit, atqve novo lassum solamine ditat
 Attendas, precor, ample pater, tibi justa sacrati
 Invisæ thalami ruperunt fædera parcæ
 Proxima solus agis duodena volumina lunæ
 Membra fovens rigido viduati stramine lecti
 Anxiaqve arguto maceras præcordia fletu.
 Ista dies semper vilior notanda lapillo
 Qvæ tibi tanta tulit lætæ discrimina vitæ
 Altera jam venit solenni fulgida mundo
 Jam mutata tibi prisci fortuna laboris
- 140 Qvi fueras qvondam viduus, nunc dicere sponsus
 O Mysta venerande, datur tibi numine sponsa
 Divino, matrona micans virtutibus almis
 Qvæ⁴ maneat consors reparatis inclyta rebus
 Et tecum multos habitando conterat annos
 Delicium columenqve tui, splendensqve corona
 Nunc rursum pangit genialia fædera Phæbus
 Restituitqve suum thalamo lætatus honorem
 Ergo age, clare pater, lugubres projice qvestus
 Solve genas lachrymis, tetricum dispelle dolorem
- 150 Nænia nulla tibi fluitet, maculetve profundum
 Charma, qvod allapsæ tribuere volumina lucis
 Sit frons læta tibi, læto nos aspice vultu
 Gaudia cæpta tui cumulent nova gaudia nobis
 Tu solus Paphiam volucrem, tu solus amoris
 Castus habes castos, purum geris ossibus ignem,
 Gaudia non solus capis, oblatosve lepores
 O Mysta, patriæ splendor, capit inclyta turba
 Non modicam partem, fausto qvæ sydere ducta
 Holiacas valdè studiosa migravit ad ædes
- 160 Jucundum visura diem tædasqve recenteis
 Inceptisqve tuis dignum cantura triumphum.
 An desit qvicqvam lætos qvod concitet ignes?
 Annon omnimodo surgunt nova juba plausu?
 Cuncta tibi gaudent, nostræ fax inclyta gentis
 Fausta qve sacratæ laudant exordia tædæ
 Qvæ qve prius fædata situ jacuere tenaci

⁴ ante hanc vocem Et deletum.

- Nunc accepta ferunt spectatæ munera formæ
 Omnibus unus adest color, est decus omnibus unum
 Una eadem cunctis mens est, studiumqve favorqve
 170 Prima sacerdotum tibi subdita concio lætis
 Vocibus acclamat, plaususqve extendit Olympo
 Consonat ereptum luctu caput esse verendum
 Asserit antiqvæ medicamina reddita plagæ
 Fervet ovans cæptis thalami⁵ benedicere pactis
 Cantat epos studiosa Pater, mandata⁶ supernè
 Turba tibi, facibusqve novis bona summa precatur
 Holani geminant plausum fastigia templi
 Curia grata scholæ tutori exsultat amato
 Nectit avens lætos versus, cum divite pauper
 180 Applaudit pubes, strepitum movet ipsa senectus.
 Quid moror o Præsul, seriem contexere rerum
 Qvæ tibi blandisono cantant nova metra lepore?
 Terra fremit, cælum qvatitur, maria alta tremiscunt
 Plausibus altivagis, jungit sua sibila littus
 Exsultant mites nullo discrimine venti
 Et fugiunt nitidum sævis turbare procellis
 Aera, terrificosqve cavent emittere gyros.
 Diffundunt hilaræ radiantia lumina nubes
 Annuit auricomo procedens vertice Titan
 190 Tum Phæbe placido demonstrat gaudia vultu
 Consurgunt blandis fulgentia motibus astra
 Nec sua subducunt candentes vota planetæ,
 Grata pruinosi nectunt suffragia montes
 Attonat omne nemus, plausum dant ordine valles
 Qvælibet arbor ovat, frondes aurata venustas
 Æqva sonant laurus vernans humilisqve myrica
 Iamqve pari nisu festos mirantur honores.
 Aspice, qvem primo trivisti flore juventæ
 Parnassum, bino tangentem vertice stellas.
 200 Hic tibi læta canit redivivo carmina plausu
 Grataturqve novas tædas et fausta perennat
 Vota favens, trepidant ambæ modulamine cristæ.

⁵ -lami in lacuna supra lineam additum.

⁶ ma- in lacuna supra lineam additum.

- Et gratum aereis sonitum dat rupibus Echo
 Hinc Helicon Pindusque virens, germana propago
 Lætificum æqvisonis carmen modulantur avenis
 Accurrunt festo rosea cervice decoræ
 Castalides, magni natæ Jovis, omnia circum
 Implentes blando strepitu, levibusque choreis
 Alternantque vices numeris, pæanaque dicunt
 210 Qvæque suum festis genialibus addit honorem
 Addit amica novam ferulam viridemque corymbum
 Prima venit celebris Musarum gloria Clio
 Gloria tunc tædas exornat plana⁷ jugales
 Festa dicata sacris tumido mactantur honore
 Iam premit Euterpe vestigia læta sororis
 Et gratum mensæ parit oblectamen opimæ.
 Tertia se lento gressu movet alma Thalia
 Hæc ruit Elysios sacris adjungere flores
 Ardet et auratis præcingere tempora ramis
 220 Inde gradum format lætæ peramata catervæ
 Melpomene: Docet ipsa sacro solennia cantu
 Concelebrare, melosque epulis jubet addere blandum
 Tum lepido sacros tripodas qvatit ardua motu
 Hinc lætum fausto metitur sydere cursum
 Aurea Terpsichore, genialibus optima sacris
 Hæc hilaris hilarat mentes, turbamque jocantem
 Efficit, ingenti feriens præcordia plausu.
 Svavis adest Erato castos qvæ firmat amores
 Et Sponso charam facilis scit reddere Sponsam
 230 Detonat accurrens lætos Polyhymnia versus
 Fercula lauta monens verbis condire canoris
 Solvantur cyathi vino numeroque decenti
 Nomine si gaudet spectata Polymnia dici
 Commemorat multis, nulla novitate laboret
 Accendat viduus geniali lumina strato
 Et referet dulcem thalamum provector ætas
 Eruit ipsa memor, memor adstruit ordine justo
 Qvæ fecere pii veteres, ea facta novellis
 Applicat exorsis, patrantes talia signat

⁷ in lacuna supra lineam additum.

- 240 Tharaiden gratum Domino, notat atqve Boozum
 Asserit incensas divino numine tædas
 Consimiles, sanctis duri solatia casus,
 Infert se mediam sacris decus ipsa sororum
 Uranie, speciosa comas vultumqve corusca
 Hæc benesvada canens: divino cuncta timore
 Perficite, atqve piis epulas ornate loqvelis
 Ultima Calliope sacratum terminat agmen
 Rubra genas, grato præpollens flumine lingvæ
 Olli cura manet tersis solennia dictis
- 250 Frangere, lætificis abeant sermonibus horæ
 Ipse pater tandem Sarrano fulgidus ostro
 Prodit Hymen, clamatqve thori rata fædera sacri
 Commonet hic faustis impleri limina votis
 Atqve novis optent felicia singula nuptis.
 Hinc Charites Dryadumqve cohors facilesqve Napææ
 Allapsæ thalamo faustissima cuncta precantur
 Ut capiat dulces conjux cum conjuge somnos
 Et cortina sacro maneat tranquilla grabato.
 Quid refero tenui, Præsul, tua gaudia versu?
- 260 Quid plausus tantos numero, vocesqve faventum
 Undique conflatas? quid talia corde voluto?
 Ipsa mihi citius rumpentur stamina vitæ
 Argutæqve prius venient dispendia vocis
 Qvam tua cæpta qveam merito celebrare triumpho
 Et tua verisonis encomia jungere⁸ metris.
 Tanta eqvidem, reor, ulla dabit mortalibus ætas
 Vix unquam spectanda modis solennia miris.
 Serius æquales Thule videt aspera tædas
 Serius assimilis crepitabit cardine Musa
- 270 Parrhasio, Boreæqve trucem penetrabit ad Arcton.
 Hæc solum discent mirari festa nepotes
 Hos crebro thalamos felici sydere dicent
 Auspiciis viguisse suis, contractaqve nutu
 Divino, socii celebrabunt fædera lecti
 Ergo diem manet altus honor, dum secta manebunt
 Solennem, manet atqve novos sua gloria nuptos

⁸ *supra hanc vocem pingere scriptum.*

- Temporis inviduli nullis minuenda cylindris.
 Cur non vela plico fessus, portumque reviso?
 Supremique fero leviuscula munera voti?
 280 O Mysta nostrum Fulgur Sydusque perenne
 Dexterâ cuncta tuæ⁹ maneant nova lumina tædæ
 Protinus incipiat rebus florere secundis
 Copula sancta tui, nullis jactata sinistris
 Fausta caput, corpusque magis faustissima calcem
 Nomen ad astra feras succrescat et æthere fama
 Lativagos vastum cursus flexura per orbem
 Sis notus Boreæ extremo, sis notior Austro
 Notior Auroræ, Zephyri notissimus oræ
 Te felix Holana diu rectore cathedra
 290 Gaudeat ac Ephorum teneat domus alma Lycei
 Officii gaudens librato pondera sacri
 Commissumque regas fausto moderamine cætum
 Tolle caput niveum Libani velut ardua cedrus
 Et Domini ramis hortum frondentibus orna
 Esto, precor, multas nobis conjunctus aristas
 Incolumis floresce diu, sospesque caducæ
 Felici volvas cursu spiracula vitæ
 Arganthoniacos donec compleveris annos
 Et demum astriferam sedem captaris Olympo
 300 O Matrona sacrâ pietate insignis et ortu
 Fæmineum decus et capti lux alma pudoris
 Vive diu, cæptisque diu fruiere inclyta tædis
 Gemma thori pretiosa vige cultumque virenti
 Fer thalamo longum, nitido ceu lumine stella
 Vera domus Phæbe clueas, columenque mariti.
 Palmitibus vitem referas frondentibus altam
 Virtutum pulchros semper matura racemos
 Æquentur bona facta tui prædulcibus uvis
 Emineat firmum pietas devota statumen
 310 Sic fæcunda tuo gaudebit vinea cultu
 Sacra Dei, pergesque modis vernare stupendis.
 Tu stadium vitæ decurre beata misellæ

⁹ in margine scriptum. post cuncta scriptum piæ sed linea subter ducta deletum.

Grata Deo, dilecta Viro, populoqve voluptas
Nestoreæ donec veniat tibi meta senectæ
Et tandem ætherea gaudens consederis aula.

Hæc deproperando gratulatur
humillimus Neonymphorum cliens
Eiulfus Jonæus Scholæ Hol.
p.t. Collega.

Arnold L. KERSON

DIEGO JOSÉ ABAD, *DISSERTATIO LUDICRO-SERIA*

Preface

The importance of Diego José Abad as an eighteenth-century Mexican Latinist, as well as the scarcity of the Latin text of his *Dissertatio Ludicro-seria*, motivated me to prepare a modern edition and translation of this essay. The major work of Abad is his descriptive poem in Latin, *De Deo, Deoque Homine Heroica*, the final version of which appeared posthumously in Cesena in 1780¹. In view of the renewed activity of late in Mexico and elsewhere of the study of the Latin literature of New Spain, it seems fitting that the *Dissertatio*, which clearly reflects the polemics that took place in the eighteenth century between the exiled Spanish-speaking Jesuits and their Italian coreligionists², be made easily accessible to scholars and the general public as well.

Abad's classical training and preparation in the writing of Latin in the classical style were of the highest order, and this is reflected in the quality of the prose of the *Dissertatio*. This essay, basically a defense of the capacity of non-Italians to write Latin, is composed in forceful, straightforward language which poses no particular problem to the translator. Michael Grant has written that "Latin prose presents a strange difficulty which Greek prose lacks: namely its *apparent* resem-

¹ A virtual reprinting of the 1780 edition appeared also in Cesena in 1793.

² "Just as some [Italians] were annoyed that the Spaniards dared to speak to them about music, others took offense that they considered themselves just as accomplished Latinists as the natives of Italy. The idea prevailed there that the spread of bad taste, due, of course, to the [Spanish] baroque at the end of the Renaissance, as well as the decadence of classical Latin, were the results of Spanish influence, and the names of Lucan, Seneca, and Martial were cited as corruptors of basic 'good taste'. The names of Girolamo Tiraboschi, Giambattista Roberti, and Clementino Vannetti stood out among the earliest leaders of this anti-Spanish campaign". Miguel Batllori, S.J., *La cultura hispano-italiana de los jesuitas expulsos* (Madrid: Gredos, 1966), p. 35.

blance to a sort of English prose — the wrong sort for today”³. Realizing the truth of this observation, I have tried to render Abad into the “right” sort of English as much as possible, while at the same time adhering to the principle of close translation. The ideal of a “right-sounding” translation and a truly “faithful” rendering of the original is not often achieved, as one learns from the many theories that have appeared on the art and science of translation. In the case of Neo-Latin prose, my inclination is to prefer literalness over paraphrase, at the expense of appearing awkward.

The Latin text reproduced here is that of the only known edition of the *Dissertatio*, which appeared in 1778, with neither place nor publisher indicated. I have altered the original punctuation in conformance with current practice.

I am indebted to Dr. Jeffrey H. Kaimowitz, who gave most generously of his time, for his invaluable assistance in the preparation of the translation, and for his advice and help in other aspects of this edition, and to Dr. Marc van der Poel, also for his invaluable assistance in the revision of the translation and manuscript. Many thanks are due to Dr. Jozef IJsewijn, for his encouragement of this project, for his meticulous correcting and editing of the manuscript, and for his insightful suggestions. To all three I express my sincerest gratitude. I wish to thank the New York Public Library for their courtesy in having furnished me, in the days before Xerox, with a handsome photographic reproduction of their copy of the *Dissertatio*, which is in the rare book collection. I also am pleased to acknowledge Dr. Ignacio Osorio Romero’s graciousness in providing me with a photocopy of the unpublished edition and translation into Spanish of Abad’s *Dissertatio*, which was presented in 1986 by María de la Luz Elena Jiménez Lara as a thesis to obtain the title of “Licenciada en Letras Clásicas” from the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. Last but not least, deep and special thanks are in order for my wife, Dr. Pilar Regalado Kerson, for her continued encouragement and esteemed critical opinion.

Trinity College
Hartford, Connecticut 06106
U.S.A.

³ *The Translator’s Art. Essays in Honour of Betty Radice*. Ed. William Radice and Barbara Reynolds (New York: Penguin Books, 1987), p. 82.

Introduction

Diego José Abad, Jesuit humanist, teacher of philosophy, theology, and law, and highly regarded Latin poet, ranks with his fellow Jesuits, Francisco Javier Alegre and Rafael Landívar, as one of the most important Latinists of New Spain in the eighteenth century. Less known than Landívar, whose long descriptive georgic-type poem, *Rusticatio Mexicana*, has achieved wide diffusion because of its national theme, and less known than Francisco Javier Alegre, whose fame derives chiefly from the high quality of his now classical *Historia de la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesús de Nueva España*, Abad, nevertheless, merits attention for several reasons. Among these is his literary work in Latin, which assured him a place of distinction during the period of decline of this type of literature; his participation in the movement of cultural renewal, with his overtures for a reform of the plan of studies of the Jesuit order in Mexico; his Castilian poetry, particularly his Spanish renderings of certain selections of Vergil; and his modest contribution to the intellectual movement of the Spanish and Spanish-American Jesuits exiled by the 1767 decree of Charles III.

The main source of information of the life of Abad is the biographical essay in Latin, which, under the title of "Specimen vitae auctoris", the Mexican Jesuit humanist, Manuel Fabri, composed for his posthumous edition of Abad's principal work, the long descriptive poem, *De Deo, Deoque Homine Heroica*¹. Diego José Abad Sánchez was born of well-to-do parents on a hacienda near the town of Jiquilpan, in the present state of Michoacán, on June 1, 1727. Private tutors provided him with the first stage of his formal education, which included the rudiments of Latin. At the age of seven, his father, don Pedro Abad, sent him to the distinguished Jesuit Colegio de San Ildefonso, in Mexico City, where, over a three-year period, he studied rhetoric and poetics, intensified his study of the Latin language, became familiar

¹ Editio tertia postuma (Caesena: Apud Gregorium Blasinium, 1780), pp. xvii-xxxv. This biography, by the Mexican Jesuit Manuel Fabri (1737-1805), is reproduced in the 1793 Cesena edition, virtually a reprinting of the 1780 edition, pp. 10-22. Bernabé Navarro translates it into Spanish in *Vidas de mexicanos ilustres del siglo XVIII* (México: UNAM, 1956), pp. 181-210.

Victor F. Leeber, S.J., *El Padre Diego José Abad, S.J. y su obra poética* (Madrid: José Porrúa Turanzas, 1965), pp. 25-44, utilizing in addition to Fabri's biography many important documents, provides the most complete account of Abad's life.

with the great classical authors, and began the study of philosophy. Fabri cites the excellence of the Colegio de San Ildefonso, and points out that Abad, because of his high intellectual capacity, far outdid his fellow classmates.

Abad's religious piety moved him to seek entrance into the Company of Jesus at the age of 14. He entered the Colegio-Noviciado de Tepotzotlán in 1741, and during the two-year period of probation he purified his religious sentiment with an intensity that was to remain for the rest of his life. It is this very intense religious feeling which is clearly perceived in the *De Deo*. At Tepotzotlán, Abad devoted himself to the serious study of the classical Latin authors, and developed his ability to write in Latin. According to Fabri, he read and tried to penetrate into the character and feeling of the great classical authors, and took note of what was sublime and magnificent in them. He especially endeavored to imitate a noble, elevated, "Attic" style, and to avoid commonplaces as well as affectation. He went on to study philosophy and theology, performing brilliantly in these subjects. It was here where Abad came under the influence of José Rafael Campoy, perhaps the most liberal and enlightened of Mexican Jesuits at that time, and a key figure in a movement begun in 1763 to reform the plan of studies of the Jesuit order in New Spain². After completing his Latin studies at Tepotzotlán, Abad proceeded to pursue philosophy for two years at the Colegio de San Ildefonso de Puebla de los Angeles, and from there to study theology, the fundamental subject which closed the cycle of the scholarly formation of the young Jesuits. In accordance with the traditional custom of interrupting the studies of the young Jesuits after the courses in philosophy, in order to practice teaching it for one or more years, Abad, after finishing his second year of teaching, was destined to instruct Latin at the Colegio de Zacatecas. As soon as he finished this first period of practice teaching, Abad returned to the famous Colegio Máximo de San Pedro y San Pablo in Mexico City to take the last two years of theology, which he must have completed in 1750 or 51. In this last year, at the age of 24, he was ordained a priest, after undergoing the third probation at the Colegio del Espíritu Santo de Puebla de los Angeles.

² For the details of this reform, see Gérard Decorme, *La obra de los jesuitas mexicanos durante la época colonial, 1572-1767*, 2 vols., 1941. Vol. 1 (México: Antigua Librería de Robredo, 1941), pp. 213-33.

In 1754 Abad was named to the prestigious post of teacher of philosophy at the Colegio Máximo de San Pedro y San Pablo, of Mexico City. The Colegio Máximo, in effect, was "the center not only of Jesuit education, training, and administration, but of all public education in New Spain"³. Here the young Jesuit combined traditional scholastic philosophy, cleansed as much as possible of the abuses that discredited it, with the advanced practices of modern philosophy. Although Abad's *Cursus philosophicus* reveals him to be fundamentally a scholastic philosopher, he also appears well-informed on modern philosophy, and makes certain concessions to those aspects of it that do not conflict with Catholic dogma⁴. He later assumed an even more prestigious position, that of Prefecto, or Director, in the Colegio Real de San Ildefonso, of the Academies of Theology and Canon Law. Apparently, the burdens of numerous duties affected his health, and consequently his superiors sent him to the Seminario de San Francisco de Querétaro, where he served as director and professor. A lighter schedule of duties permitted him to work on a number of personal intellectual projects. Besides studying mathematics, for which he had a particular fondness, Abad translated into Spanish Vergil's *Eclogue* 8 and parts of the *Aeneid*. It was at this time that he also commenced work on the *De Deo*. Abad remained at Querétaro for four years until 1767, the date of the expulsion. He eventually took up final residence in Ferrara. Limited in his activity by poor health, he devoted himself to the revision, amplification, and publication of the *De Deo*. The history of this work begins in 1769, at which time there appeared in Cádiz, Spain, an unauthorized primitive edition of this poem, prepared by the famous Mexican philosopher and figure of the Enlightenment, Juan Benito Díaz de Gamarra, under the title of *Musa americana*⁵. No data exist, apparently, to explain how Gamarra obtained the 19 cantos of the *Musa americana*. This unauthorized publication prompted the author to prepare two successive editions, corrected and enlarged, which elicited the enthusiasm of even the most demanding Italian

³ Jerome Jacobsen, *Educational Foundations of the Jesuits in Sixteenth-Century New Spain* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1938), p. 149.

⁴ For an analysis of Abad's *Cursus philosophicus*, see Bernabé Navarro, *La introducción de la filosofía moderna en México* (México: El Colegio de México, 1948), pp. 150-74.

⁵ The complete reference is: *Musa americana, seu de Deo Carmina ad usum scholarum Congregationis S. Philippi Nerii Municipii S. Michaelis in Nova Hispania* (Gadibus: Apud D. Emmanuelem Espinosa, 1769).

Latinists⁶. This favorable reception encouraged the poet to work on a new edition. Abad, however, died before the work was finished, whereupon his good friend, Manuel Fabri, utilizing all the material that the poet had assembled, brought this edition to its successful completion. Known as the Cesena edition of 1780, it is considered the definitive one⁷. The title had undergone several changes, until it finally crystallized into *De Deo, Deoque Homine Heroica*, a correct rendering of which might be "Epic songs on the humanity and divinity of God". This long poem is divided into two main parts; the first concerns the attributes of God in general; the second part, derived basically from the New Testament, is a retelling of the story of Christ. Of special interest are the digressions, which deal with a great variety of topics, and reflect the scientific and enlightened background of the author.

Besides the *De Deo* and the *Dissertatio*, there is no indication that Abad wrote any other work in Latin, nor is it known whether he was engaged in teaching or in any other occupation while in Italy. One intuit his personal tragedy; confronted by the intensification of misfortune, his profound religious spirit grew to the point of dominating his entire life. In 1778, in search of a better climate for his health, he moved to Bologna, where he died on September 30, 1779.

The *Dissertatio*, the complete title of which is: *Dissertatio ludicro-seria. Num possit aliquis extra Italiam natus bene latine scribere, contra quam Robertus pronuntiat?* (Seriocomic Discourse. On whether anyone born outside of Italy can write Latin well, contrary to what Roberti asserts.), is Abad's last work. Published in Italy shortly before his death, it is of special interest for a number of reasons. It is, to my knowledge, the only extant piece of satirical literature in Latin by an eighteenth-century Mexican author; it is composed with a rich vocabulary, and elegant and forceful style, and a kind of wit which ranges from good-natured to sardonic and harsh. It reveals the solid classical background and humanistic qualities of its author and, although brief, it is a significant contribution to the noteworthy body of literature of the Spanish and Spanish-American Jesuits exiled to Italy. Father Fabri

⁶ *De Deo Heroica. Carmen Deo nostro* (Venetiis: Apud Franciscum Pitteri, 1773). *De Deo Deoque Homine Heroica*. Editio altera dimidio auctior (Ferrariae: Apud Josephum Rinaldi, 1775).

⁷ Basing himself on the 1780 and 1793 editions of the *De Deo*, Benjamín Fernández Valenzuela has produced the Latin text and a free Spanish translation, in *Diego José Abad. Poema heroico*. Introducción, versión y aparato crítico (México: UNAM, 1974).

provides the first reference to the work: "Moreover, Abad wrote many works in Spanish and Latin, among which are the Seriocomic Discourse on the Latin of Foreigners, which he published a year before his death... (Plura item Abadius scripsit hispana, latinaque. In his *Dissertatio Ludrico-seria [sic] de Exterorum Latinitate* quam anno ante obitum edidit:...⁸

The title indicates clearly the purpose of the work; to refute the opinion expressed by Giovanni Battista Roberti (1719-1786), a highly-regarded Italian Jesuit essayist, poet, and Latinist, in an epistle addressed to Francesco Maria Zanotti (1692-1777), also a distinguished Italian Jesuit Latinist, on the use of Latin by non-Italians, and to provide the refutation by means of a satirical piece⁹. We have, in effect, a public polemic on the use of Latin by those born outside of Italy, between two members of the Jesuit order, one Italian, and the other, Hispano-Mexican.

On the title-page of the *Dissertatio* the date of publication, 1778, is given, but there is no reference to the preparation and edition of the text, and the place of publication is omitted. Regarding the place of publication, two important bibliographers give conflicting data; José Mariano Beristain de Souza indicates that the work was published in Forlì¹⁰, and José Eugenio de Uriarte gives Padua¹¹, although neither provides his source of information. As Abad indicates at the very end of the *Dissertatio*, he did not become aware of the epistle of Roberti until four years after its appearance in Bassano, 1774. Thus we can assume that the *Dissertatio* was composed and finished very shortly before its publication.

The pseudonym "Labbe selenopolitani", employed by Abad in the 1773 (Venice) and 1775 (Ferrara) editions of the *De Deo*, has puzzled

⁸ Fernández Valenzuela, *Abad*, p. 90.

⁹ Abad indicates in note (a) to the *Dissertatio* that Roberti's epistle appeared in Bassano, in 1774. For the complete text of this epistle, see Giambatista Roberti, *Opere*, seconda edizione veneta, 15 vols. Vol. 10 (Bassano, 1797), pp. 305-10. Born in Bassano, Roberti taught at the Jesuit colleges of Piacenza, Brescia, Parma, and Bologna. Upon the suppression of the Jesuit order in 1773, he returned to his family home in Bassano, devoting himself to his studies. Opposed to the *philosophes*, his writings consist of didactic and other poetry, as well as a vast number of prose works, including academic dissertations, moral treatises, panegyrics, and funeral speeches.

¹⁰ *Biblioteca hispano-americana septentrional*, 4 vols., 1816-21. Vol. 1 (México, 1821), p. 3.

¹¹ *Catálogo razonado de obras anónimas de autores de la Compañía de Jesús...*, 5 vols., 1904-16. Vol. 2 (Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadaneira, 1904), p. 258.

scholars. Abad apparently tried to conceal his surname with a transparent disguise which Manuel Fabri explains thusly: "He called himself Labbé, modifying his name slightly, and 'Selenopolitan', or inhabitant of the City of the Moon (for this means Mexico in the native tongue, as many believed)". ("*Labbeumque*, se, paullo immutato nomine, et *Selenopolitanum*, seu Urbis Lunae [id enim patria lingua Mexicus sonat, ut plerique credunt] Civem appellavit"¹². In a copy of the *Dissertatio* in the rare book collection of the New York Public Library, there appears in the upper right hand margin the signature "Beristain", and a penned note, both of which seem to be in Beristain's hand, and which, translated, reads as follows: "*Selenopolis* is Mexico, that is, City of the Moon, since *Metzli*, the term from which it is believed that Mexico is derived, means moon in the language of the Mexican Indians". ("*Selenopolis* est Mexicus: hoc est Civitas Lunae: *Metzli* enim sive *Mextli*, a quo Mexicus, Lunam sonat apud Mexicanos Indos").

In order to form his pseudonym, then, Abad employed the French term *abbé*, abbot or secular priest, derived from the Latin *abbas*, abbot; the Greek nouns *σελήνη*, ('moon'), and *πολίτης*, ('citizen'); and the Mexican Indian *Meztli*, or *Mextli*, Mexico. Motivated by curiosity, scholars have speculated as to the reasons Abad would have had for disguising his surname. Perhaps it was due to modesty, perhaps it was out of a fear for criticism, or other personal reasons no longer possible to ascertain. José Eugenio Uriarte quotes the Jesuit Father Manuel Luengo's explanation, colored by a certain degree of *picardía*:

El haverse puesto el apellido L'Abbé, que es palabra francesa, en vez de Abad, que es su apellido español, puede haver nacido de querer ocultarse á los italianos, o de pensar que siendo tenido por Frances, era leido con mayor gusto por ellos, o acaso de que ofendiese a sus delicadas orejas la palabra española Abad, como sucede con otras varias, aunque sea mas parecida a la latina *Abbas*, y a la italiana *Abbate*, que la francesa L'Abbé...¹³

The *Dissertatio ludicro-seria*, a work of 28 pages of text, was virtually unknown, or known by reference only by the critics of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, among them the distinguished Spanish literary historian and critic, Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo. Its apparently frivolous content is of great interest for the history of the polemics that

¹² Fernández Valenzuela, *Abad*, p. 84.

¹³ Diario, 1778, pp. 361-62, in Uriarte, *Catálogo razonado*, vol. 3, p. 257.

were sustained in the second half of the eighteenth century between Spanish and Italian Jesuits. A number of Italian scholars alleged, for example, that the decadence of classical Latin literature was due to such Spanish authors as Lucan, Martial, and Seneca, and that it was the deleterious influence of gongorism that corrupted Italian lyric poetry toward the end of the Renaissance. It also annoyed some Italians that the Spanish and Spanish-American Jesuits considered themselves just as good writers of Latin as the Italians. Among the notable Italian leaders of this anti-Spanish campaign were Girolamo Tiraboschi (1731-94), Saverio Bettinelli (1718-1808), Clementino Vannetti (1754-96), and Giovanni Battista Roberti. The Catalonians, Javier Llampillas (1731-1810) and Mateo Aymerich (1715-99), and the Valencians Tomás Serrano (1715-84) and Juan Andrés (1740-1817), vigorously led the Spanish reaction. Besides this, the *Dissertatio* made its appearance when many writers, both Italian as well as non-Italian, began to oppose the continued use of Latin as a medium of expression of literary and scholarly works. The highly respected Jesuit literary and cultural historian, the encyclopedist Juan Andrés, rightly predicted that the eighteenth century would be distinguished for the excellence of its Latin literary production. He also gave correct testimony to the obvious fact that Latin as the language of scholarly writing was being rapidly abandoned by modern authors¹⁴. It was, in effect, Jean le Rond d'Alembert's *Sur l'harmonie des langues*¹⁵ in which the French encyclopedist maintains that no modern author, Italians included, can write authentic Latin, nor is there really much point in trying to, since it is more important to cultivate the modern languages, that prompted Girolamo Ferri, considered one of the most competent Latinists of the eighteenth century, to retort with his *Pro linguae latinae usu epistolae adversus Alambertium* (Faenza, 1771). This interesting work, consisting of 50 letters of varying length, addressed to contemporary Latinists, was published together with a dissertation on the efforts of the sixteenth-century Cardinal Adriano Castellesi to restore Latin to its former purity¹⁶. Occupying 219 pages, these little dissertations, or

¹⁴ See Juan Andrés, "Literatura del siglo XVIII", *Origen, progresos y estado actual de toda la literatura*. Obra escrita en italiano por el abate D. Juan Andrés, y traducida al castellano por D. Carlos Andrés, 10 vols., 1784-1806. Vol. 2 (Madrid, 1784), pp. 393-94.

¹⁵ *Œuvres*, 5 vols. 1821-22. Vol. 4 (Paris, 1822), pp. 11-28.

¹⁶ *De Rebus gestis et scriptis Hadriani Cast. Cardinalis quo in primis auctore Latinitas restituta ad Clementem XIV.*

epistolae, stress the excellence of many Neo-Latin writers, besides providing much interesting information about them, and make a strong case for the use of Latin as a universal language, which, according to Ferri, can be adapted to all subjects¹⁷.

In the very last paragraph of Roberti's letter, of nearly a page in length, Roberti makes allusion to Ferri, who, in his lectures at the University of Ferrara, as well as in his *Epistolae*, rebuts those who maintain that no modern author is capable of writing good Latin. In addition, in a kind of paraphrase of and in tacit agreement with Ferri's opinion, Roberti states that Ferri has refuted those who say that foreigners are just as good Latin writers as certain Italians are. To have said this was enough, comments Abad indignantly, but more was coming. He quotes:

"Excellence", he says, "in writing Latin correctly is ours, and this source of praise must be diligently retained in Italy, and care taken that it not slip away in the future. The writings of non-Italians smack of a certain foreignness at which polished ears recoil. This distaste of our ears seems excessively haughty to writers who dwell beyond the Alps and across the sea; for truly they do not realize in what respect they go astray. Repeatedly they fall very deeply into error, or, to speak more gently and accurately, into a certain rhythmical incongruity, a certain complication of expression, and especially a certain strangeness in the use of metaphor most often when they least suspect it. The words are Latin, the adverbs are Latin, the particles are Latin to perfection, yet what comes out is not Latin".

"Praestantia", inquit, "recte latine scribendi nostra est; atque haec laus retinenda est in Italia diligenter, cavendumque ne in posterum dilabatur. Exterorum hominum scriptiones redolent quandam peregrinitatem, quam teretes aures recusant. Videtur transalpinis, ac transmarinis, hominibus superbum nimis hoc aurium nostrarum fastidium; neque enim sentiunt in quo peccent. Identidem ipsi in errores (seu ut mollius et verius loquar) in quandam numerorum absurditatem, in quandam phrasium implicationem, in quandam potissimum troporum insolentiam tunc vel maxime incidunt, cum vel minime suspicantur. Latina sunt verba, latina adverbia, latinae particulae, latina singula ad amussim, necque tamen inde exit latinus sermo" (cap. 1).

It was a certain Théophile Blanchard, to whom the *Dissertatio* is

¹⁷ Ferri (1713-86), born in Longiano, became at age 20 head of the municipal school of that town. When Pope Clement XIV initiated a plan to restore the University of Ferrara to its ancient splendor, he named Ferri to the chair of rhetoric at that institution. Ferri filled this position for 14 years with great distinction.

dedicated, and whom we have been unable to identify positively, who brought this epistle to Abad's attention four years after its appearance, and who urged the Mexican to reply to the alleged boasting of Roberti and Ferri¹⁸. Actually, Roberti's brief paraphrase of Ferri's judgment, which comes at the very end of his letter, seems more as a passing observation, and hardly intended to stir up debate. Abad omits the beginning of the paraphrase, which refutes the allegation of those (the most notorious of whom was d'Alembert) who argue that no modern author can be a "good writer of Latin" (*bonum scriptorem latinum*), and that includes Italians¹⁹. Abad, however, is highly indignant, and reacts with seriousness as well as sarcastic humor. His experience as a successful teacher of scholastic philosophy is apparent from the way in which he systematically undermines Roberti's (more properly Ferri's) assertion. To begin, a number of famous authors, such as Terence, Phaedrus, Quintilian, and Columella are cited as having been born outside of Italy. He asks whether Terence's, Phaedrus's, Quintilian's, and Columella's "writings smack of a certain foreignness at which polished ears recoil?" (*scriptiones redolent quandam peregrinitatem, quam teretes aures recusant?*), and retorts by hurling back at Roberti and Ferri their very own words (cap. 2): "I for one firmly recoil at polished ears of that kind" (*Ego vero istiusmodi aures teretes valde recuso*). He grants that Roberti does not have in mind ancient, but rather modern authors. Yet, the fact remains that they were "foreigners" (*peregrini*). We must point out that Abad is not wholly fair to Ferri who, at least regarding the ancients, recognizes that many poets and writers born outside of Italy proper excelled in the Latin language. After admiring such writers of prose as Quintilian, the Spaniard, and Livy, the Paduan, Ferri goes on to say:

One may make a similar observation about the poets who excel in Latin. For if you exclude Lucretius and Tibullus, they were all something other than Romans. But, I submit, was Africa a hindrance to Terence, or Gaul to Catullus and Vergil, or Thrace to Phaedrus, or Umbria to Plautus or Propertius, or Samnium to Ovid? Did those

¹⁸ Blanchard may have been a French fellow-Jesuit, whose true name was Jean-Baptiste-Xavier Duchesne, a professor of rhetoric, who assumed the name of Blanchard after the expulsion. See *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, eds. M. Prévost et Roman d'Amat (Paris, 1954), vol. 6, cols. 603-04.

¹⁹ Roberti, *Opere*, vol. 10, p. 310.

places cause them to speak and write less correct Latin than the Latins, or to be more precise, than the Romans themselves?²⁰

Idem observare licet de poetis, qui in Latinis eminent. Si enim Lucretium excipias et Tibullum, totum aliud sunt, quam Romani. Ast, cedo, Africa obfuit Terentio, Gallia Catullo, Virgilio, Thracia Phaedro, Umbria Plauto, Propertio, Samnium Ovidio, feceruntque ut minus latine, quam Latini, imo vero, quam Romani ipsi loquerentur scriberentque?

We may add that Ferri's compelling argument for the continued use of Latin as an international language of scholars, expressed in the statement that follows, would seem to belie his aversion to having non-Italians write in Latin. It is interesting to note that the great Italian Latinist includes even America among the places where Latin thrives.

If you were to discard it [i.e., the Latin language], do you not realize to what a narrow circle you would confine writings and learning, which, not only in Europe especially, but also in Asia, in Africa, and even in America, by this instrument, established as a kind of commerce of all the arts, they [i.e., writings and learning] are day by day perpetuated and increased by shared intellectual activity?²¹

Hanc [i.e., linguam latinam] si tollas, in quam brevem gyrum et litteras et doctrinas omnes coerceas, quae instrumento eo praecipue non in Europa sola, sed in Asia, in Africa, in America ipsa, mercatura veluti quadam artium omnium instituta feliciter propagantur, consociatisque studiis in dies augentur?

Abad next alludes to the excellent Latin academies and writers of Spain, France, the Netherlands, and England. He indicates that nearly all the schools of Italy have used the grammar book of Manuel Álvarez, a Portuguese, the erudite notes of Joseph de Jouvancy, a Frenchman, in order to interpret the texts of Horace, Martial, Juvenal, Perseus, and Ovid, and the *Dialogues* of Luis Vives, the Spaniard, to teach spoken Latin. Even Giovanni Vincenzo Gravina, the illustrious Italian jurist and man of letters of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, recommends Vives's book.

As an indication of the subjective prejudice of Roberti and Ferri, Abad declares that if they were Netherlanders or French, they would claim that the Netherlanders and French wrote the best Latin. He then gives a long list of Netherlandic and French authors whom Roberti and Ferri would presumably praise. By this device, Abad is further impres-

²⁰ *Epistola 2, Pro linguae latinae*, p. 10.

²¹ *Epistola 29, Pro linguae latinae*, p. 160.

sing his reader with the great number of excellent non-Italian writers. At this point, he seems to be gnashing his teeth, saying that these two most arrogant critics, who condemn more authors than they have ever heard of, deserve the mockery of unrestrained laughter. Besides ignorance, the Italian critics are accused of bad faith in that they do not seem to want non-Italians to know Latin well, as is indicated by an affective remark no less humorous than sarcastic: "It is as if Roberti did not just want anyone outside Italy not to be able to speak Latin well, but indeed not to be able even to mutter it well" (*quasi nollet Robertus, esse aliquempiam extra Italiam, qui nedum loqui; sed ne hiscere quidem bene latine queat*) (cap. 7).

Continuing to refute Roberti's and Ferri's theory, Abad cites three distinguished Italian Latinists, Cardinal Sforza Pallavicino (1607-67), Paolo Manuzio (1512-74), and the above-mentioned Gravina, who had extolled certain non-Italian Latin authors, such as Melchor Cano (1509-60), the great Dominican theologian, Pedro Juan Perpiñá (1530-66), Jesuit Latin author and teacher of rhetoric, Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas ("El Brocense") (1523-1601), a famous humanist-professor of Salamanca, and Manuel Martí (1663-1737), the Dean of Alicante, a humanist distinguished at one time for his Latin verse. All of these outstanding Latinists were, of course, Spanish. Also, prefacing his remarks with a "I hate to have to mention this" attitude, Abad yields to what he considers poor taste by reminding the reader that many contemporary Italians have referred to the current decline of Latin in Italy.

Abad complains that both Roberti and Ferri fail to support their assertion with stated reasons, and logically proceeds to reconstruct their line of reasoning. Three possible conditions can explain why Italians are superior to others: (1) Italians are born in the same places where Plautus, Cicero, Caesar, Catullus, and many other great Latin authors were born; (2) Italians are born with greater intellectual capacity than the rest of us; (3) Italian children receive a superior education. The first argument is demolished with tongue in cheek. Abad has lived in Italy for ten years, and has not seen hoards of Ciceros and Catulluses emanating from their respective cities of Arpinum and Verona. The second point attributes Italian genius to a favorable climate. Here an enlightened Abad rejects the climate theory, popular at the time, which established a direct relation between climate, and temperament and

customs. In this regard, we recall the lines of the beginning of Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* (1581):

la terra molle e lieta e diletta
simili a sé gli abitator produce. (l. 62)

This argument allows the nostalgic Mexican to digress on his beloved homeland:

If it were true, as many believe, that those who are born under a milder climate are usually endowed with a milder genius, more well-disposed and better for all things, indeed, it would be proper for the Mexicans to be the most talented of mortals, since they enjoy a most indulgent climate...

Si quod multi existimant verum esset, qui sub mitiore caelo nascuntur, eos ut plurimum mitiore quoque praeditos esse ingenio, atque ad omnia promptiore, et meliore; oportebat profecto Mexicanos esse mortalium ingeniosissimos, quandoquidem caelum nacti sunt indulgentissimum ... (cap. 12).

He implies, of course, that the Mexican climate, excellent as it is, does not produce genius²². Geniuses, as well as dullards, can be born anywhere. The enlightened Abad is closer to the scientific truth when he says, "It is without doubt the diverse conformation of the brain, and the membranes enveloping the brain, which produce such a great diversity of men and genius" (*Cerebri, et membranarum cerebrum involventium varia conformatio sine dubio est, quae tantam affert ingeniorum diversitatem*) (cap. 12). Indirect allusions are then made to Roberti and Ferri, and an appropriate, although unidentified quote is given:

"Eagles flying on high can be born anywhere;
and likewise, asses can be born anywhere".
"Nasci ubivis possunt Aquilae sublime volantes:
Et possunt itidem nasci ubicunque Asini" (cap. 12).

Regarding the third point, Abad, citing various foreign Latin scholars and editions, affirms that other countries have all the facilities and means of teaching elegant and correct Latin, and in no way are they

²² For Montesquieu climate, along with circumstance, had great influence in determining the type of government for a particular people. We recall the opening lines of book 14, *De l'Esprit des lois* (1748): "S'il est vrai que le caractère de l'esprit et les passions du cœur soient extrêmement différents dans les divers climats, les lois doivent être relatives et à la différence de ces passions, et à la différence de ces caractères».

inferior to Italy in this respect. He again chides Roberti, and ridicules him by saying that to maintain that only Italians are capable of correct Latin is equivalent to saying that only Italians can dance properly. "Do you think that all foreigners are either bandy-legged, or knock-kneed, or crook-footed, or paralytic?" (*Credin' tu exteros omnes aut valgos, aut compernes, aut loripedes, aut esse paralyticos?*) (cap. 13). Although the comparison is illogical (satire, of course, need not be logical), and somewhat grotesque, it is forceful and witty.

Abad recalls that, technically speaking, since Roberti was born in what had been a territory inhabited by Cisalpine Gauls during the time of ancient Rome, he too should be considered a foreigner. Livy also suffered the stigma of foreignness, since he was born in Padua, beyond the Rubicon. As a small child, he learned much of his Latin from nurses, who, according to Cicero, preserved the old pronunciation intact. Abad warns:

"It is well-known that women, for the most part, speak rather incorrectly and impurely, partly due to ignorance, partly due to carelessness and a certain rather strong tendency to chatter"
quotidiana tamen experientia compertissimum esse, feminas, ut plurimum, loqui corruptius, et inquinatius, partim incogitantia, partim temeritate, et majore quadam incitatione garriendi (cap. 15).

In this respect, those non-Italians who learned their Latin from the texts of classical authors, and were not exposed to incorrect Latin, such as in the case of Livy, should be more expert in Latin than the ancient Romans who learned Latin through everyday conversation. Abad also points out that Terence, the African, knew Latin so well that Cicero learned from him.

Abad once again cites Roberti's basic remarks, but this time he reprimands him, not for his lack of logic, but for his meanness of spirit. The tone has shifted from sarcasm, ridicule, and rational argument to a feeling of anger, frustration, and disappointment in a fellow-Jesuit who has been unkind to his foreign brethren who are suffering a painful and unjust exile:

I fear that the outsiders will deal him a more copious retort than he himself would wish. They will certainly pay him back in equal terms, feeling in turn quite dispirited about a man who was not ashamed to write and put in print such ideas, especially at a time when Italy was full of suffering foreigners who shared a common lot with him, and

whom a sense of decency and humanity forbade to ridicule and provoke in that sort of manner.

Vereor ne vicem illi exteri reddant liberaliorem fortasse, quam vellet ipse. Aequalem certe reddent, abjectius vicissim sentiendo de homine, qui talia scribere, et typis mandare non erubuit, tum praecipue cum plena erat hominum exterorum, et calamitosorum Italia, qui in eadem navi cum illo erant, et quos isto modo irridere, et lacessere pudor, et humanitas vetabant (cap. 19).

Abad then returns to reasoned argumentation. All of what Roberti has said is reduced to this: whether the diction and sentence arrangement, and word relationship of modern Italians is authentic or not. This matter is unresolvable. (This was also d'Alembert's contention). Cicero himself wrote that it was difficult to determine the ideal form. Style in Latin is a question of personal preference, and is ultimately the consequence of what one has learned and is accustomed to. He points out the difference between the Latin style of Italians and non-Italians. One suspects that Abad is enjoying a kind of sweet revenge upon Roberti and Ferri in this first direct criticism of the Latin of contemporary Italians:

Today's Italians, for the most part, favor a more suave and sober style. And this, of course, is why some non-Italians disparage the Italians, as if they were slack, lifeless, and effeminate in their speech. Itali hodierni stilum plerunque amant lenem magis et temperatum. Et en cur exterorum aliqui abominantur Italos, tanquam si essent in dicendo laxi, et enerves, et effoeminati; ... (cap. 22).

Some Italians, on the other hand, have called the foreigners "excessive, audacious, and convoluted" (insolentes, et audaces, et contortiplicatos) in their Latin expression. Abad, wishing to be just, hastens to conclude that "The criticism of each side is unfair and thoughtless..." (Utraque censura injusta est, et praeceptis...) (cap. 23).

The conclusion of the *Dissertatio* involves moral consequences that transcend the theme of the Latin of non-Italians. When the truth is unpleasant or inconvenient, and injures our reputation or brings disgrace rather than honor, we prefer to suppress it. To illustrate this, the author cites in its entirety a delightful fable in 33 lines of Latin verse by the Spanish Jesuit Tomás Serrano, entitled "Concerning the harm brought to literature by writers of literary history. Truth restored, and then driven away. A fable" ("De damno allato litteris per Scriptores

Historiae Litterariae. Veritas redux, et repulsa. Fabella'')²³. According to the fable, Truth, who had left Earth, is called back by Minerva, and relegated to the world of letters. She brings with her two companions, Glory and Dishonor, and plans to visit the literary personalities of the several nations by first sending ahead Dishonor to announce her (Truth's) presence. Spain, France, Italy, and the other nations all lock their gates, in turn, on the unwelcome visitor. Truth, aware of the reason for rejection, decides to send ahead Glory as a herald. This time all the gates of the world enthusiastically swing open. Truth, for her part, is thoroughly disappointed and

Seeing that no one is held by a passion for the truth, and that all men are moved by the love of fame, or the fear of dishonor, she flies back into heaven after abandoning earth.

... studio Veritatis neminem

Videns teneri, et universos ducier

Amore famae, vel timore infamiae,

Relicto rursus orbe in caelos avolat (cap. 24).

The theme of this fable fits in well with that of the *Dissertatio*, and provides an apt conclusion, both comic and serious. In the world of letters and literary critics, one is moved more by subjective feelings, vanity, and national pride than by a desire to recognize and admit the objective truth. (Witness, for example, the literary polemics between the Spanish and Italian Jesuits). Roberti and Ferri, in denying to non-Italians the ability to write correct Latin, did not adhere to logic, reason, or the simple facts, and in addition failed to show compassion toward their exiled fellow-Jesuits.

The smooth-flowing and lively *Dissertatio*, with its impressive classical erudition, much of which is integrated into the text in the form of quotations, along with its many references to illustrious Neo-Latin writers and scholars who were well-known to eighteenth-century Latinists, remains for the twentieth-century reader an instructive and revealing picture of a once-flourishing and now practically forgotten aspect of

²³ Tomás Serrano (1715-84) was a distinguished Spanish Jesuit humanist, Latin poet, and professor of rhetoric at the University of Valencia. As a consequence of the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain and all Spanish territory in 1767, he took up residence in Ferrara. His disciple, the Jesuit Miguel García, published in Foligno, 1788, his poetry, together with a biography, in *Carminum libri IV. Opus posthumum, accedit de ejusdem Serrani vita et litteris Michaelis Garciae commentarium*. The fable, with title (omitted by Abad), appears on pp. 98-99.

our Western tradition. It is also an entertaining piece of satire which must be classified as Juvenalian, because of its severe tone and expression of moral displeasure. This, in opposition to an Horatian satire, which, on the contrary, pokes fun in a gentle sense at man's shortcomings. Abad himself, a seemingly sensitive and gentle man, expresses anger, hurt, and resentment, even strong moral indignation, and chides Roberti and Ferri sarcastically and mockingly in what today would be termed "overreaction". The intention is more serious than comic, for whatever there is of "comic" is always accompanied by a bitter taste. The "offense" of Roberti and Ferri, if it can truly be called that, is really an academic opinion, prevalent among Italians at that time, and arrived at in good faith, and it is expressed in Roberti's epistle without hostility or allusion to any particular nationality. Much of Abad's resentment, it would appear, and this is alluded to specifically in the *Dissertatio*, derives from the fact that he, along with many other fellow-Jesuits, were residing in Italy as forced exiles. Abad feels not only the effect of exile, ordered in 1767 by Charles III of Spain, but that of the dissolution of the Jesuit order in 1773 by Pope Clement XIV, which, to the anguish of exile, added the burden of orphanhood. Abad feels that those like Roberti and Ferri were insensitive to the suffering of the exiles. Finally, and not least of all, this little book, or *libellus*, furnishes further concrete evidence of the very competent Latin of which the eighteenth-century Mexican humanists were capable.

Jacobi Josephi Labbe

Selenopolitani

DISSERTATIO LUDICRO-SERIA

“Num possit aliquis extra Italiam natus bene latine
scribere, contra quam Robertus pronuntiat?”

MDCCLXXVIII

Superiorum Facultate

“Quando scis, sine alios discere”.

Plaut. Truc. A. 4. sc. 2. v. 22

Jacobus Josephus Labbe

Theophilo Blancardo

S. P.

Flagitasti a me etiam atque etiam, Blancarde doctissime¹, ut judicium tibi expromerem meum de gloriatione Jo. Bapt. Roberti, in epistola quadam ad V. Clarissimum Franciscum M. Zanottum^(a) ubi Ferrium² laudat, quasi cumulatissime confutasset “eos, qui volunt externos esse bonos latinos scriptores aequae ac nos Itali aliquando sumus”. Dixisse hoc erat aliquid; sed plusculum aliquid parabat. “Praestantia”, inquit, “recte latine scribendi nostra est; atque haec laus

^(a) Typis edita Bassani apud Remondinum a. 1774.

¹ See Introduction, p. 367, and note 18.

THE MEXICAN DIEGO JOSE ABAD'S
SERIO-COMIC DISCOURSE

On whether anyone born outside of Italy
can write Latin well, contrary to what
Roberti asserts.

1778

By Authority of the Superiors

"Inasmuch as you are educated,
let others learn as well".

Pl. *Truc*, IV, 2.22

Diego José Abad
to
Théophile Blanchard
Greetings!

1. You have asked me repeatedly, most learned Blanchard¹, to disclose to you my opinion regarding the boasting of Giovanni Battista Roberti, in a certain epistle to the distinguished Francesco Maria Zanotti^(a), in which he praises Ferri², as if he had refuted most emphatically "those who maintain that foreigners are just as good Latin writers as we Italians are at any time". To have said as much was significant, but he had something else in mind also. He says,

^(a) Bassano: Remondini, 1774.

² See Introduction, p. 366, and note 17.

retinenda est in Italia diligenter, cavendumque ne in posterum dilabatur. Exterorum hominum scriptiones redolent quandam peregrinitatem, quam teretes aures recusant. Videtur transalpinis ac transmarinis hominibus superbum nimis hoc aurium nostrarum fastidium; neque enim sentiunt in quo peccent. Identidem ipsi in errores (seu ut melius* et verius loquar) in quandam numerorum absurditatem, in quandam phrasium implicationem, in quandam potissimum troporum insolentiam tunc vel maxime incidunt, cum vel minime suspicantur. Latina sunt verba, latina adverbia, latinae particulae, latina singula ad amussim, neque tamen inde exit latinus sermo"³. Hactenus Robertus. Et bene hanc tu, mi Theophile, "gloriationem" appellasti. Nam gloriatio ista quidem et putidiuscula, et nequid asperius dicam, ventosissima est. Nunquid potuit dici gloriosius? Nunquid invidiosius?

2. Censoribus Roberto et Ferrio inconcessum tibi est latine scire, si modo extra Italiam natus sis. Itane vero? Atqui Terentius, Phaedrus, Quintilianus, Columella (ut multos alios missos faciam) extra Italiam nati sunt. Terentius Afer, Phaedrus Thrax, Quintilianus et Columella Hispani sunt, nisi quid aliud censoribus videbitur. Ergone Terentii, Phaedri, Quintiliani, Columellae "scriptiones redolent quandam peregrinitatem, quam teretes aures recusant?" Ego vero istiusmodi aures teretes valde recuso.

3. Recusabunt item, ut suspicor, consequutionem hanc Robertus et Ferrius. Jurene id, an injuria iis, qui probe dialecticis imbuti sint, judicandum relinquo. Siquidem verissimum est, Terentii et Phaedri scripta esse omnino exterorum, id est alibi natorum et aliunde advenientium hominum scriptiones. Sed nolo hic ego ad scholae tenorem exacte et inclementius agere. Detrectent, per me licet, tam atrocem consequutionem. Bene habet. Intelligo, posse consentientibus jam Roberto et Ferrio, posse inquam Afrum aliquem, aut Thracem, aut Hispanum, aut Sarmatam, aut Getam latine loqui optime. Quid ergo vult Robertus, cum negat, hoc exteros posse? Non jam antiquos illos, qui vigente latinitate scripserunt, sed recentes puto scriptores latinos condemnat omnes, quotquot ab literis renatis aut fuerunt adhuc, aut erunt aliquando, Hispanos, Lusitanos, Gallos, Belgas, Batavos, Anglos,

* In chap. 19 the same text is quoted as "mollius". The source, in Giambattista Roberti, *Opere*, reads "mollius". See Introduction, note 9.

³ "Francisco Zanotto Joannes Baptista Robertus", *Opere*, op. cit., vol. 10, p. 310. See Introduction, note 9.

Excellence in writing Latin correctly is ours, and this source of praise must be diligently retained in Italy, and care taken that it not slip away in the future. The writings of non-Italians smack of a certain foreignness at which polished ears recoil. This distaste of our ears seems excessively haughty to writers who dwell beyond the Alps and across the sea; truly they do not realize in what respect they go astray. Repeatedly they fall very deeply into error, or, to speak more properly and accurately, into a certain rhythmical incongruity, a certain complication of expression, and especially a certain strangeness in the use of metaphor most often when they least suspect it. The words are Latin, the adverbs are Latin, the particles are Latin to perfection, yet what comes out is not Latin³.

So much for Roberti. And you, my dear Théophile, correctly called this "boasting". For that is indeed boasting, and rather disgusting, and lest I say anything harsher, it is very conceited. Could anything be said more vaingloriously? Or more invidiously?

2. In the view of the critics Roberti and Ferri, it is impossible for you to know Latin if only you happen to be born outside Italy. Is this really so? And yet, Terence, Phaedrus, Quintilian, and Columella (to omit many others) were born outside Italy. Terence was African, Phaedrus, a Thracian, Quintilian and Columella were Spaniards, unless it will appear otherwise to the critics. Therefore, do Terence's, Phaedrus's, Quintilian's, Columella's "writings smack of a certain foreignness at which polished ears recoil?" I for one firmly recoil at polished ears of that kind.

3. I also suspect that Roberti and Ferri will recoil at this line of reasoning. Whether rightly or wrongly, I leave it to the judgment of those who have been properly initiated in the science of logic. For indeed it is very true that the works of Terence and Phaedrus are altogether those of foreigners, that is, writings of men born elsewhere, and originating from another place. But I do not choose at this point to continue in the spirit of a sharp and rather heated dialectical argument. As far as I am concerned, let them decline such a dreadful consequence. It is well. I understand and I maintain, with Roberti and Ferri surely agreeing, that an African, or Thracian, or Spaniard, or Sarmatan, or Getan, is able to speak Latin in the best manner. What, therefore, does Roberti mean when he denies that foreigners can do this? He does not now have in mind those ancients who wrote when Latin was a living language, but he condemns, I think, all modern Latin authors, that is, all those who have existed from Renaissance literature to the present,

Germanos et ceteros. Strenuum mehercule hominem et gloriosum, qui Ferrio suo tanquam armigero comitatus, totum terrarum orbem provocat ad certamen! Qui cum tot centenis hominum millibus, cum tot praeclarissimis Academiis, quae per Hispanias, Gallias, Belgium, Angliam et <caetera> latinitatem puram putam studiosissime consecantur, paratissimus est digladiari et configere. Sibi soli latine loquendo placent mirifice Robertus et Ferrius. Reliquos omnes mortales despiciatui habent, omnes condemnant.

4. Omnes, inquam, nam, quod maxime nollent illi, etiam Italos suos, quibus ablandiri et assentari volunt, condemnant. Italosne etiam? Papae! Sed ne te diutius suspensum animi detineam, dic mihi obsecro, Blancarde, Emmanuel Alvarez⁴ cujas est? Lusitanus. Iosephus Juventius⁵? Gallus. Ludovicus Vives⁶? Hispanus. Et tamen scholae fere omnes Italiae, annis abhinc fere ducentis, Emmanuelem Alvarez latinitatis praeceptorem sequuntur, Juventii notis typis Italicis perquam saepissime editis utuntur in explicandis Horatio, Martiale, Juvenale, Persio, et Ovidio in *Metamorphosi*. Ludovici Vivis colloquia Italice reddita, quo latine familiariter loqui pueri discant, scholasticus etiam liber est. Certe Janus Vincentius Gravina oratione habita ad Clementem XI *De instauratione studiorum*, libellum hunc vult primum omnium manibus puerorum versari. "Igitur statim puer", inquit, "flexiones nominum, aut verborum cum aliis grammaticae rudimentis memoriae mandaverit, ad scriptores est adducendus, eique, ut nobis olim discentibus mos erat, praebendus in primis Ludovici Vivis nitidissimus, atque utilissimus exercitationum libellus"⁷. O miseram Italiam et, iudicibus

⁴ Alvarez. Manuel Alvarez (1526-82), a Portuguese Jesuit, born in Madeira. Well-versed in Greek, Hebrew, and above all, Latin, he taught at Lisbon and Coimbra, earning an excellent reputation as a teacher of the Latin language and literature. His Latin grammar, *De institutione grammaticae*, first published in Lisbon in 1572, was adopted by nearly all the schools of the Jesuit order, and saw literally hundreds of editions.

⁵ Juventius. Joseph de Jouvençy, French Jesuit and humanist, born in Paris in 1643. He became professor of rhetoric at Caen, La Flèche, and the Collège Louis-le-Grand. He produced an impressive number of Latin works, outstanding for their elegance and purity of style, and which were continuously edited until the middle of the nineteenth century. Noteworthy among his works are *De ratione docendi et discendi* (Paris, 1692), which had seen many editions up to 1842, and *Appendix de diis et heroibus* (Rome, 1704; reedited in Paris, 1869). He prepared numerous expurgated editions of Terence, Horace, Juvenal, Ovid, Martial, and others. Residing in Rome as of 1699, Jouvençy maintained the right of the pope to depose sovereigns, and the right of the people to overthrow tyrants. He died in Rome, in 1719.

⁶ Vives. Juan Luis Vives, the great Spanish humanist, philosopher, and educator, friend of Erasmus, was born in Valencia in 1492-93. He taught at Oxford, Louvain, and the University of Paris. He was critical of school philosophy and scholastic and

or who will exist sometime in the future, Spaniards, Portuguese, French, Flemings, Dutch, English, German, and others as well. My Lord, what a vigorous and boastful man, who, accompanied by Ferri, his armorbearer, so to speak, challenges the entire world to combat! Roberti, who is fully prepared to dispute and battle so many hundreds of thousands of men, and so many illustrious academies which throughout Spain, France, the Low Countries, and England, cultivate very assiduously a pure and unadulterated Latin, in my estimation. Roberti and Ferri are wonderfully pleased with themselves alone in speaking Latin. All remaining mortals they hold in contempt, they condemn all.

4. All, I say. For although they most especially would not want to, they even condemn their fellow-Italians, whom they wish to flatter and ingratiate. Even the Italians? How odd! But lest I keep you in suspense any longer, tell me, I beseech you, Blanchard, what is the nationality of Manuel Alvarez?⁴ Portuguese. And that of Joseph de Jouvancy?⁵ French. And of Luis Vives?⁶ Spanish. And still, nearly all the schools of Italy for almost the past two hundred years have followed Manuel Alvarez as a teacher of Latin. And they use the notes of de Jouvancy very often published in Italian editions to interpret Horace, Martial, Juvenal, Persius, and Ovid in the *Metamorphoses*. The Dialogues of Luis Vives, translated into Italian, is also a school book by which children may learn to speak Latin on a conversational basis. Certainly, Giovanni Vincenzo Gravina, in a discourse directed to Pope Clement XI, *De instauratione studiorum*, says that he would like to see this little book first of all placed in the hands of children. He writes,

Therefore, as soon as the child will have committed to memory the inflections of the nouns, or verbs with other rudiments of grammar, he must be introduced to writers, and, as was once the custom with us when we were students, the very brilliant and useful little volume of exercises of Luis Vives, above all, must be offered to him⁷.

theological quibbling, preferring to follow a philosophy that was basically Augustinian, with piety and eternal salvation as principal concerns. His *De Anima et vita* (Basel, 1538) is considered one of the first works on modern psychology. Regarded as a precursor of Bacon and Descartes, Vives died in Bruges, in 1540.

⁷ Gravina. Giovanni Vincenzo Gravina (1664-1718). "Oratio de instauratione studiorum", in *Opuscula ad historiam litterariam, et studiorum rationem pertinentia* (pp. 81-168), ed. Joseph Warton (Oxford, 1792), p. 91. Gravina, an Italian jurist and man of letters, produced *Originum juris civilis libri III* (Naples, 1701; 1713; Venice, 1730), his chief work on civil law. His work on canon law, *Institutiones canonicae* (Turin, 1732), is looked upon as an elementary handbook on the subject. His literary works include: *Delle antiche favole* (Rome, 1696); *Della ragione poetica libri due* (Rome, 1709; Naples, 1716) and *Orationes et opuscula* (Naples, 1712; Utrecht, 1713).

Roberto et Ferrio, jamdiu bonae latinitatis expertem, quippe quae homines externos, homines barbaros depravatissimos latinitatis magistros tibi stultissime delegisti! Et o te, Jane Vincenti, hominem infectum, judicem ineptissimum qui libellum hominis Hispani "nitidissimum atque utilissimum" appellasti et Romanorum etiam puerorum manibus obtrudendum existimasti! Sed mittamus jam ludicra.

5. Equidem ita sumus homines comparati, ut plerunque simus plus aequo amantiore nostri. Hac inconsulta amoris praerogativa, nisi multum diuque philosophando contra adnitimur, mirum profecto est quantum hallucinamur, et quam ample et magnifice de nobis sentimus. Omnia quae nos propius contingunt, adeoque regionem, urbem illam, in qua nati sumus, admiramur, extollimus. Umbilicum orbis terrarum esse existimamus, et ibi meliore luto conflatos nasci homines, et esse prae reliquis mortalibus quodammodo excellentiores et ad omnia ingeniosiores. Hoc autem ideo omnino, quia cum dicere aperte et simpliciter, "ego sum homo acutus et ingeniosus", inverecundum sit et illiberale, circuitione, et involucro quodam utimur ad id ipsum modestius efferendum, quod sine ulla dissimulatione dicere esset impudentissimum. Siquis (quod Roberto et Ferrio arbitror contigisse) extra patrios limites parum, aut nihil pedem extulit, sed inibi locorum, ubi natus est, vitam transegit omnem, is profecto caecutit magis in rerum externarum aestimatione et in rerum domesticarum venditatione. Quae propius intuemur, majora; quae procul longe aspicimus, necesse est appareant minora. Haec autem imbecillitas oculorum est, quam nisi iudicio et ratione emendaveris, deridiculus profecto fias, et justissimis te cachinnis deridendum omnibus praebeas. Sol Anaxagorae Peloponneso non admodum major videbatur esse. Num propterea sol is est, qui Anaxagorae esse videbatur? Anaxagoram ridemus; solem toto orbe terrarum quater et decies centena millia mole majorem esse existimamus⁸.

6. Mihi crede, Blancarde, si Roberto, si Ferrio in Belgio nasci aut in Gallia contigisset, qua confidentia nunc Gallis et Belgis, eademmet tunc Italibus omnibus insultarent. Intrepide atque exultanter dicerent jam pridem latinam elegantiam ex Italia ad Belgas, aut ad Gallos migrasse. Erasmios, Grotios, Gruterios, Gronovios, Vossios, Tollios, Sidronios, Wallios, aut Lambinos, Turnebos, Cujacios, Muretos, Petavios, Sir-

⁸ The mass of the sun is presently calculated to be 333,000 times that of the earth.

Oh wretched Italy, in the opinion of both Roberti and Ferri, devoid of good Latin for a long time now, since you most foolishly chose for yourself outsiders, very corrupt foreigners as teachers of pure Latin style! And even you, oh Giovanni Vincenzo, coarse man, most incompetent judge, who called the little volume of the Spaniard “very brilliant and useful”, and thought that it should be thrust into the hands even of Roman children! But let us now dismiss such ridiculousness.

5. Indeed, we men are so disposed that very often we are our own admirers more than is just. By this ill-advised privilege of self-love, unless we strive hard and long by philosophizing against it, it is indeed amazing how very much idle talk we indulge in, and how liberal and splendid we feel about ourselves. All those things that touch us more closely, truly, that region, that city in which we were born, we admire, we exalt. We judge it to be the navel of the world, and that there men are born molded of better clay, and compared with the rest of mortals, we are in a way more distinguished and more talented for all things. This generally happens, because since to say openly and directly, “I am a keen and talented man”, is impudent and low, we employ an indirect manner and a certain cover-up to proclaim more modestly that very thing which, without any dissimulation, would be most shameless to say. If anyone (this is what I perceive to be Roberti’s and Ferri’s situation) has ventured forth very little or not at all beyond the boundaries of his country, but has spent his entire life in that very place in which he was born, he is truly more blind in the appraisal of foreign matters, as well as in the boasting of domestic matters. Those things that we look upon that are nearer, seem larger. Those things that we behold from far off, of necessity appear smaller. This, however, is an optical deficiency which, unless you corrected it with good judgment and reason, you would surely appear ridiculous and would cause yourself to be mocked by all with justly deserved laughter. The sun did not seem to Anaxagoras very much larger than the Peloponnesus. Is the sun, therefore, what it seemed to be to Anaxagoras? We deride Anaxagoras. We now estimate the sun to be 1,400,000 times greater in its mass than the earth⁸.

6. Believe me, Blanchard, if Roberti or Ferri had happened to have been born in the Netherlands, or in France, by the very same self-confidence with which they now revile the French and the Low Countries, they would then revile all the Italians. They would say boldly and

mondos, Juventios, Rapinos, Santolios, Commirios, Vanierios⁹, et ne infinitus sim, sexcentos alios latinos scriptores Gallos, aut Belgas,

⁹ Erasmus. Desiderius Erasmus (1467?-1536), of course, needs no introduction. John Huizinga put it very well when he wrote that "'Erasmus' is the only name in all the host of humanists which has remained a household word all over the globe". *Erasmus and the Age of Reformation* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1957), p. 40.

On the contrary, most of the remaining names in this sentence have been eliminated from modern encyclopedias and histories of literature. However, they are very important for the history of Neo-Latin literature.

Grotius. Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), or Huig de Groot in his native country, was a distinguished Dutch publicist and statesman, born at Delft. A prodigy in Latin, at age nine Grotius wrote Latin verse, attended the university at 12, and at 15 edited the encyclopedic work of Martianus Capella. A man of great erudition and talent, his bibliography is most impressive. Among his important Latin works are *De jure belli ac pacis libri III* (Paris, 1613), translated into many languages, and published in numerous editions; *Conciliatio dissidentium de re predestinataria et gratia opinionum* (Amsterdam, 1613); and *Liber de antiquitate et statu Reipublicae Batavae* (Amsterdam, 1617).

Gruterus. Jan de Gruytere (1560-1627), a philologist from Brabant, who was born in Antwerp, and became a professor and librarian at Heidelberg. He published very fine critical editions of Seneca, Plautus, Martial, Tacitus, Livy, Pliny, Cicero, and other ancient authors. He edited *Lampas, sive Fax artium liberalium*, 6 vols. (Frankfurt, 1604-12), also known as the *Thesaurus criticus*, a collection of humanistic writings called *Adversaria*, or miscellaneous remarks; and *Inscriptiones antiquae totius orbis Romani in absolutissimum corpus redactae* (Heidelberg, 1602), a complete collection of the inscriptions of the Empire, methodically classified.

Gronovius. Johann Friederick Gronov (1611-1711), a German classical scholar and critic, professor of rhetoric and history at Deventer, and of Greek at Leiden. He was recognized for his famous editions of Livy, Gellius, Statius, Martial, and Plautus. He also prepared editions of the two Senecas, Sallust, Pliny the Elder, Phaedrus and Tacitus. Among his many works is an edition of Grotius's *De jure belli ac pacis*, first published in Paris, 1625.

Johann's son Jakob (1645-1716) is chiefly recognized for editing the *Thesaurus antiquitatum graecarum*, 13 vols. (Leiden, 1697-1702).

Vossius. Gerhard Johann Voss (1597-1649), a great Latinist of the Netherlands during the seventeenth century. He produced important works on rhetoric and poetry, "and to him, perhaps, rather than to any one man, we may refer the establishment of as much correctness of writing as is attainable in a dead language". Henry Hallam, *Introduction to the Literature of Europe in the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries*, 4 vols. Vol. 3 (Paris, 1839), p. 14. Of particular note is Vossius's outstanding scholarly work on grammar, the *Aristarchus, sive de arte grammatica libri VII* (Amsterdam, 1635). He also wrote on the historians of Greece and Rome.

Tollius. A famous family of Dutch philologists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Among the most outstanding are: Cornelius (1620-54), who published important editions of texts; Alexander, brother of Cornelius (1623-75), editor of the works of Appianus (Amsterdam, 1670); Jacobus, brother of the preceding (1633-96), author of important philological works. He also devised a method for discovering the philosophical stone: *Manuductio ad coelum chemicum* (Amsterdam, 1688).

Sidronius. Sidronius Hosschius, or de Hossche (1596-1653), a Flemish Jesuit poet and humanist. His poetry is found in a large number of editions. The one most preferred by his readers of the eighteenth century is the Paris, 1723 two-volume edition, which also contains the poetry of Gulielmus Becanus and Jacobus Wallius.

vaingloriously that long ago elegant Latin had departed from Italy to the Netherlanders or to the French. Authors like Erasmus, Grotius, Gruterus, Gronovius, Vossius, Tollius, Hosschius, Wallius, or Lambinus, Turnebus, Cujacius, Muretus, Petavius, Sirmondus, Juventius, Rapinus, Santolius, Commirius, Vanierius⁹, and lest I go on forever,

Wallius. Jacobus van de Walle (1599-1690), a Fleming, was considered by some of his contemporaries as one of the best Jesuit Latin poets of his time.

Lambinus. Denis Lambin (1520-72), a great French classical scholar, whose editions of such authors as Horace, Lucretius, and Cicero have been highly esteemed.

Turnebus. Adrien Turnèbe (1512-65), a French classical scholar who composed commentaries on Aeschylus, Sophocles, Theophrastus, Philo, and parts of Cicero, and translated Greek works into Latin and French. His complete works, *Opera*, in three volumes were published in Strassburg in 1600.

Cujacius. Jacques de Cujas (1520-90), a French jurisconsult and great teacher and scholar who became famous for his work on Justinian. He also made valuable contributions to other aspects of jurisprudence. His complete works, now scarce, were published at Neville, 1577.

Muretus. Marc-Antoine Muret (1526-85), a French humanist and Latin poet, whose written Latin was much admired for its elegance and good taste. All his works have been collected in the Verona, 1727-30 edition, 5 vols. Muret eventually settled in Rome, at the urging of Pope Gregory XIII.

Petavius. Denys Petau (1583-1652), a brilliant French Jesuit theologian and patrologist. Author and editor of numerous theological works in Latin, Petau's main contribution is his extensive, although unfinished, *Opus de theologicis dogmatibus*, 6 vols. (Antwerp, 1700), in which he continues the work of Melchor Cano and J. Maldonatus in seeking the sources of Church doctrine in the Holy Scriptures and tradition. This work is considered the first real attempt to provide a systematic history of Christian doctrine. A later edition appears as: *Dogmata theologica*, 8 vols. (Paris, 1865-67).

Sirmondus. Jacques Sirmond (1559-1651), a French Jesuit scholar, became professor of rhetoric in Paris, and secretary to Cardinal Aquaviva. Author of numerous theological and polemical dissertations, his collected works were published under the title *Opera varia*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1696).

Antoine Sirmond (1591-1643), nephew of Jacques, was a teacher of humanities and philosophy, who eventually devoted himself entirely to preaching. He wrote, among other works, *De Immortalitate animae demonstratio physica et aristotelica, adversus Pomponatium et asseclas* (Paris, 1625).

Juventius. See note 5 above.

Rapinus. René Rapin (1621-87), a French Jesuit writer and professor of humanities who, between 1657 and 1687 composed a vast number of works in prose and verse, both in French and Latin. Rapin dedicated his work to the defense of religion and literature. His Latin poems, which achieved a high technical perfection, were universally translated and enjoyed. His most distinguished and best-known Latin poem is *Hortorum libri IV* (Paris, 1665), regarded as a kind of "continuation" of Vergil's *Georgics*.

Santolius. Jean-Baptiste de Santeul (1630-97), a French Latin poet, highly esteemed as the greatest Latin poet during the reign of Louis XIV, and designated as "le poète perpétuel de l'Hôtel de Ville de Paris". Santeul provided inscriptions for many public monuments, especially fountains. His complete works, *Operum omnium...*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1729), were edited by P.A. Pinil de la Martelière and A.F. Bilhard.

Commirius. Jean Commire (1625-1702), a French Jesuit who earned for himself an honored place among modern Latin poets. His poetic works include odes, epigrams, heroic pieces, imitations of the Psalms, idylls, and fables. The best edition of his collected

peritia latinitatis, infinito intervallo, Italis omnibus ejusdem aetatis anteponerent. Quid tunc facerent Itali? Idem, puto, quod nunc facimus nos: riderent Robertum et Ferrium cachinnis effusioribus. Et quidni rideamus? Condemnant censores fastidiosissimi pene infinitam hominum doctorum multitudinem, quorum multi, ut Cujacius, ut Petavius non jam opellam, aut libellum, aut par aliquod epistolarum, sed praegrandia reconditarum scientiarum volumina luculenter latine scripserunt. Condemnant plures, quos ne a limine salutarunt unquam, et plures alios, quorum ne nomina quidem audiverunt.

(b) "*Spectatum admissi risum teneatis amici?*"

7. Et quid sibi vult Robertus, cum ait praestantiam latine scribendi, vel, nequid illius verbis detraham, "praestantiam recte latine scribendi suam esse, retinendamque esse in Italia diligenter, cavendumque ne in posterum dilabatur?" Scio posse quem verba haec benignius interpretari, sed scio etiam posse malignius. Quasi nollet Robertus, esse aliquempiam extra Italiam, qui nedum loqui, sed ne hiscere quidem bene latine queat. Et nisi aberro toto caelo, sensus hic malignior cum caetera oratione sua congruit magis. Ego contra, etiamsi in Italia natus essem, et is essem, qui possem mihi persuadere, praestantiam latine scribendi meam esse, adhuc tamen gloriam illam nemini uspiam inviderem, libenterque usurparem illud: (c) "*Sine fictione didici, et sine invidia communico, et honestatem illius non abscondo*".

8. Et quid rogo iterum, vult sibi Robertus cum fastidium illud, quo tot ac tantos viros tam contemptim despicit, vocat "fastidium aurium nostrarum?" Vultne intelligi aures Italicorum omnium? Errat vehementer, si hoc intelligit. Cardin. Sfortia Pallavicinus in *Vindicationibus Societatis Jesu*, cap. 28, de Melchiore Cano haec habet: "Loquor

(b) Horat. A. P. v. 5.

(c) Sap. 7. v. 13.

poetry is: *Carmina*. Editio novissima auctior et emendatior. Ed. N.E. Sanadon. 2 vols. (Paris, 1753).

Vanerius. Jacques Vanière (1664-1739), a French Jesuit poet highly regarded in his day and often referred to as the "Vergil of France". Not all eighteenth-century critics, however, especially those who worshipped Vergil, shared this opinion. The Spanish Jesuit encyclopedist, Juan Andrés, writes: "...tendré por blasfemia literaria el querer igualar á Vanière con el incomparable Virgilio". *Origen*, op. cit., vol. 3 (1785), p. 370. Vanière's best-known work, the *Praedium Rusticum*, in 10 books, first appeared in 1710 (Paris), and in its complete form, in 16 books, in 1730 (Toulouse). Among the later editions of this work, those of Paris (1756) and Barbou (1774 and 1786) are the most noteworthy. Jozef IJsewijn refers to the *Praedium Rusticum* as "One of the international successes of that

countless other French or Netherlandic Latin writers, skilled in Latin style, they would place infinitely farther ahead of all the Italians of the same period. What then would the Italians do? The same thing, I think, that we are now doing: mock Roberti and Ferri with unrestrained laughter. And why should we not laugh? Let these most arrogant critics condemn the nearly endless throng of learned men, many of whom, such as de Cujas, or Petau, have written in excellent Latin not merely a short work, or a pamphlet, or a couple of epistles, but, on the contrary, very large volumes of profound learning. Indeed, let them condemn many whom they never even greeted in passing, and many others whose names they have never even heard of.

(b) *Could you, my friends, if allowed to look,
keep from laughing?*

7. And what does Roberti mean, when he says that excellence in writing Latin, or, so that I do not deviate at all from his own words, that "excellence in writing Latin correctly is theirs, and is to be diligently retained in Italy, and care taken that it not slip away in the future?" I know that one can interpret these words in a somewhat benevolent way, but I also know one can interpret them quite negatively. It is as if Roberti did not just want anyone outside Italy not to be able to speak Latin well, but indeed not to be able even to mutter it well. And unless I am completely off the track, this more negative meaning fits in better with the rest of his discourse. I, on the other hand, even if I were born in Italy, and I were one who could persuade myself that excellence in writing Latin is mine, yet, nevertheless, I would not envy anyone anywhere that glory, and I would gladly apply the saying:

(c) "I learned her [Wisdom] with pure intention, and I share her without ill-will, without grudging, and I do not hoard for myself her reputation".

8. And what, I again ask, does Roberti mean, when he calls that distaste, by which he so scornfully looks down upon so many and such great men, "the distaste of our ears?" Will he have us to understand the ears of all Italians? He is very mistaken if he understands this. Cardinal

(b) Hor. *Ars* 5.

(c) Wisd. 7. 13.

time ... which was translated into French, German, English, Spanish, Italian, Hungarian and Polish". *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*, 2nd ed., Part I (Leuven: Leuven UP and Peeters Press), 1990, p. 136.

Melchiorem Canum, qui aureo plane volumine, hanc ipsam de locis theologicis tractationem ante omnes, et supra omnes est exequutus. Idemque primus fuit, reor, qui docuerit, et quod minus est, latinam linguam in Lyceo divina effari, et quod maximum, Catholicos novatoribus bellum et cladem inferre"¹⁰. Paulus Manutius in epistolis plus uno loco Perpiniani eloquentiam suaviatur¹¹. Janus Vincent. Gravina in oratione *De conversione doctrinarum*, Franciscum Sanctium, hominem (ut Canus et Perpinianus) in Hispania natum, "Grammaticorum omnium cum novorum, tum veterum Principem"¹² acclamat. Et, quod meo iudicio plusculum est, *Dialogum*, quem de *Lingua Latina* composuit, Emmanuelli Martino, homini item Hispano inscripsit et attribuit, quasi nullum Gravina alium agnosceret Decano Alonensi¹³ praestantior, cui difficilem provinciam de Latina lingua digne disserendi committeret. Auctor praefationis ad editionem Cominianam Cornelii Nepotis a. 1733, qui certe non est homo transalpinus aut transmarinus, sed, ut conjicio, Vulpiorum aliquis, lamentatur perraro in Italia Nepotem parumque diligenter editum fuisse, "magno certe", inquit, "Itolorum opprobrio, qui sibi literarum laudem ab iis eripi passi fuerint, quos

¹⁰ *Vindicationes. Vindicationes Societatis Jesu* (Rome, 1649), p. 232, by Cardinal Pietro Sforza Pallavicino (1607-67), was written in rebuttal of many accusations directed toward the Jesuits. The point that Pallavicino makes in the section of the *Vindicationes* from which Abad quotes, is that in doctrinal theology, Jesuits should base their arguments more on reason than on authority. Melchor Cano is cited as one who early expressed this opinion. Cardinal Pallavicino, historian of the Council of Trent and much respected and admired in the literary circles of Rome, is considered the most memorable philosopher of orthodoxy of his time. His great theological work, *Assertiones theologicae* (Rome, 1649-52), deals with the entire field of dogma.

¹¹ Manutius. Paolo Manuzio (1512-74), an eminent Italian Latinist, whose main contribution consists of numerous commentaries to the various writings of Cicero. As a writer of letters, his contemporaries regarded him as the equal of the greatest Roman orator. Indeed, David Ruhnenius, Dutch classicist and one of the most celebrated philologists and critics of the eighteenth century, edited Muretus's works. He wrote that Manutius "seemed to have no other aim all his life than to bear a perfect resemblance [to Cicero]". Quoted in Hallam, *Introduction*, vol. 2, p. 25.

Perpinianus. Pedro Juan Perpiñá (1530-66), Spanish Jesuit humanist of Valencia, who taught in Coimbra, Lyons, and Paris, and was greatly regarded for his mastery of the Ciceronian style. In 1556, the year of his death, he was in Paris, teaching Holy Scripture and defending Catholicism from the attacks of heretics. His several works, consisting mainly of speeches, were edited by Father Lazzeri, in *Opera*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1749). Henry Hallam observes, *Literature*, vol. 2, pp. 27-28: "[He] wrote some orations, hardly

Sforza Pallavicino, in the *Vindicationes Societatis Jesu*, chapter 28, has this to say of Melchor Cano:

I mention Melchor Cano, who, in a luminous volume, *De locis theologicis*, clearly pursued, before and beyond all others, this very same treatment. And likewise he was the first, I believe, and this is what is least, who taught theological subjects in the Latin language in the Lyceum, and what is most, taught Catholics to inflict war and destruction upon the innovators¹⁰.

Paolo Manuzio, in more than one place in his epistles, kisses the eloquence of Perpiñá¹¹. Giovanni Vincenzo Gravina, in his discourse *De conversione doctrinarum*, acclaims Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas, a man born in Spain, (as Cano and Perpiñá), "prince not only of the modern grammarians, but of the ancient ones as well"¹². And what is in my opinion somewhat more significant, the *De lingua latina dialogus*, which he composed, he dedicated and credited to another Spaniard, Manuel Martí, as if Gravina recognized no one else more outstanding than the Dean of Alicante¹³ upon whom to entrust the difficult area of expounding competently on the Latin language. The author of the preface to the Cominian edition of Cornelius Nepos, 1733, who certainly is neither from beyond the Alps, nor from abroad, but, as I suspect, one of the Volpis, bemoans the fact that Nepos has very seldom and with little care been edited in Italy, "certainly", he says, "with much shame for the Italians, who have allowed the fame of letters to be snatched away from them by those whom they once too

remembered at present, but Ruhnkenius has placed him along with Muretus, as the two Cisalpines (if that word may be so used for brevity), who have excelled the Italians in Latinity".

¹² "De conversione doctrinarum", *Opuscula* (1792), p. 63.

Sanctius. Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas (1523-1601), a highly distinguished Spanish humanist, generally known as "El Brocense". As a professor at the University of Salamanca, he was instrumental in the reform of classical studies in the middle of the sixteenth century, as is evidenced in his *Arte para saber latin* (Salamanca, 1595). His Latin works include: *Grammaticae graecae compendium* (Antwerp, 1581) and *Minerva, seu de causis linguae Latinae commentarius* (Salamanca, 1587), one of the very first epistemological grammars, "which made him a European celebrity for several generations. His grammar was later supplemented by the German Caspar Scioppius (*Grammatica philosophica*, Amsterdam 1669) and the Dutchman, J. Perizonius". IJsewijn, *Companion*, 2nd. ed., Part I, p. 109.

¹³ Martinus. Manuel Martí y Zaragoza (1663-1737), a Spanish humanist noted for his poetry in both Latin and Castilian. He was named by Pope Innocent XII Deán de Alicante in 1696. In his "De lingua latina dialogus ad Emmanuelem Martinum", in *Opuscula* (1792), op. cit., pp. [169]-233, Gravina expresses great admiration for Martí's profound knowledge of the Latin language.

olim barbaros, superbe nimium, et contumeliose appellabant”¹⁴. Haec totidem verbis auctor praefationis illius. Eodem tenore Janus Vincent. Gravina, et nonnulli alii Italorum doctissimi de inclinata in Italia Latinitate conqueruntur. Quorum verba hic volentem exscribere, pudor me ac reverentia, qua semper summa Italiam prosequutus sum, deteruerunt. Vel quae pauca haec ad necessariam defensionem affero, invitus et repugnanter attuli, nam contumeliam ego propulsare volo, inferre nolo. Librum praegrandem facerem, si testimonia Italorum doctissimorum exteris perhonorifica vellem conglomerare. Superest ut verbis illis, “aurium nostrarum fastidium”, aures Roberti ipsius, et Ferri, eorumque (siqui sunt) in praecipitanter judicando similium, veniant intelligendae. Sed cum tot Italos sapientiores sibi faventes exteri habeant, fastidium Roberti et Ferrii quantuli vis pretii faciant? Fastidia sunt haec hominum gloriosorum, qui praeconcepta de se suisque immodica opinione miserabiliter abripiuntur, et ridiculum ipsi sibi affricant “tum vel maxime, cum vel minime suspicantur”.

9. Memini tui, Josephe Campoi, cujus interitu, opinione omnium majorem ego animo dolorem cepi¹⁵. Potuit quidem mors a conspectu meo te consortem studiorum meorum charissimum abducere, a memoria autem, dum vivam, mea subducere, aut obliterare te profecto non poterit. Tu sublimiorum et gravissimarum scientiarum cognitione instructissimus, ab ipsismet Scripturarum et Conciliorum, et sanctorum Patrum fontibus theologiam imbiberas. Tu regnorum, provinciarum, urbium distantiam, situm, descriptionem sic animo comprehenderas, tanquam si de specula quadam altissima totum terrarum orbem contuereris. Tu longum historiarum filum a mundi exordio ad aetatem nostram tenebas manu, et saniore semper critice adhibita, involutissima quaeque explicabas. Tibi antiqui omnes Latinitatis Patres, prae me, qui assidue a puero tecum vixi, erant familiares. Quoties tu mihi de

¹⁴ Vulpes. Giovanni Antonio Volpi (1686-1766), with his brother Gaetano (1689-1761), established in Padua a famous print shop, under the technical direction of Giuseppe Comino (d. ca.1762), known as “Tipografia Volpi Cominiana”. Both brothers, learned men of letters, edited numerous classical texts, with introduction, commentary, and notes, and which were prized for their integrity and high quality. Founded in 1717, the Tipografia Volpi Cominiana flourished until 1756. See *Libreria de' Volpi, e la Stamperia Cominiana, illustrate con utili e curiose Annotazioni* (Padua, 1756), which lists all the Cominian publications from 1717 to 1756.

¹⁵ Campoi. José Rafael Campoy (1727-77), a Mexican Jesuit humanist, teacher of philosophy, theology, and law, and celebrated Latin poet. A truly enlightened man, he

haughtily and insolently called foreigners”¹⁴. This, in so many words, is what the author of this preface says. In the same tone Giovanni Vincenzo Gravina, and several other very learned Italians complain about the decline of Latinity in Italy. Modesty and the very high reverence with which I have always honored Italy have deterred me in my wish to quote the words of these learned men in this matter. Even these few things I adduce as a necessary defense, I have adduced unwillingly and with distaste, for I wish to avert insult, I do not wish to occasion it. I would produce a thoroughly impressive book, if I should wish to collect the testimony of very learned Italians that does honor to foreigners. It remains that by those words, “distaste of our ears”, the ears of Roberti himself and Ferri, and of those (if there are any) who are like them in judging hastily, come to be understood. But when foreigners have so many wiser Italians favoring them, how much value do you want them to attach to the distaste of Roberti and Ferri? This distaste is of boastful men, who are miserably carried away by a preconceived and immodest opinion of themselves and their kind, and they rub off into themselves that absurdity “most when they least suspect it”.

9. I remember you, José Campoy, at whose death, in the opinion of all, I took into my soul with the greatest suffering¹⁵. Indeed, death was able to snatch you, the dearest companion of my studies, from my sight. From my memory, however, as long as I live, she certainly will not be able to take you away or blot you out. Most learned both in the knowledge of religion as well as the most scientific matters, you had mastered theology from the very sources of the Scriptures, the Councils, and the Holy Fathers. You had conceived in your mind the distance, place, and description of kingdoms, provinces, cities in such a way, as if you were gazing upon the entire world from a certain high watchtower. You grasped the long thread of the history of the world from the beginning to our own time. And by always applying sounder critical principles, you explained whatever was very intricate. You were more acquainted with all the Latin classics than with me who lived with you constantly since childhood. How many times, concerning the structure of a sentence, and some aspect of style, or concerning the

made an important contribution to the Jesuit movement of cultural renewal in Mexico. Unfortunately, he left virtually nothing in print, and the manuscripts of all his works have apparently been lost.

orationis ductu et dicendi genere aliquo, aut de multiformi et versatili verbi alicujus usu dubitanti lucem majorem ea quam Pareus, aut Popma, aut Nizolius, aut Stephani *Thesaurus* attulerant, attulisti!¹⁶ Quoties Plinii majoris, aliorumque antiquorum locos tenebrosos et implicatos dilucidius et planius quam interpretes docti, quos ante consulueram explanasti! Si dies aliquot tecum Robertus esset conversatus, nullus dubito, quin contumelioso illo fastidio suo te saltem involvere erubisset. Sed nimium quantum dolore abreptus sum, et injuriam illi facio, qui ex his miseriis, et iniquissima vitae hujus nostrae conditione ereptus, beatissima, uti spero, donatus est. Ad propositum revertamur.

10. Quod unum maximopere praestare Robertus debuerat, id plane praetermisit: rationem aliquam proferre, cur solis Italis hominibus concessum sit latine scire. Gallis autem, et Belgis, et Hispanis et caeteris quot usquam sunt hominibus interdictum? Ego vero contendo, et quovis etiam pignore certare audeo, hujus tam lepidae asseverationis suae nullam unquam probationem rationabilem aut Robertum, aut Ferrium allaturos. Et quid magis (ut mitissime loquar) ridiculum, quam id asseverare, et venditare, et typis publicare, quod cum sit invidiosum, atque obtrectationi, immo et justae reprehensioni obnoxium, istiusmodi etiam sit, cujus nullam admodum probabilem rationem possis afferre? Atque ut aliquam ego hujus asseverationis meae rationem afferam, ne videar, nullam afferendo, Robertum imitari, quantum conjectando assequi possum, tria sunt quae hominem movere potuerunt. Persuasit sibi, opinor, latine scribendi gloriam ad Italos pertinere perpetuo, ad externos nunquam, vel propterea quod inibi locorum Itali nati sunt ubi summates illi Latinitatis Plautus, Tullius, Caesar, Catullus, et caeteri, vel quia putavit intra Italiam duntaxat nasci homines ingeniosos, de reliquo

¹⁶ Pareus [= Waengler]. Daniel (1605-35). German philologist and editor of *Lexicon Lucretianum* (Frankfurt, 1631).

Popma. Ausonius Popma (1563-1613), a Dutch juriconsult, author of *De ordine et usu judiciorum libri III* (Arnhem, 1617), who devoted much of his work to philological and literary studies.

Nizolius. Mario Nizzoli (1498-1566), a distinguished Italian philosopher and man-of-letters. His *Observationes in M. Tullium Ciceronem* (Prato Alboino, 1535), is an alphabetical compilation of all the words employed by Cicero, with examples to illustrate differentiations in meaning. His nephew, Micaele, utilizing his uncle's manuscripts, published a new, corrected edition under the title, *Thesaurus Ciceronianus* (Venice, 1570), which became widely used in the sixteenth century. He also wrote a philosophical work, *De veris principiis et vera ratione philosophandi contra pseudo-philosophos libri IV* (Parma,

multiform and changeable use of some word did you provide me, who was unsure, with greater clarification than that afforded by Pareus, or Popma, or Nizolius or the *Thesaurus* of Stephanus!¹⁶ How often did you explain the obscure and entangled passages of Pliny the Elder, and of other ancient writers, more lucidly and clearly than the learned interpreters whom I had consulted previously! If Roberti could have conversed with you for a few days, I doubt not a bit that he would have been embarrassed to associate you, least of all, with that shameful "distaste" of his. But I am too much carried away by grief, and I do a disfavor to him who, snatched from these miseries and from the unjust condition of this life of ours, has been given, I hope, a more blessed existence. Let us now return to our main purpose.

10. The very thing in which Roberti ought to have particularly excelled, he simply failed to deal with: namely, to offer some reason why it should be conceded only to Italians to be skillful in Latin. And why it should be forbidden to the French, and Netherlanders, and Spanish, and to all other men, as many as there are anywhere? In truth, I dispute, and I dare to contend even by any wager that neither Roberti nor Ferri will ever adduce any rational proof for this so very neat affirmation of theirs. And what is more absurd (to speak very gently) than to affirm, and propagate, and publish that which, since it is invidious, and furthermore subject to disparagement and just reprimand, is even of such a nature that you can allege no very probable rationale for it? And in order that I may bring some reasoning to this assertion of mine, lest I seem, by bringing none at all, to imitate Roberti, as far as I am able to ascertain by conjecture, there are three things that have been able to affect the man. He has convinced himself, I believe, that the glory of writing in Latin belongs forever to the Italians, never to foreigners, either because Italians were born in those very places where Plautus, Cicero, Caesar, Catullus, and so forth, those eminences of Latinity, were born, or because he thought that only within Italy ingenious men were born, and, as for the rest of the world,

1553). Leibniz admired this work, as is shown by the fact that the famous German philosopher prepared a new edition of it, with a preface (Frankfurt, 1670).

Stephanus. Robert Estienne (1503-50), son of the French printer, Henri Estienne or Étienne. A classical scholar, his fame rests mainly on his *Thesaurus linguae latinae*, which was first published in 1531, with expanded and improved editions appearing in 1536 and 1543. This dictionary was by far superior to any that had appeared previously, and served as the basis for future dictionaries.

vero ingenio tardiores et impeditiores, vel denique quia pueros apud Italos optime, apud caeteras autem gentes perperam educari existimavit. Numquid est aliud, quod fucum homini facere potuerit? Ego certe non assequor, et exspecto dum aliud proferatur.

11. Nunc jam singula qualia sint breviter perstringamus. Portento mihi eris, si quod Arpini, aut Veronae natus es, propterea jam tibi quasi haereditario quodam jure putes deberi Tullianam in dicendo, divinitatem, aut Catullianam dulceditudinem et simplicitatem. Oportebat totidem haberemus Catullos et Cicerones, quot sunt Veronenses et Arpinates. Quod si re vera ita est, infelicitatem meam accuso. Nam cum annos jam decem in Italia versatus sim, beatissimam hanc Ciceronum et Catulloorum multitudinem necdum mihi videre contigit. Quo Ciceronis aut Catulli similis quantum fieri potest, aut rursus quantum fieri potest dissimilis sis, nihil attinet ubinam locorum aut gentium natus sis. Turcae hac nostra aetate sunt inertissimi, et infacundi, et inelegantes, et a Musarum commercio alienissimi. Et tamen illorum multi inibi locorum nati sunt, ubi Socrates, Plato, Demosthenes, Sophocles, Pindarus, Homerus. Nam et septem urbes, quae de Homeri patria contendunt Turca possidet, et Atticam et Peloponnesum omnem, cui natales debuerunt tot, ac tanta illa Graeciae lumina, unde Veneres ac lepores dicendi omnes, et scientiae item omnes tanquam ab origine manarunt. Neque vero Turcis vertitur gloriae, sed potius ignominiae, quod tot illos viros sapientissimos contrerraneos habeant, et communem cum illis patriam, adeoque cognationem quandam et propinquitatem.

^(d) *Malo pater tibi sit Thersites, dummodo tu sis
Aeacidae similis, Vulcaniaque arma capessas,
Quam te Thersitae similem producat Achilles.*

Calamitatem consimilem illi, quam passa est Graecia ab Turcarum occupatione, passa etiam est Italia ab incursionibus et dominatione barbarorum. Paullatim a prisca illa majorum suorum elegantia, et latini sermonis nitore et venustate ad barbariem, et sordes saeculorum X et sequentium miserabiliter prolapsa est. Nihil tum proderat natum esse in Italia, quominus loquerentur inquinatissime; neque sane est cur id

^(d) Juven. Sat. 8. v. 269.

men are slower and more encumbered in their mental alertness. Or finally, because he has judged that children are educated excellently among the Italians, but improperly among all other people. Is there anything else that could deceive the man? I certainly do not comprehend his argument, and await his clarification.

11. Let us just now briefly glance over what Roberti's points are, one at a time. You will be a source of astonishment to me if, because you were born in Arpinum or Verona, you should think on that account there is due you Ciceronian divineness in oratory, or Catullan sweetness and simplicity by a sort of hereditary right. It would then be proper to have as many Catulluses and Ciceros as there are Veronese and Arpinians. But if this is so in truth, I reproach my misfortune. For although I have lived for ten years now in Italy, it has not been my lot to observe this most blessed throng of Ciceros and Catulluses. To the extent you may be as similar as possible to Cicero and Catullus, or again, as dissimilar as possible, has nothing to do with where you were born, or of what nationality you are. In our own time, the Turks are wholly inactive, ineloquent and unpolished, and very remote from any commerce with the muses. And yet many of them were born in the same places as Socrates, Plato, Demosthenes, Sophocles, Pindar, and Homer. And to be sure, Turkey possesses the seven cities which claim to be the birthplace of Homer, and Attica and the entire Peloponnesus, to which area so many and so great a number of Greek luminaries, from whence flowed all grace and charm in literary expression, and likewise all learning, as if from the source, owed their ancestry. The fact that they have so many of those most learned men as fellow-countrymen, and a common nation with them, and what is more, a certain relationship and proximity, indeed confers, not any glory, but rather shame, to the Turks.

⁽⁴⁾ *I would prefer Thersites to be your father,
provided that you resembled Achilles and
were able to take up the arms of Vulcan,
rather than that Achilles should beget
you similar to Thersites.*

A calamity exactly similar to that which Greece endured by the occupation of the Turks, Italy also endured by the invasions and

⁽⁴⁾ Juv. 8. 269-71.

ipsum, quod nihil admodum conducebat tunc, tantopere conducatur nunc. Suntne Itali hodierni magis Itali quam qui saeculis X et XI in Italia nati sunt?

12. Ad secundum quod attinet, satis mihi videor convellisse praejudicatam illam opinionem, vel satius dixerim errorem, quo vulgo omnes ducimur in magnificiendis et antiferendis ingeniis nostrorum civium et popularium. Utique ab inconsiderato et praepostero amore, quo nos et nostra omnia prosequimur et exosculamur, in placidissimum illum errorem, nihil tale animadvertentes, adducimur. Si quod multi existimant verum esset, qui sub mitiore caelo nascuntur, eos ut plurimum mitiore quoque praeditos esse ingenio, atque ad omnia promptiore et meliore, oportebat profecto Mexicanos esse mortalium ingeniosissimos, quandoquidem caelum nati sunt indulgentissimum, et nusquam alibi natura aequabilior benigniora distinxit incrementa caloris et frigoris. Hyems ibi suda est et ridibunda, et neque pertinacia imbrium, neque horrore nivium, neque aeterna nubium caligine moestissimam, ut hic, efferat frontem. Aestas contra, horis pomeridianis, quasi mitigando magis calori suapte miti, pluvialis est. Omnia ibi, et studiis fovendis et alendis ingeniis videntur conspirare concorditer. Sed si verum facere iudicium volumus et seposita amoris affectione decernere, ubi ubi homines nati simus, ex eodem luto coagmentati sumus omnes. Nusquam non aliquot ingenio praestantissimi; nusquam item non aliquot stupidi et male ingeniati, ut Plautino verbo utar¹⁷, nascuntur, quibus anima videtur non plus quam pro sale esse, ne putrescant. Cerebri, et membranarum cerebrum involventium varia conformatio sine dubio est, quae tantam affert ingeniorum diversitatem. Quaecumque autem sit illa fortunatior cerebri constitutio, ^(e) quae hominem facit ingeniosum, ubivis natus sis, potuit tibi contingere, atque etiam defuisse. Adeoque

^(e) Vide libellum super hac re elegantissimum, cui titulus *Euphyander*, seu *Vir ingeniosus*, auctore Honorato Fabri.

¹⁷ Refers to the term "ingeniatus" (naturally endowed). Cf. Plautus's *Miles Gloriosus*, l. 731: "The man endowed with a charming nature should be given a long life..." (qui lepide ingeniatus esset, vitam ei longinquam darent,...).

domination of the barbarians. Little by little, from that ancient elegance of her greatest authors, and the splendor and beauty of their Latin speech, she slipped down miserably to the rudeness and vulgarity of the tenth and following centuries. At that time Italian birth was of no advantage in preventing one from speaking very impurely. Nor indeed is there any reason why something which was not very advantageous at that time, should now be so very advantageous. Are today's Italians more Italian than those who were born in Italy in the tenth and eleventh centuries?

12. As for the second point, I seem to have shattered sufficiently that prejudiced opinion, or should I more appropriately say "error", by which we are all commonly led into making much of and preferring the abilities of our own fellow-citizens and countrymen. At any rate, out of a thoughtless and distorted self-love, by which we esteem and approve of all our affairs, we are led unsuspectingly into that most pleasing error, not perceiving it as such. If it were true, as many believe, that those who are born under a milder climate are usually endowed with a milder genius, more well-disposed and better for all things, indeed, it would be proper for the Mexicans to be the most talented of mortals, since they enjoy a most indulgent climate, and nowhere else has nature more favorably divided a more agreeable balance of heat and cold. There, winter is cloudless and happy, and does not make angry its very sad brow with constant rain, nor shivering snow, nor the eternal mist of the clouds, as here. On the other hand, summer, in the afternoon hours, as if to assuage more its mild warmth, is rainy. Everything there seems to conspire harmoniously to favor studies and nurture genius. But if we wish to pass true judgment, and deliberate, having set aside personal prejudice, we would conclude that wherever we men are born, we are fashioned out of the same clay. Everywhere, there are some very outstanding men of genius; likewise everywhere there are some stupid and, to use Plautus's terminology, poorly endowed individuals¹⁷, whose souls seem to be no more than as mere salt, so that they do not rot. It is without doubt the diverse conformation of the brain, and the membranes enveloping the brain, which produce such a great diversity of men and genius. Moreover, whatever may be that more fortunate disposition of the brain which makes a man talented, wherever you

(¹⁷) See the very elegant little volume on this subject, under the title *Euphyander, seu vir ingeniosus...* [Lyon, 1669], by Honoré Fabri.

nihil est quod tibi arroges, nihil iterum cur animum despondeas, ubicunque demum terrarum tibi nasci contigerit, namque, ut ait, nescio quis,

*Nasci ubivis possunt aquilae sublime volantes,
Et possunt itidem nasci ubicunque asini.*

Hoc usu et quotidiano vitae experimento didicimus, demiss<i> us fere de se opinari eos, qui valent ingenio plus, qui autem minus, solere eos esse gloriosiores, et Suffenum imitari, qui nunquam

^(f) *Aequae est beatus, ac poema cum scribit.
Tam gaudet in se, tamque se ipse miratur.*

13. Superest (et hoc erat tertium) ut ideo minus latini sint homines transalpini ac transmarini, quia prave educati sunt, et secus, quam par erat, ad comparandam latinam elegantiam informati. Enimvero hoc est eandem crambem repetere. Omnes vicissim nationes eruditae gloriam hanc de praestabiliore apud suos puerorum educatione sibi sumunt. Ecquis obsecro sedebit iudex, qui litem hanc dirimat? Etenim Galli et Belgae Latinorum omnium veterum editiones habent multo prae Italicis elegantiores et accuratiores. Quod cum dico editiones intelligo Henrici Stephani, Nicolai Heinsii, et Gronovii utriusque, et Petri Burmanni, et ad usum Delphini Parisienses, et Batavas, quas Itali etiam politiores praeoptant et digito licentur¹⁸. Habent eorundem auctorum omnium interpretationes vernaculas elaboratissimas, et interdum non contenti una, alterave, habent ejusdem auctoris exempli gratia Horatii, Virgilii

^(f) Catull. L. 1.

¹⁸ Stephanus (Henricus). Son of Robert, Henri Estienne (d. 1598), a classical scholar as was his father, is remembered in particular for his celebrated *Thesaurus graecae linguae* Θησαυρὸς τῆς ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης, 6 vols. (Geneva, 1572-73). "[Henri] printed editions of no less than fifty-eight Latin authors". J.E. Sandys, ed., *A Companion to Latin Studies*, 3rd ed. (New York: Hafner, 1968), p. 853.

Heinsius. Nikolaes Heins Sr. (1620-81), a Dutch classicist, son of Daniel Heins, one of the most renowned scholars of the Dutch Renaissance. Nikolaes, reputed to be an elegant Latinist, travelled extensively in order to seek out manuscripts of Latin works. He edited Velleius Paterculus, Claudian, Ovid, Vergil, Prudentius, and Valerius Flaccus.

Gronovius. See note 9.

Burmannus. Pieter Burman (1668-1741), a Dutch classical scholar, whose works include the treatises, *De vectigalibus populi romani* (Utrecht, 1694), and *Antiquitatum romanarum brevis descriptio* (Ib., 1711). Among the classical authors he edited are:

happen to be born, it could have befallen you, and it could just as well have eluded you. And so there is nothing to be overbearing about, nor again is there any cause for you to despair about wherever, finally, you happen to have been born, for surely, in the words of I do not recall whom:

*Eagles flying on high can be born anywhere,
and likewise asses can be born anywhere.*

By the daily familiarity with and experience of life, we have learned this, namely that those who have greater talent think almost more modestly of themselves, while those, however, who have less are wont to be more boastful, and imitate Suffenus, who never

^(f) *is so happy as when he writes a poem.
He delights in himself so much, and admires
himself so much.*

13. It remains (and this was the third point) that those from beyond the Alps and beyond the sea are that much less Latin, because they have been poorly trained, and improperly equipped to compose polished Latin. Certainly, this is to repeat the same old thing. All cultured nations in turn claim for themselves this glory of a more distinguished education for their own children. Will anyone, I implore, sit as a judge to bring this dispute to an end? For truly, the French and the Netherlanders, compared to the Italians, have far finer and more accurate editions of all the ancient Latin authors. For when I say this, I mean the editions of Henri Estienne, Nikolaes Heinsius, the two Gronovs, Pieter Burman, the Paris editions intended for the use of the Dauphin, and the Dutch editions, which even the more polished Italians prefer and esteem¹⁸. Of all these same authors, they have very elaborate vernacular interpretations, and occasionally not content with one, or a second edition, they have of the same author, of Horace and Vergil, for example, three or even four. They have the *Méthode* of

^(f) Catul. 22. 16-17.

Phaedrus, Horace, Valerius Flaccus, Petronius Arbiter, Quintilian, Lucan, and Suetonius. "‘Variorum editions’ were not actually invented by him, but they gained a new vogue through the enormous powers of work which made him the ‘beast of burden’ of classical learning. ... Pieter Burman’s nephew and namesake, Burman II (1714-78), is best known as the editor of the *Anthologia Latina*". Sandys, *Companion*, p. 860.

tres, aut etiam quatuor. Habent Rollini Methodum¹⁹ et Artem discendi et docendi J. Juventii²⁰, et multos alios praeceptionum et observationum antiqui sermonis libros, quibus ad intimiora latinitatis adyta, ad penitiora secreta quasi manu ducantur. Habent per omnes passim urbes publicos latinitatis magistros, eorumque multos neque hebetes, neque indoctos, neque indiligentes. Habent uno verbo adjumenta, quae desiderari possunt omnia, et quibus plura Itali non habent ad assequendam germanam et nativam latini sermonis munditiam et proprietatem. Quid ergo est, per Deum immortalem, cur illam assequi non possint? Quoniam tandem privilegio, quam demum praerogativa praestantiam latine sciendi sibi, suisque solide Robertus, ac singulariter et privatim arrogat? Istud porro tam ridiculosum mihi est, quam si obstinate contenderet Robertus, in toto, quanto extra Italiam est terrarum orbe, neminem uspiam ullum esse, qui pedibus plaudere et saltare eleganter queat, sed omnes quotquot extra Italiam nati sunt, perverse,

(h) *Atque extra numerum procedere, membra moventes
duriter, et duro terram pede pellere matrem.*

Quid tu ita vero? Credin' tu exteros omnes aut valgos, aut compernes, aut loripedes, aut esse paralyticos? Immo vero exterorum plurimi elegantioribus et suris, et pedibus instructi sunt, et sunt ad motum habilissimi, et saltandi habent domi magistros experientissimos. Quidni possint saltare perinde ac Itali eleganter? Quidni etiam interdum elegantius? Ignosce quaeso, mi Blancarde, si subinde revolvor ad ludicra, nam res tam lepida est quae vel Catonem ipsum impelleret ad facetias.

14. Peregrini et Romani sermonis indociles Roberto sunt quotquot extra Italiam nati sunt. Egregie. Atqui veteribus Romanis Italia versus

(g) Lucret. 1. 5. v. 1400.

¹⁹ Rollinus. Charles Rollin (1661-1741), French historian and educator who, as rector of the University of Paris (1694-95), was instrumental in the revival of the study of Greek at that institution. His Jansenist views disqualified him for reappointment as rector of the University, and prevented his election as well to the French Academy. His *Traité des études* (Paris, 1726-31) contains the "methods" alluded to by Abad, an innovative plan of studies which recommended the discarding of outmoded traditions, and was judged to be

Rollins¹⁹, and the Art of Learning of Joseph de Jouvancy²⁰, and many other books of precepts and observations of ancient Latin, by which they are led, as if by the hand, to the inner sancta, to the deeper secrets of Latinity. They have in all cities everywhere public masters of Latinity, and many of them are neither dull, unlearned, nor neglectful. They have, in a word, all the facilities that can be desired, and the Italians do not have more than these for acquiring genuine and native elegance and correctness in the Latin language. Why is it, therefore, for heaven's sake, that non-Italians cannot attain this? By what privilege, pray tell, by what right, finally, does Roberti firmly, uniquely, and personally claim for himself and his countrymen excellence in knowing Latin? Furthermore, that to me is as ridiculous as if Roberti were to maintain stubbornly that there is no one anywhere in all of whatever of the world that lies beyond Italy, who can mark time with his feet and dance elegantly, but that all those who have been born outside of Italy badly

^(b) *and out of step dance while moving their
limbs clumsily, and with awkward foot beat
Mother Earth.*

What do you say to this? Do you think that all foreigners are either bandy-legged, or knock-kneed, or crook-footed, or paralytic? Quite to the contrary, very many foreigners have been provided with rather elegant calves and feet, and are very skilled in movement, and have at home very expert dance-masters. Why cannot they dance as elegantly as the Italians? Why cannot they dance on occasion even more elegantly? Pardon me, dear Blanchard, I beg of you, if I repeatedly resort to theatrics. For the matter is so droll that it would even prompt Cato himself to indulge in witticisms.

14. For Roberti, foreigners are all those who have been born outside of Italy, and are unlearned in Roman speech. Very well. And yet, for the

[a] Omitted in error.

[b] Lucr. 5. 1401-02.

a model of reason. It is interesting to note that the English translation of the title, *Traité des études* is *The Method of Teaching and Studying in the 'belles lettres'*, 3rd ed. (London, 1742), and the Italian is *Della maniera d'insegnare e di studiare le belle lettere* (Padua, 1729).

²⁰ *De ratione docendi et discendi* (Paris, 1692).

Septentriones Rubicone et Arno terminabatur. Quidquid ultra hos fluvios ad Alpes erat, non jam Italia, sed provincia erat Galliae, quae Gallia citerior, atque etiam Cisalpina dicebatur. Itaque si modum loquendi veterum Romanorum Ciceronis, Caesaris sequi voles, Robertus ultra Rubiconem, in Cenomanis²¹, ut audio, adeoque extra Italiam natus, erit (absit verbo invidia) peregrinus, et Romani sermonis indocilis, et "scriptiones ejus necesse erit redoleant quandam peregrinitatem, quam teretes aures recusant", et (quo nihil potuit illi accidere molestius) sua se ipse censura et condemnatione involvit.

(1) *Omnia haec si voles*
In animo vere cogitare, Demea,
et mihi, et tibi, et illis demseris molestiam.

15. Fuerunt nonnulli, qui Tito Livio etiam, quia Patavii ultra Rubiconem erat natus, aspergerent hanc eandem labem peregrinitatis. Si modo est ejusdem farinae peregrinitas, quam Robertus exteris assignat, ferent illi, ut opinor, patientissime peregrinorum censu scribi et annumerari. Quod ad me attinet longe, longeque sim contentus magis T. Livii peregrinitate, et "Patavinitate", quam omnium ejus obtreptorum urbanitate. Sed est adhuc quod exterorum caussae faveat, si malint peregrinitatem detrectare. Dicent illi caussam Livii idcirco esse deteriores sua, quia Livius a nutricibus, a mulieribus, sermonem latinum, quem cum lacte nutricis bibit, inopinans didicit. Et quamvis Cicero in 3 *De Oratore*, ita Crassum loquentem inducit, ut dicat, "facilius mulieres incorruptam antiquitatem conservare, quod multorum sermonum expertes ea tenent semper quae prima didicerunt"; quotidiana tamen experientia compertissimum esse, feminas, ut plurimum, loqui corruptius et inquinatius, partim incogitantia, partim temeritate, et majore quadam incitatione garriendi. Neque fieri potuisse, quin mulieres praesertim Patavinae vitiosum aliquid, et Romanis auribus absurdum in infantis aures, atque animum instillarent, quod aegre, aut nunquam

(1) *Adelph. Act. 5 Scen. 1.*

²¹ Cenomani. A tribe of Cisalpine Gauls, whose territory, never clearly defined, roughly corresponds to the location of such Italian cities as Verona, Padua, and, of course, Bassano, the last being the birthplace of Roberti.

ancient Romans, Italy toward the north was bounded by the Rubicon and the Arno. Whatever lay beyond these rivers toward the Alps was no longer Italy, but was the province of Gaul, which was called Hither Gaul, and also Cisalpine Gaul. Therefore, if you wish to follow the manner of speech of the ancient Romans Cicero and Caesar, Roberti, as I hear, born beyond the Rubicon among the Cenomani of Cisalpine Gaul²¹, and so far outside of Italy will be (let ill-will be absent from the word) a foreigner, and unlearned in Roman speech, “and his writings will of necessity smack of a certain foreignness at which polished ears recoil”, and (nothing could fall upon him more annoyingly than this), he entangles himself in his very own censure and condemnation.

(1) *If you will reflect seriously on all this,
Demea, you will have removed an annoyance
from me, and you, and them.*

15. There have been several who cast this same stigma of foreignness even on Livy, because he had been born in Padua, beyond the Rubicon. If this foreignness is of that same kind which Roberti attributes to non-Italians, then these individuals, I believe, will endure very patiently being enrolled and counted in the list of foreigners. As far as I am concerned, truly, I would be more content by far with the foreignness of Livy, and with his Patavinity, than with the refinement of all his detractors. But there is something additional, which would favor the cause of outsiders, if they should prefer to reject foreignness. They will say that the case of Livy, therefore, is worse than their own, because Livy unconsciously learned from nurses and women the Latin language, which he imbibed in the milk of his wet-nurse. And although in *De Oratore*, 3, Cicero induces Crassus, speaking in such a way that he says “it is easier for women to preserve the old pronunciation intact, since they do not hold conversation with many people, and always retain these traits that they learned first”, nevertheless, it is well-known through everyday experience that women, for the most part, speak rather incorrectly and impurely, partly due to ignorance, partly due to carelessness and a certain rather strong tendency to chatter. They will say it would not have been possible for the women especially of Padua not to instill something particularly debased and incongruous to

[1] Omitted in error.

(2) Ter. *Ad.* 817-19.

postea potuerit eluere. Se vero contra a probatissimis quibusque aureae aetatis auctoribus latini sermonis integritatem et urbanitatem diligentissime, atque avidissime hausisse, neque habere sibi inolitos a nutricibus et mulieribus errores aliquos, in quos inviti, et incogitantes dilabantur. Dicent praeterea Terentium, etsi in Africa natum, consuetudine tamen et familiaritate Scipionis Aemiliani et Laelii eo processisse, ut dignus fuerit, a quo latine loqui Cicero ipse didicerit. Se cum Terentio ipso, et Cicerone et Caesare, et Romanorum urbanissimis consuetudinem quoque, et familiaritatem habere fortasse diuturniorem, adeoque dignos esse, qui tandem aliquando civitate donentur, neque eis jam deinceps, propterea quod extra Italiam nati sunt, peregrinitas objiciatur.

16. Hac certe ratione adducti M. Antonius Flaminius²² magnum Italiae decus, et inter magna etiam Italiae decora annumerandus Clementinus Vannettius^(k) nihil veriti doctorum hominum aliter sentientium reprehensionem, aut certe admirationem, libere profitentur: "se pro certo habere, esse hodie multos, qui in percipienda, assequendaque latinae linguae proprietate, ac venustate, plurimos ex Romanis nobilibus iis, qui Caesaris, et Augusti aetate vixerunt, superent. Causa est in promptu: nos enim eam a Cicerone, a Caesare, atque a caeteris discimus, qui Antiquorum omnium iudicio, ejus linguae peritissimi fuerunt; illi satis habebant ex familiaribus, atque ex populo discere"²³. Quibus mire consentit Horatius *Epist.* 1. 1. 2. enixe contendens recentiores veteribus nihil concedere:

(k) *Epist. de M. Valerii Martialis Poesi. C. XVIII.*

²² Flaminius. Marcantonio Flaminio (1498-1550), an Italian humanist, remembered for his Latin poetry of the countryside. His Latin verses, in the words of John A. Symonds, *The Renaissance in Italy*, 2 vols. Vol. 1 (New York: Modern Library, 1935), p. 560, "breathe genuine piety, healthful simplicity, and moral purity, in strong contrast with the neo-paganism of the Roman circle".

²³ These words are actually quoted from Flaminius ("Ad Basilium Zanchium epistola") by Clementino Vannetti, who fully supports this sentiment. Vannetti was regarded

Roman ears into the ears and mind of a child, and which he could scarcely ever wash out afterwards. Quite to the contrary, the non-Italians claim that they have assimilated most earnestly and eagerly the purity and refinement of the Latin language from the most excellent authors of the golden age, nor did they have grafted onto them by nurses and maid-servants certain errors to which against their will and inadvertently they fell prey. They will also say that Terence, although born in Africa, nevertheless, through the companionship and friendship of Scipio Africanus and Laelius, had reached such a high degree of competence that he was worthy of having Cicero himself learn to speak Latin from him. They will say as well that they themselves have perhaps a more long-lasting companionship and friendship with Terence himself, and Cicero, and Caesar, and with the most polished of Romans, and are worthy to such a degree that finally, they should be at some time presented with citizenship, nor because they have been born outside of Italy should "foreignness" be continually thrust upon them.

16. Surely, persuaded by this line of reasoning, Marcantonio Flaminio²², a great glory of Italy, and Clementino Vannetti^(k), who must also be counted among the great glories of Italy, in no way fearing the censure, or certainly astonishment of learned men who think otherwise, freely acknowledge

that they regard as certain that there are today many who, in their perception and comprehension of the unique nature and beauty of the Latin language, excel many of those noble Romans who lived during the age of Caesar and Augustus. The reason is evident, for we learn it from Cicero, from Caesar, and from others who, in the judgment of all the ancients, were the most skilled in that language. They [i.e., the Romans] considered it sufficient to learn from acquaintances and the general public²³.

Horace, epistle 1, book 2, wonderfully agrees with them, upon affirming earnestly that modern authors in no way take second place to ancient ones.

^(k) *Epistle, concerning the poetry of Marcus Valerius Martial*, chap. 18.

by his contemporaries as one of the best Latin writers of the eighteenth century. For the text of the epistle, see Vannetti, *De M. Valerii Martialis Poesi Epistola. Judicium Hieronymi Tiraboschi de Marco Valerio Martiale*. In *Opere italiane e latine*, 8 vols. Vol. 7 (Venice, 1831), p. 174.

⁽¹⁾ *Si veteres ita miratur, laudatque Poetas,
ut nihil anteferat, nihil illis comparet, errat.*

Video, cum de recentioribus nostri temporis sermo est ad latinitatis principes Horatii suppare comparatis, opinionem hanc multo esse impeditiorem et difficiliorem. Sed quidquid de hoc sit, quam duo illi viri eloquentissimi rationem urgent ad defensionem recentiorum, eandemmet urgent exteri ad defensionem suam. Sed Robertus simulat surditatem, et pergit dicere exteros omnes peregrinos esse, et parum urbanos.

17. "Qui est, inquit [Brutus], iste tandem urbanitatis color?" Verba sunt Ciceronis in *Bruto*, cap. 46. "Nescio inquam; tantum esse quendam scio. Id tu, Brute, jam intelliges, cum in Galliam veneris; audies tu quidem etiam verba quaedam non trita Romae; sed haec mutari dedisciue possunt; illud est majus, quod in vocibus nostrorum oratorum recinit quiddam et resonat urbanus. Nec hoc in oratoribus modo apparet, sed etiam in ceteris. Ego memini T. Tincam Placentinum hominem facetissimum cum familiari nostro Q. Granio praecone dicacitate certare. Eon', inquit Brutus, de quo multa Lucilius? Isto ipso; sed Tincam non minus multa ridicule dicentem Granio obruebat nescio quo sapore vernaculo; ut ego jam non mirer, illud Theophrasto accidisse, quod dicitur, cum percontaretur ex anicula quadam quanti aliquid venderet et respondisset illa atque addidisset 'hospes non pote minoris', tulisse eum moleste se non effugisse hospitis speciem, cum aetatem ageret Athenis optimeque loqueretur. Omnino sic (ut opinor) in nostris est quidam urbanorum, sicut ille Atticorum sonus". Nemo, ut existimo, erit, quin videat, ad quendam dulciorem vocis sonum, contraque ad pronuntiandi modum rudiores quodammodo, et subagrestem referri a Cicerone totum quantum discrimen erat inter urbanitatem et peregrinitatem, cum Atticam, tum Romanam. Hoc ut ita esse credam, adducor primo verbis illis: "in vocibus oratorum nostrorum recinit quiddam et resonat urbanus"; itemque illis: "in nostris est quidam urbanorum, sicut ille Atticorum sonus", quae mihi nihil aliud videntur significare, quam id, quod suapte sponte prae se ferunt, *sonum* videlicet *vocis*, et pronuntiationis elegantiores, et gratiosum magis. Adducor deinde, quia "Theophrastus optime loquebatur", et tamen non effugiebat speciem hospitis et peregrini. Quod si peregrinitas non in sola pronuntiatione, sed sita esset in vitio aliquo eloquutionis, certe

⁽¹⁾ Horat. l. 2. Ep. 1. v. 64.

- ⁽¹⁾ *If the people admire the ancient poets, and
praise them so as to place nothing before them,
and nothing equal to them, they are in error.*

I see, when the discussion is concerning modern authors of our time compared to the masters of Latinity nearly contemporary to Horace, that this opinion is much more problematic and difficult to accept. But be that as it may, non-Italians, in their own defense, insist upon the same line of reasoning that those two most eloquent men insist upon in defense of modern authors. But Roberti feigns deafness, and keeps on saying that all non-Italians are foreigners, and that they are too little refined.

17. "What is meant, he [Brutus] asks, pray tell, by urban coloring?" These are the words of Cicero in *Brutus*, chapter 46.

I do not know, I replied. I only know that it is a certain something. You will understand it before long, Brutus, when you come to Gaul. Then you will even hear certain words not in common use in Rome, but these can be unlearned and substituted. It is of great significance that in the words of our orators there is detected a certain sound and accent typical of the city. This is evident not only in orators, but also in others. I remember Titus Tinca of Placentia, a very funny man, engaged in banter with my friend, Quintus Granius, the herald. Is he the one, asks Brutus, about whom Lucilius speaks a great deal? The very one. But Granius, with a certain indescribable vernacular flavor, got the better of Tinca, who said many things that were just as humorous. So that I am not even surprised about what happened to Theophrastus, according to the story, when he inquired of a certain little old woman about the price she would be willing to sell some item. Indeed, she had given him the price and added, 'Stranger, not a whit less'. It had annoyed him that he could not avoid appearing as a stranger even though he lived a lifetime in Athens and was an excellent speaker. And so there is in general among our city-speakers, in my opinion, a distinct accent, just as in the case of the Athenians.

No one, I think, will fail to see that all the difference that existed between native urbanity and foreignness, both in Greek and Latin, is related by Cicero to a somewhat more pleasant accent on the one hand, and a certain rather harsh and rustic style of pronunciation on the other. To believe this so, I am convinced first by those words: "in the words of our orators there is a certain sound and accent typical of the

⁽¹⁾ Hor. *Ep.* II 1.64-65.

“Theophrastus non loqueretur optime”. Adducor denique, et praecipue, quia si peregrinitas, aut in verbis, aut in illorum conformatione vitiosum aliquid afferret, accusasset profecto id Cicero promptissime, neque diceret: “Se nescire, qui sit iste tandem urbanitatis color”.

18. Et haec tum, cum vigeat latinitas, et quotidiano vitae usu, et familiaritate, sensim, ac sine sensu addiscebatur. Quod ad nos attinet, in pronuntiando, peregrini aequae sumus omnes, consentiente Roberto, qui posse maculam esse “in syllaba”, vel “in vocula”, et potissimum “in pronuntiatione” fatetur in Epistol. 1 ad virum clarissimum Franciscum M. Zanottum. Cujus modestiam incredibilem cum tanto illo immortalitate dignissimo ingenio, et cum vastissima eruditione, et exquisitissima elegantia conjunctam vellem ego ad imitandum sibi Robertus proposuisset. Quam demisse passim de se Zanottus loquitur in iis ipsis praefatiunculis, quas aegre, et vix annuente ipso, Robertus vulgavit et quam saepe in iisdem praefatiunculis loquitur de exteris honorificentissime! Jam vero in scribendo, cum juxta Itali, exterique eosdemmet Latinitatis magistros domi habeamus, et cum Plauto, Terentio, Cicerone assiduitatem et familiaritatem aequae diuturnam, atque amicabilem inierimus, dispeream, nisi si quaestiuncula illa: “qui est iste tandem urbanitatis color?” aut “qui est iste tandem color peregrinitatis?” non est nunc multo quam erat Ciceronis aetate nodosior, et explicatu difficilior.

19. Hui! Robertus nodum solvit expeditissime: “Identidem”, inquit, “exteri in errores (seu ut mollius et verius loquar), in quandam numerorum absurditatem, in quandam phrasium implicationem, in quandam potissimum troporum insolentiam tunc vel maxime incidunt, cum vel minime suspicantur. Latina sunt verba, latina adverbia, latinae particulae, latina singula ad amussim, neque tamen inde exit latinus sermo”. Abjete nimis et illiberaliter sentit Robertus de exteris omnibus, id est de totius, demta Italia, orbis terrarum habitatoribus, quando sic eos vilipendendo et irridendo; adhuc tamen existimat, se “verius” loqui, et “mollius”, atque humanius cum illis agere. Vereor ne vicem illi exteri reddant liberaliorem fortasse, quam vellet ipse. Aequalem certe reddent, abjectius vicissim sentiendo de homine, qui talia scribere, et typis mandare non erubuit, tum praecipue cum plena erat hominum exterorum, et calamitosorum Italia, qui in eadem navi cum illo erant, et quos isto modo irridere, et lacescere pudor, et humanitas vetabant. Deinde sic ampullatur ac vitulatur, quasi magnum aliquod mysterium exteris nihil tale scientibus enarraret. Quantum fallitur!

city". And likewise by those words: "there is among our city-speakers a distinct accent, just as in the case of the Athenians", which seem to me to signify precisely this: that they, in a natural way, manifest, to be sure, a "sound of the voice", which is of more polished pronunciation and more graceful. I am also convinced by the fact that Theophrastus "was the best speaker of all", and yet did not avoid appearing as a stranger and a foreigner. But if foreignness should depend not on the accent alone, but on some defect in oratorical delivery, then surely Theophrastus "was not the best speaker of all". Finally, and especially, I am convinced, because if foreignness should bring either in words, or in their arrangement something defective, then Cicero indeed would have most manifestly criticized this aspect, nor would he say that "he does not know what, pray tell, urban coloring consists of".

18. And indeed, this "urban coloring", at the time when Latin was flourishing, was gradually and unconsciously learned through the usage and intimacy that everyday life afforded. As far as we are concerned, we are all equally foreigners in our pronunciation, with the consent of Roberti, who grants, in the first epistle to the distinguished Francesco Maria Zanotti, that a defect can occur "in a syllable", or "in a particle", and more precisely "in the pronunciation". I wish that Roberti had resolved to imitate Zanotti's incredible modesty, joined with his genius, so worthy of great immortality, and his very broad erudition and most exquisite polish. How modestly Zanotti speaks of himself here and there in these short prefaces, which Roberti published unwillingly and with reluctant approval! And how often does he speak most respectfully of foreigners in these very same short prefaces! Now indeed, since we foreigners and Italians alike have at home the very same masters of Latinity in writing, and we have entered an equally long and friendly continued relationship and familiarity with Plautus, Terence, and Cicero, may I perish, if that trifling question, "What is meant, pray tell, by urban coloring?", or, "What is meant, pray tell, by foreign coloring?", is not now much more knotty and difficult to explain than in Cicero's time.

19. Oh! Roberti solves the problem without any difficulty, saying,

Repeatedly, foreigners fall very deeply into error, or, to speak more gently and accurately, into a certain rhythmical incongruity, a certain complication of expression, and especially a certain strangeness in the use of metaphor most often when they least suspect it. The words are Latin, the adverbs are Latin, the particles are Latin, the individual components are Latin to perfection, yet what comes out is not Latin.

20. Nemo est quin sciat etsi verbis latinis utaris, non continuo assequutum te esse latini sermonis genium et proprietatem, nemo qui ignoret, tametsi verba singula sint latina, posse ductum, et commissuram orationis esse vitiosam, ac multo saepius quam in verborum delectu, in ducendo et circumducendo orationis filo peccari. Hoc puto voluisse Robertum dicere verbis illis, "neque tamen inde exit latinus sermo". Acutissime. Sed est quod gratiam Roberto habeamus, quod saltem existimavit posse in homine extero esse "latina verba, latina adverbia, latinas particulas, latina singula ad amussim". Utor concessis, et pono exterum aliquem nihil peccare in verborum delectu, esseque in eo "latina verba, latina adverbia, latinas particulas, latina singula ad amussim", et si velis ad ravim. Tota itaque quota, et quanta est Roberti censura, vertit super verborum inter se nexu, et stili tenore, et orationis conformatione. At quantum est anceps et lubricum, et periculo erroris obnoxium iudicium hujuscemodi!

(^m) *Hic fossa est ingens, hic rupes maxima: serva.*

Non est tam facile quam Roberto videtur esse, aestimare et recte judicare, num phrasis, et loquutio, et verborum, ut ita dicam, condimentum latina sint, necne? Interdum phrasis vernacula a latina dissidet toto caelo, interdum cum latina mirifice consentit. Et nonnunquam

(^m) Horat. l. 2. Sat. 3. v. 59.

(^m) Hor. S. 2. 3. 59.

Too meanly and ungenerously does Roberti feel about all outsiders, that is, about the inhabitants of the entire world, with the exception of Italy, when thus disparaging and mocking them, still, however, he thinks he is speaking “more accurately”, and “more gently”, and that he is dealing more humanly with them. I fear that the outsiders will deal him a more copious retort than he himself would wish. They will certainly pay him back in equal terms, feeling in turn quite dispirited about a man who was not ashamed to write and put in print such ideas, especially at a time when Italy was full of suffering foreigners who shared a common lot with him, and whom a sense of decency and humanity forbade to ridicule and provoke in that sort of manner. And so therefore he speaks grandiloquently, and is overjoyed, as if he were explaining some great mystery to foreigners knowing nothing about it. How wrong he is!

20. There is no one who does not know that even if one should employ Latin words, one has not mastered immediately the genius and peculiar nature of the Latin language. There is no one who does not know that even if the words by themselves are Latin, that the structure and connection of the sentence can be faulty, and much more often than in the choice of words, one makes more mistakes in the construction of the sentence. I believe that Roberti had meant this with those words, “Yet, Latin does not come out of all this”. Very perceptive. But there is something for which let us thank Roberti, since at least he thought the outsider capable of “Latin words, Latin adverbs, Latin particles and elements in themselves Latin to perfection”. I accept what he has conceded, and I wager that there is some foreigner who does not err in the choice of words, and that in his speech “the words are Latin, the adverbs are Latin, the particles are Latin, the individual components are Latin to perfection”, and so on to the point of becoming hoarse. And so the total extent of Roberti’s criticism turns on the relationship of the words with one another, and the tone of the style, and the sentence arrangement. But how much of his judgment is ambiguous and fuzzy, and subject to the danger of an error of this sort!

(m) *Here is a huge ditch, here is a very large cliff. Take heed.*

It is not as easy as it seems to be to Roberti, is it, to evaluate and judge correctly, whether the diction and mode of expression, and the seasoning, so to speak, of the words, are Latin or not? Sometimes the

reprehendimus in nupero scriptore loquutionem aliquam, quam totidem verbis ille ab auctore aliquo principe collegerat.

Moeret, et incomtam fax quatit atra comam.

Videbatur mihi phrasis tota hispana, et tropus insolentior, quia versiculi erant Mexicani adolescentis, qui illos mihi emendandos afferebat. Sed casu accidit, ut illo ipso die, aliud agens, in illud Catulli inciderim:

⁽ⁿ⁾ *Viden'? faces
aureas quatunt comas.*

quod saepe alias legeram; sed nihil memineram. Itaque censuram, uti debui facere, retractavi, et tropum et phrasim, quae imperitia mea condemnaveram, absolvi et collaudavi. Nihil mihi esset facilius, quam librum facere loquutionum et phrasium, quae prima specie, numerorum absurditate, et perplexa implicatione, et troporum insolentia videntur laborare, et quae tamen sunt auctorum veterum et probatissimorum. Judicare de verbis singulis latina sint necne? Hoc perquam facile est, satis est *Facciolatum* consulere²⁴. At judicare num latina sit orationis textura et compositio, tum cum nihil peccatur in verbis singillatim, id vero operosissimum est, et ad errandum expositissimum: quia de stilo jam, et de specie, et figura dicendi iudicium est.

21. "Quid enim [est]* majus" (verba sunt Ciceronis in *Oratore* cap. 1), "quam cum tanta sit inter oratores bonos dissimilitudo, judicare, quae sit optima species, et quasi figura dicendi?", et cap. 16, "...id mihi quaerere videbare, quod genus ipsius orationis optimum judicarem: rem difficilem, dii immortales, atque omnium difficillimam... Flumen aliis verborum volubilitasque cordi est, qui ponunt in orationis celeritate eloquentiam; distincta alios et interpuncta intervalla, morae respiratio-

* est. Omitted by Abad.

⁽ⁿ⁾ In Epithalam. Juliae Arunculejae.

²⁴ Facciolatus. Jacopo Facciolati (1682-1769), Italian philologist and professor of logic at the University of Padua. "It was under the superintendence of Facciolati that in 1718 [Aegidio] Forcellini began his great Latin lexicon, which was completed in 1755, but not sent to the press until 1769, the year after his death. Facciolati, who survived by one year his younger contemporary, seized the opportunity to introduce his own name into the title-page, which accordingly described the lexicon as *consilio et cura Iacobi Facciolati, opera et studio Aegidii Forcellini ... lucubratum*. This title, which led many to believe that the lexicon was largely the work of Facciolati, was retained until the publication of Devit's edition in 1858-79. Facciolati, however, deserves the credit of having been the first to give in 1738 a satisfactory form to the *Lexicon Ciceronianum* of Nizolius". Sandys, *Companion*, p. 861.

vernacular diction differs entirely from the classical Latin, sometimes it agrees with it wonderfully. And sometimes we censure in a modern writer some mode of expression which he had reaped in just so many words from some major author.

He mourns, and the black torch shakes its tresses.

This entire expression seemed to me to be Spanish, and the metaphor, rather unusual, since they were the verses of a Mexican young man who was bringing them to me for correction. But it so happened by chance, that on that very same day, while engaged in other matters, I came upon the following verses of Catullus:

^(a) *Do you see? The torches shake their golden tresses.*

which I had read often on other occasions, but had not at all remembered. And so I retracted my censure, as was my duty, and the metaphor and the expression, which I had criticized because of my own ignorance, I absolved and praised. Nothing could be easier for me than to prepare a book of modes of expression and phrases which, on first appearance, seem to suffer from rhythmical incongruity, confusing construction, and strangeness of figurative language, and which, nevertheless, come from ancient and most highly regarded authors. And to judge about individual words, as to whether they are Latin or not? This is extremely easy; it is enough to consult Facciolati²⁴. But to judge whether the structure and arrangement of a sentence is Latin, especially when there is no mistake in the individual words, this is truly most difficult and most liable to error, since it is a judgment now of the style, and the form, and manner of expression.

21. "For what [is] more difficult", (the words are Cicero's in *Orator*, chapter 1), "than to judge what is the ideal form and, so to speak, shape of oratory, when there is so much difference among good orators?" And, chapter 16:

...you seemed to want to know what style of oratory I deemed best. A difficult thing, by the immortal gods, indeed the most difficult thing of all... Some, who make eloquence rest upon swiftness of speech, like fluency and rapidity of speech. Others prefer separate and clearly indicated pauses and breathing spells. What two things could be more different? Yet, there is something remarkable in each.

^(a) Catul. 61. 98-99.

nesque delectant. Quid potest esse tam diversum? Tamen est in utroque aliquid excellens". Sic ille, qui ad iudicandum de his, et censoria quadam maiestate pronuntiandum erat sine dubio mortalium omnium et auctoritate, et sapientia sua perquam aptissimus. Sed erat propterea in iudicando cunctantior et continentissimus. Roberto continentia haec minus placuit, expeditissime et prodigialiter condemnat.

22. Aures teretes habere se facillime unusquisque sibi persuadet. Quidquid ad eam stili formam, quam ipse semel imbibit conformatum est, id laudat; quidquid ab ea dicendi ratione discrepat, id vero vituperat. Induat quis exempli gratia stilum, stilo Q. Curtii, aut T. Livii affinem, vituperabit sine dubio eos, qui afferent stilum Caesaris, aut Cornelii Nepotis, tanquam nimis nudos, et languidos, et insipidos. Contra, quibus nuditas Caesaris, aut Nepotis facilitas geniales magis sunt, aspernabuntur eos, qui stilo utentur Curtii aut Livii similiore, et nimis comtos, et inflatos, et tumidos, et pingue quiddam sonantes esse pronuntiabunt. Nonne hoc est verissimum? Hujusmodi autem, nisi fallor, est, quod video esse inter Italos recentiores, et externos de stilo dissidium. Exteri sunt, ut plurimum, in dicendo incitatiores et sonantiores; Itali hodierni stilum plerumque amant lenem magis et temperatum. Et en cur exterorum aliqui abominantur Italos, tanquam si essent in dicendo laxi, et enerves, et effoeminati; vicissimque Italorum nonnulli abominantur externos tanquam insolentes, et audaces, et contortiplicatos.

(^o) *Unus utrinque
error, sed variis illudit partibus.*

23. Utraque censura injusta est, et praeceps, et ab caeco, quo se, et sua quisque diligit, amore dictata. Utrique habent auctores idoneos et principes, quos in deducenda, suo more, et contexenda oratione sequantur. De caetero, dubium non est, quin aliquando Hispanus verbis latinis quid hispanicum, et Gallus gallicanum, et Italus etruscum quid loquantur, quia tametsi verba seorsum considerata latina sint omnia,

(^o) Hor. 1. 2 Sat. 3. v. 50.

So spoke that man who, in judging these matters and speaking out on them with the certain majesty of a censor, was without doubt the most able of all mortals in his authority and wisdom. But he was, because of this, more moderate and very much more restrained in his judgment. This sort of restraint appealed less to Roberti; he condemns very readily and prodigiously.

22. Everyone convinces himself very easily that he has polished ears. Whatever coincides with the form of style which he himself once learned, he praises; whatever differs from this theory of style, he surely disparages. He who assumes, for example, a style similar to that of Curtius or Livy, will undoubtedly disparage those who favor the style of Caesar or Cornelius Nepos, as if they were too plain, dull, and lifeless. On the other hand, those for whom the plainness of Caesar, or the directness of Nepos are more agreeable, will disdain those who will use a style more like that of Curtius or Livy, and will judge them too adorned, showy, puffed-up, and sounding somewhat ponderous. Is this not very true? Now, unless I am mistaken, this is the very kind of disagreement concerning style which I see between modern Italians and non-Italians. The non-Italians, for the most part, are more rapid and sonorous in their speech; today's Italians, for the most part, favor a more suave and sober style. And this, of course, is why some non-Italians disparage the Italians, as if they were slack, lifeless, and effeminate in their speech. On the other hand, some of the Italians disparage the outsiders, as if they were excessive, audacious, and convoluted.

⁽⁶⁾ *The error is the same on both sides, but
it misleads them in different directions.*

23. The criticism of each side is unfair and thoughtless, and dictated by blind passion by which each one esteems himself and his own style. And both sides have capable authors and masters, whom they follow, in their own way, in the formation and composition of their expression. As for the rest, there is no doubt that now and then a Spaniard will say something Spanish in his Latin expression, and a Frenchman will say something French, while an Italian will say something Italian, because, although all the words may be individually considered Latin, yet nevertheless, the relationship between the words, and the pace, so to

⁽⁶⁾ Hor. S. 2. 3. 50-51.

nihilominus tamen verborum junctura, et orationis ut ita dicam incessus et continuatio hispana, aut gallica, aut etrusca est, non latina.

^(p) *Scimus, et hanc veniam petimusque, damusque vicissim.*

24. Ad hunc fere modum, et de nostris, et de exteris sentimus, siquando Veritatem, atque Humanitatem in consilium adhibemus. Cum vero partium studio in judicando ducimur, tum jam porro gloriam quomodocunque, et undelibet corrogatam, atque etiam invitam trahimus ad nos. Ignominiam autem ambabus manibus domo extrudimus, et pugnis etiam, et fustibus, si opus est, ad externos nolentem amandamus. Volo fabellam perelegantem hujus argumenti tibi hic integram exhibere, quae si modo e ruderibus antiquae alicujus Italiae urbis eruta esset, tanquam Augusti saeculo dignissima per manus eruditorum omnium circumferretur; et tamen est poetae exteri nostri temporis, poetae Hispani ingeniosissimi Thomae Serrani²⁵.

^(a) *Reliquit olim terras alma Veritas,
et se recepit aurea inter sydera.
Minerva Divam rursus ut reduceret,
ei dicavit orbem literarium,
qua sede nulla Veritate dignior.
Assumit comites Veritas redux duas,
illam vocant Infamiam, istam Gloriam,
et laeta caelo labens, primum Hispaniae
fores ut pulset turpi mandat nuntiae.
At alti honoris semper ardens natio
venienti occursat, atque occludit ostium.
Recedit illa, et literatae Galliae
adesse Divam veritatem nuntiat.
Gens elegans commota accurrit illico,
obditque postes ferreis repagulis.
Hinc Veritas repulsa, ad fines Italos
invisam comitem jussit ut praecederet.
Clausas adveniens Diva portas repperit,
et obseratas pessulis aheneis.
Oras Italiae linquit, atque ad frigidos
gressum Triones vertit, orbis ultimas*

^(p) Hor. A. P. v. 11.

^(a) Epist. 2. pag. 34.

speak, and the succession of the sentence is Spanish, or French, or Italian, but not Latin.

^(b) *We know this; we seek this licence, and in turn we grant it.*

24. This is approximately how we feel both about ourselves and outsiders, if we ever join together as advisers both Truth and Humane Conduct. But when in fact in judging we are swayed by the emotion of factionalism, then indeed, Glory, rounded up by whatever means and from wherever you will, we drag, even unwillingly, to us. Shame, however, with both hands we cast away from home, and even with fisticuffs and cudgels, if need be, we send her off, unwillingly, to the outsiders. I wish, at this point, to relate to you in its entirety a very elegant fable dealing with this theme, and which, if it had been only dug out of the ruins of some ancient Italian city, as if most worthy of the Age of Augustus, it would be circulated among the hands of all the learned; and yet it is by a foreign poet of our time, the very talented Spanish poet, Tomás Serrano²⁵.

^(a) *Fair Truth once left earth, and repaired to the golden stars. Minerva, however, in order to restore the goddess, consecrated to her the world of letters, of which domain none was more worthy than Truth. Returning Truth brings back two comrades, the one they call Dishonor, the other, Glory, and joyfully slipping down from heaven, orders the infamous messenger to knock on the door of Spain first. But the nation always burning for high honor, intercepts the visitor, and shuts the gate. She withdraws, and announces to learned France that the goddess Truth is present. The elegant people excitedly hurry there, and shut the gates with iron bolts. Driven away from here, Truth ordered her hated companion to go ahead of her to the land of*

^(b) Hor. *Ars* 11.

^(a) Epistle 2, p. 34. [Reference not identified. See note 25 on Tomás Serrano].

²⁵ Serranus. Tomás Serrano (1715-84), distinguished Spanish Jesuit humanist, Latin poet, and professor of rhetoric at the University of Valencia. As a consequence of the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain and all Spanish territory in 1767, he took up residence in Ferrara. His disciple, the Jesuit Miguel García, published, in Foligno, 1788, his poetry, together with a biography, in *Carminum libri IV. Opus posthumum accedit de ejusdem Serrani vita et litteris Michaelis Garciae commentarium*. The fable, reproduced by Abad, appears on pp. 98-99, under the title: "Lusus. De damno allato litteris per scriptores historiae litterariae. Veritas redux, et repulsa. Fabella".

*petens candore nobiles Provincias.
 Sed et praemissa terret has Infamia,
 sic nulla accepit reducem Divam natio.
 Causam repulsae suspicata, Gloriam
 jubet praeire ad singulas Provincias,
 ut ante Infamiam, et pulsare strenue.
 Statim panduntur Veritati januae
 quotquot sunt omnes orbe literario.
 Heic Diva studio Veritatis neminem
 videns teneri, et universos ducier
 amore famae, vel timore infamiae,
 relicto rursus orbe in caelos avolat.*

25. Habes, mi Blancarde, quod tantopere flagitasti iudicium meum super magnifica Roberti gloriatione, quae saltem hoc habuit pudoris, et modestiae, quod, quasi verecundaretur, et conspectum oculorum nostrorum formidaret, annos quatuor nos latuit, et absque te foret, lateret adhuc. Namque hactenus, et a me, quod parum est, et quod plus, ab amicis, quos nosti librorum curiosissimos, omnino ignorabatur. De Ferrio fortasse alias.

Italy. The approaching goddess found the gates shut and locked with bronze bolts. She left the shores of Italy, and turned her course to the frigid north, seeking candorously the last noteworthy provinces of the world. But indeed, Dishonor, sent ahead, frightens them, so no nation welcomes the accompanying goddess. Suspecting the cause of the rejection, she bids Glory to go ahead to the individual provinces, as Dishonor before, and to knock briskly. At once the gates, as many as there are in the world of letters, are opened to Truth. Hereupon, the goddess, seeing that no one is held by a passion for the truth, and that all men are moved by the love of fame, or the fear of dishonor, flies back into heaven after abandoning earth.

25. Here you have, dear Blanchard, my opinion, which you earnestly asked me for, on Roberti's pompous boasting, which at least had a degree of shame and modesty, because, as if it were shy and feared the sight of my eyes, it lay hidden from me for four years, and if it were not for you, it would still lie hidden. For surely, up to now, it went altogether unnoticed by me, a minor matter, and what is more important, unnoticed by my friends, whom you have known to be very devoted to books. Perhaps on another occasion I shall deal with Ferri.

Benistain

JACOBI JOSEPHI
LABBE
SELENOPOLITANI
DISSERTATIO
LUDICRO-SERIA

*Num possit aliquis extra Italiam natus bene latine
scribere, contra quam ROBERTUS pronuntiat?*



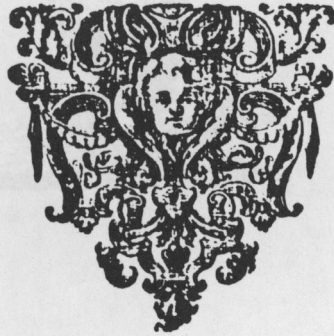
MDCLXXVIII.

SUPERIORUM FACULTATE.

*Seleno-
polis est Me-
xici: hoc est
Civitas Lunae
Meztlis enim
sive Mexotli,
a quo Mexicius
Lunam sonat
apud Mexicanos
Indos.*

)(30)(

25. Habes, mi Blancarde, quod tantopere flagitasti iudicium meum super magnifica Roberti gloriatione: quæ saltem hoc habuit pudoris, & modestiæ, quod, quasi verecundaretur, & conspectum oculorum nostrorum formidaret, annos quatuor nos latuit; & absque te foret, lateret adhuc: namque hætenus, & a me, quod patum est, & quod plus, ab Amicis, quos nosti librorum curiosissimos, omnino ignorabatur. De Ferrio fortasse alias.



Last page of the original edition.



Final ornamental woodcut.

R.J. SCHOECK with Martina RÜTT and H.-W. BARTZ

A STEP TOWARDS A NEO-LATIN LEXICON (II)

Texts cited (more than twice)

- Anon. Traiect. laus: *Ode ... de Traiectinae Civitatis laudibus* (prob. by G. Macropedius [1487-1558]) Utrecht, s. HL 23 (1974) 188-192
- Argentein, Johannes: *Actus ... habitus in Universitate Cantabrigiae contra omnes regentes huius Universitatis quoad oppositionis*. 1470
- Auratus (Dorat), Johannes: *Villanis* (1552). In: *Poematum lib. V*. Paris 1586.
- Bossche, Franciscus v.d.: *Laus Westmalliae*. Brussels 1657
- Briçonnet, Guillelmus (1519): *Sermo synodalis R. in Christo ... habitus Meldis, anno 1519, die Octobris*. Paris 1520.
- Briçonnet, Guillelmus (1520): *Sermo synodalis R. in Christo ... habitus Meldis, anno 1520, mense Octobris*. Paris 1522.
- Chilius, Hadrianus: *Aristophanis comici facetissimi Plutus Adriano Chilio interprete*. Antwerp 1533
- Clarke, John: *Querela Apologetica*. In: *Formulae Oratoriae*. London 1632
- Correr, Gregorio: *Progne*. Mantua 1429
- Dati, Leonardo: *Hiensal Tragoedia*. Florence 1441 or 1442
- Dorat, J. s. Auratus
- Foullis, James (Jacobus Follisius): poems (no name). Paris 1512 (?)
- Hamelmann, Hermann: *Oratio de Rodolpho Langio*. 1580
- Hamelmann, Hermann: *Virorum scriptis illustrium, qui vel in Westphalia vixere vel in ea nati alibi claruerunt ..., lib. III*. 1564
- Harmonius Marsus, Iohannes: *De rebus Italicis deque eius triumpho*. 1499
- Leverett, John: *Fragmentum orationis designatae pro Comitibus anno 1689, e ruderibus excerptum*. Harvard 1689
- Macropedius, Georgius: *Andrisca*. Antwerp 1538
- Melissus, Paulus: *Acanthae*. Heidelberg 1591-1600
- Moringus, Gerardus: *Oratio paraenetica ad literas sacras, ex praesentibus moribus ducto argumento* Louvain 1526, Rijksarchief, Hasselt, Ms 35, olim 6681b, f. 259^r-267^v
- Mure, Adam: *Laudes Gulielmi Elphinstoni*. Aberdeen 1526
- Nicolaus Nancelius: *Petri Rami Vita*. Paris 1599
- Rhetius (Johannes von Reidt): letter to Simon Verepaeus. Cologne (3 Jan.) 1574
- Schifaldus, Thomas: *Libellus de Indagationibus grammaticis*. Sicily 2nd half of 15th cent.

- Schwindrazhemius, I. U.: *Tristia Thumlingensia*. 1768
 Stettler, Hieronymus: *Commentarii rerum toto terrarum orbe gestarum*. Bern, 22
 March 1728 - 16 dec. 1730 weekly
 Verepaeus, Simon: letter to Joannes Rhetius (von Reidt). Mechlin 1574
 Wallin Suecus, Georgius: *Lutetia Parisiorum erudita sui temporis, hoc est
 annorum hujus seculi XXI et XXII*. Nuerenberg 1722

Word-List

- mactra** (gr. μάκτρα) subst.: **kneading-trough** *tum pro mactra longo latus usu
 confractum veteris dolioli* || Chilius (1533) v. 563 *HL* 23 (1974) 88.
magistellulus subst.: **bad teacher** *cur isti ... superciliosi magistelluli utiliore ipsi
 non navant operam?* || Clarke (1632) p. 380 *HL* 25 (1976) 270.
***Mahumeticus** adj.: **Mohammedan** *pereant potius Mahumetica regna ducesque* ||
 Ludovicus Helianus: *Pro Ludovico Galliarum rege eiusdem nominis XII
 votum*. ≈ v. 67 *HL* 26 (1977) 44.
maioricatus subst.: **deed of entail** *patrimonio, quod maioricatum vocant* || *Memo-
 rial del pleyto sobre la svcessión en posesión del estado y mayorazgo de
 Veragua*, ... ca. 1607. Published in: Cesare de Lollis (ed.): *Scritti di
 Cristoforo Colombo*. Rome 1882-94, Vol. I: 301-312 *HL* 25 (1976) 224.
***marchio (-nissa)** (got. marka) subst.: **margrave** *Epitaphium Bonifacii marchionis
 Montisferrati*. || Anon. epitaph after 1493. Barcelona, Biblioteca de Cata-
 luña, 1010 p. 79^r ≈ 1500 *HL* 26 (1977) 68. *Epitaphium Mariae Marchio-
 nissae Montisferrati per Dialogum, obiit 1495*. || Anon. epitaph. Barcelona,
 Biblioteca de Cataluña, 1010 p. 86^r ≈ 1500 *HL* 26 (1977) 68. *ad III.
 Dominum Ludovicum Gonzagam Mantuae Marchionem* || Gabriel Paverus
 Fontana: *Elegiacum poema de vita et obitu Galeaz. Mariae Sfortiae viceco-
 mitis*. ≈ 2nd half of 15th cent. *HL* 27 (1978) 76, *marchio Anspacensis ...
 matrimonii nexibus unitus dicitur* || Stettler, 25 January 1729 *HL* 30 (1981)
 229.
***marchisius** (s. marchio) subst.: **margrave** Bernardinus Dardanus: *Rege Chris-
 tiano ad Kalendas Mayas 1505 graviter egrotante Dardani, marchisii Salu-
 ciarium domestici epigramma*. Barcelona, Biblioteca de Cataluña, 1010
 p. 189 *HL* 26 (1977) 41. *marchiusque Bythons*. || Ludovicus Helianus: *Pro
 Ludovico Galliarum rege eiusdem nominis XII votum*. ≈ v. 148 *HL* 26
 (1977) 45.
***marginalis** adj.: **marginal** *historiam ... tuo studio adornatam marginali scholio* ||
 Rhetius (1574A) § 24 *HL* 23 (1974) 287.
***materialis** adj.: **material** *sunt enim nonnulli, qui nec materialem quidem eccle-
 siam cui praesunt, unquam viderint* || Briçonnet (1519) c.iii.^v *HL* 27 (1978)
 103.
matria subst.: **motherland**
 Found in: Kaiser L.M., "Seventeenth Century American Latin Prose: John
 Leverett's Welcome to Governor Sir Edmond Andros" (1686), *Manuscripta*
 18 (1974), 30-37; *HL* 24 (1975) 359.
mavortigena adj.: **son of Mars** *hinc Mavortigenae consistit in arce Quirini* || John
 Milton: *In Quintum Novembrem*. 1626 v. 53. *HL* 27 (1978) 250.

- *mediamnis** adj.: **in the midst of a river** *mediamnes insulas* || John Leland: *Cygneae cantio*. London 1545. In: *The itinery of John Leland, the antiquary*, ed. Th. Hearne, Oxford ²1745, vol. 9, p. 4 *HL* 32 (1983) 229.
- *mellilegus** adj.: **gathering honey per thyma mellilegas verna morantur apes** || Foullis (1512) VI,4 *HL* 24 (1975) 131.
- membrum** subst.: **member** *membra et assessores huius Academiae* || Wallin (1722) p. 91 *HL* 28 (1979) 271.
- mericosus** (s. ericetum) adj.: **heath-** *terra mericosa non extans diluviosa* || Henricus de Oesterwijk: *Laus Brabantiae*. Louvain ≈ 1430 *HL* 31 (1982) 192.
- merria, -ae** (germ. *marisko) subst.: **marsches?** *Aberdoniam ... quam cingit riguis merria clausa vadis* || Mure (1526) v. 340 *HL* 28 (1979) 210.
- *metaphysicalis** (gr. μεταφυσικός) adj.: **metaphysical** *Cantus Metaphisicalis* || Argentein (1470) v. 158 *HL* 33 (1984) 85.
- *metaphysicus** (s. metaphysicalis) subst.: **metaphysician** *hic metaphisicus entia novit sapiens singula* || Argentein (1470) v. 161 *HL* 33 (1984) 85.
- meteorologicus** (gr. μετεωρολογικός) adj.: **concerning Aristotle's Meteora** *Gandavus ille Ioannes Dullardus, quum studeret ... meteorologicaque commentaria aedidisset* || Iohannes Ludovicus Vives: letter to Iohannes Fortis. Paris 1514 § 1 *HL* 26 (1977) 93.
- *methodice** (gr. μεθοδικός) adv.: **methodically** *Dialectica illa celebris ad Aristotelis leges methodice et pulchre conformata* || Nancelius (1599) 14 *HL* 24 (1975) 182. *nullus bonarum artium peritus, nullus bene et methodice institutus* || Nancelius (1599) 19 *HL* 24 (1975) 188.
- Mexicanus** adj.: **Mexican** Antonio Rubio: *Logica mexicana or Commentaria in universam Aristotelis logicam*. Mexico 1605 *HL* 30 (1981) 140. Juan José de Eguia y Eguren: *Selectae dissertationes mexicanae*. Mexico 1746 *HL* 30 (1981) 150. Juan José de Eguia y Eguren: *Bibliotheca Mexicana*. Mexico 1755 *HL* 30 (1981) 150.
- Mexiceus** adj.: **Mexican (poet.)** *mexicea tellus* || José de Villerias y Roel: *Guadalupe*. Mexico 1724, libro I, v. 30 *HL* 30 (1981) 144. *me iuvat ... patrios invisere campos, mexiceosque lacus ... percurrere cymba* || Rafael Landivar: *Rusticatio mexicana*. Bologna 1781/82, libro I, v. 9 *HL* 30 (1981) 146.
- Mexicus, -i** subst.: **Mexico** *Mexice, ... pergere credo tuos in meliora dies* || Bernardino de Llanos: *Christiana poesis*. In: *Poeticarum institutionum liber*. Mexico 1605; cf. I. Osorio Romero: *Floresta de gramática y retorica en Nuevo España (1521-1767)*, Mexico 1980, pp. 164-179 *HL* 30 (1981) 136. *Mexicus ... cupit ultima amoris edere signa sui* || Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora: *Triunfo parténico*. Mexico 1688 *HL* 30 (1981) 138. Andrés Diego Fuentes: *Guadalupeana B. Mariae Virginis imago quae Mexici colitur carmine descripta*. published in Italy 1773 *HL* 30 (1981) 145. *magnum tibi, Mexice, signum exhibitum, lapsa et meliora ancilia caelo* || Diego José Abad: *De Deo Deoque homine carmina heroica*. published in Italy 1773 *HL* 30 (1981) 149.
- *millecuplus** adj.: **thousandfold**
Found in: Kaiser L.M., "John Leverett and the Quebec Expedition of

- 1711: An Unpublished Latin Oration", *Harvard Library Bulletin* xxii (1974), 309-316. *HL* 24 (1975) 359.
- mincigena** adj.: **born on the banks of the Mincio (Vergil)** *Calles Myncygene divina poemata vatis* || Foullis (1512) IV,7 *HL* 24 (1975) 128.
- *minera, -rae** (mlat. mina) subst.: **ore-mine** *nondum metallorum investigate minere* || Enea Silvio Piccolomini: *Germania*. 1457/58, II 14 *HL* 32 (1983) 100.
- *minorita** (lat. minorare) subst.: **Franciscan, friar** *F. Arnoldus Mermannius Minorita* || Rhetius (1574A) § 30 *HL* 23 (1974) 290.
- miraculose** adv.: **miraculously** *quae etiam ymago quondam miraculose illic posita est* || Praef. note to an anonym. poem on the fire of Harderwijk. Guelders 1503 *HL* 22 (1973) 101.
- mirica** (s. ericetum) subst.: **heather** *Henricum, cui nomen ... dura mirica dedit* || Adam Jordaens: Epitaph of Henricus De Merica. Louvain 1473 v. 6 *HL* 22 (1973) 98.
- miricanus** (s. ericetum) adj.: **heath-** *cerne miricanis omnia plena feris* || Bossche (1657) v. 62 *HL* 31 (1982) 194.
- *missale exemplar** adj.: **mass-book** *exemplar missale vel ceremoniarum liber* || Ferdinand I: letter to S.v. Herberstein. prob. 1526 *HL* 31 (1982) 144.
- *missale** subst.: **mass-book** *hunc librum, missale nuncupatum ... emit venerabilis pater Leonardus de la Strata de Vercellis* || Milano, Bibl. Ambrosiana, cod. A 262 inf. A^v (1471) *HL* 24 (1975) 8.
- *mititas** subst.: **mildness** *refugas et vagas pane oblato manu demulcens, ovinae mititati restituit* || Briçonnet (1520) b.i.^v *HL* 27 (1978) 112.
- *Monasteriensis** adj.: **from Münster** *i. W. Hegius non fuit Daventriensis, sed Westphalus in ditone Monasteriensi ... natus* || Hamelmann (1564) *HL* 29 (1980) 163. *esset ... popularis natione Monasteriensis prope arcem et oppidum Horstmar ... natus* || Hamelmann (1580) *HL* 29 (1980) 164.
- monocerontius** (gr. μονόκερως) adj.: **unicorn's** *hoc primum decorat coetus honestior, terna et cornua dein monocerontia* || Anon. Traiect. laus v. 170 *HL* 23 (1974) 210.
- Moscovita** subst.: **inhabitant of Muscovy** *Moscovitarum ... religio* || Johannes Fabri: *Ad Serenissimum Principum Ferdinandum Archiducum Austriae Moscovitarum iuxta mare Glaciale religio*. Tübingae 1525 *HL* 31 (1982) 145.
- Moscoviticus** subst.: **Muscovian** *accepi literas Magnificentiae vestrae una cum libro rerum Moscoviticarum ... Quod ad librum rerum Moscoviticarum attinet* || Cornelius Scepperus: letter to S.v. Herberstein. Brussels 1551 *HL* 31 (1982) 153.
- *musaeolum** (gr. μουσεῖον) subst.: **(room for) study** *ex musaeolo nostro* || Simon Verepaeus: letter to Joannes Moretus. Bois-le-Duc 1592? *HL* 23 (1974) 330. *me evocat, qui in musaeolo vicino studebam* || Nancelius (1599) 67 *HL* 24 (1975) 256.
- *musicalis** (gr. μουσική [sc. τέχνη]) adj.: **musical** *Cantus Musicalis* || Argentein (1470) v. 93. *HL* 33 (1984) 83.
- Musula** (gr. Μοῦσα) subst.: **a dear Muse** *compesce sonoros, Musula, singultus* || Foullis (1512) I,482 *HL* 24 (1975) 122.

- nanitas** subst.: **dwarfishness** *nanitas haud ista mihi cordi est* || Melissus (1592) v. 7 *HL* 22 (1973) 244.
- nasutulus** adj.: **sagacious**
Found in "Tercentenary of an Oration: The 1672 Commencement Address of Urian Oakes" published by L.M. Kaiser in *Harvard Library bulletin*, xxi (1973), p. 84. *HL* 23 (1974) 410.
- navifer** adj.: **ship bearing** *flumine navifero Rigensemque alluet urbem* || Hermanus, Daniel: *De Marte cum Musis* v. 197. In: David Heliconius: *Academiae Samosciannae Recens Institutae Intimatio*. Riga 1594 *HL* 26 (1977) 216.
- necromastix** (gr. νεκρός + μάστιξ) subst.: **critic of a dead person** Jean Dorat: *Adversus doctiss. et piiss. viri Adriani Turnebi Necromastigas*. Paris 1565. *HL* 23 (1974) 159.
- Neoportuensis** adj.: **of Nieuwpoort (Flanders)** Cornelius Scepperus *Neoportuensis* || Georgius Haloinus: *De Restauratione linguae Latinae libri III*. 1508-1533 *HL* 28 (1979) 195.
- *neosacerdos** (gr. νέος + lat. sacerdos) subst.: **newly ordained priest** In *Neosacerdotem: Olim, nunc, in posterum* || Title of an unpubl. poem by Misael Vázquez, Quito 1882-1958 *HL* 27 (1978) 272.
- *nihilitas** subst.: **nothingness** *debebis igitur prius in cognitionem tui per exinanitionem et nihilitatem descendere* || Briçonnet (1519) b.i.v. *HL* 27 (1978) 94.
- Nubilarigena** adj.: **from Novilara (Pesaro)** Iacobus Pisaurius: letter to Angelus Nubilarigena. Pesaro 1439 *HL* 31 (1982) 228.
- obesulus** adj.: **fat, stout** *nam toroso pectore est, tum ventre obesulo* || Macrope-dius (1538) v. 43 *HL* 31 (1982) 84.
- *obiectiuncula** (falso tribuitur Sto. Ambrosio, cf. *HL* 32 (1983) 462) subst.: **a small objection** *simillima fit huic illa obiectiuncula* || Schifaldus (15th cent.) l. 647 *HL* 32 (1983) 138.
- obinduere** verb.: **to garb** *en iri obindutam aurea ... deam* || Dati (1441 or 42) v. 663 *HL* 25 (1976) 140.
- *oblaesio** subst.: **harm** *absque ulla sensus oblaesione* || Richard Brett: *Vitae Sanctorum Evangelistarum Iohannis et Lucae, a Simeone Metaphraste olim concinnatae, iam recens traductae*. Oxford 1597, dedic. letter *HL* 27 (1978) 142.
- octastichon** [ogdoastichon] (gr. ὀκτάστιχος) subst.: **poem of eight verses**
Servatius Aedicollus Agrippinus: *Ogdoastichon ad lectorem*. In: *Baptista Spagnoli Mantuanus: Georgius*. Deventer 1513 and 1514 *HL* 28 (1980) 168.
Servatius Aedicollus Agrippinus: *Ogdoastichon ad grammaticae artis studiosum*. In: *Aldus Manutius: De constructione verborum*. (Deventer ?) 1510 *HL* 29 (1980) 169. *Octastichon Frid. Hulsii Dartheni In Castam Terentii Renati linguam* || Cornelius Schonaeus: *Pars prior Terentii Christiani seu comoediarum Cornelii Schonaei*. Wittenberg 1599, A6^r *HL* 33 (1984) 224.
- octuagenus** = octogenus (lat. octogeni) adj.: **anno milleno C. quinques octuageno** || Erasmus: Epitaph for Henry of Bergen. In: A. Le Glay: *Recherches sur l'église métropolitaine de Cambrai*. Paris 1825 *HL* 33 (1984) 108.
- *officinula** subst.: **shop, office** *sermo tamen erat frequens sedentum in officinulis tonsoriis* || Chilius (1533) v. 349 *HL* 23 (1974) 75.

- *officiolum** subst.: **kindness** *utinam hoc nostrum officiolum tibi gratum esse queat* || Christophorus Plantinus: letter to Simon Verepaeus. Antwerp 1588 *HL* 23 (1974) 314.
- ogdoastichon s. octastichon
- omniparus** = **omniparens** adj.: *omnipari non infima gloria Belgi* || Jacobus Zevecotius: *Maria Stuarta / Maria Graeca, Tragoedia*. Antwerp 1640, dedic. poem *HL* 22 (1973) 274.
- onagrinus** (gr ὄναγρος > lat. onager) adj.: **of a wild ass** *cornua ... si sunt onagrinae vel alicuius alterius ferae* || Seweryn Boner: letter to S.v. Herberstein. Krakau 1541 *HL* 31 (1982) 143.
- opera** subst.: **opera (music)** *Academia regia musices alias Opera dicta* || Wallin (1722) p. 102 *HL* 28 (1979) 271.
- *ordinamentum** subst.: **ordinance** *ordinamenta circa cancellarium facta* || Archivio di Stato di Arezzo: *Statuti e Riforme del Comune di Arezzo, 1342-1771*, n. 4, cc. 3-3': rubr. XXXI *HL* 30 (1981) 2.
- ostentabundus** adj.: **ostentatious** *non enim vehimur ad hanc nostri carminis emissionem ostentabundo arrogantiae vento* || Foullis (1512) praef. § 11 *HL* 24 (1975) 107.
- ostracismus** (gr. ὀστρακισμός) subst.: **ostracism** *ex finibus humanae naturae pene dixeram exterminandos esse, qui bonas literas ostracismum pati vellent* || Leverett (1689) 85 *HL* 24 (1975) 336.
- ostreus** = **ostrinus** adj.: *panni argentei, ostrei seu cremesilis* || Archivio di Stato di Milano, Missive, 119, f. 115^r 1474 *HL* 31 (1982) 62.
- otiosulus** adj.: **idle** *otiosulorum puerorum indiligentia* || Clarke (1632) p. 380 *HL* 25 (1976) 270.
- paedagogulus** (gr. παιδαγωγός) subst.: **bad paedagogue** *oscitantium ... paedagolorum incuria* || Clarke (1632) p. 380 *HL* 25 (1976) 270.
- *paedonomus** (gr. παιδονόμος) subst.: **schoolmaster** *permulta his libris inesse diffidimus, quae tum paedonomis ipsis, tum discipulis non parum fructus ac voluptatis sint allatura* || Simon Verepaeus: letter to Maximilianus Morillonius. Mechlin 1573 § 6 *HL* 23 (1974) 280. *paedonomis et scholarium magistris saluberrima consilia dare* || Rhetius (1574A) § 2 *HL* 23 (1974) 281. *quae [sc. institutio] ... paedonomis ac puerorum institutoribus, ipsisque pueris legenda exhiberetur* || Rhetius (1574A) § 28 *HL* 23 (1974) 289. *tu Becam ad Collegii Decanum et Belgicae Nobilitatis tum paedonomum non multo post consecutus sis* || Simon Verepaeus: letter to Johannes Goeswini. Bois-le-Duc 1597 § 9 *HL* 23 (1974) 339.
- *paenitentiarius [poenitentiarius]** (lat. paenitet) subst.: **penitentiary** ... *Poenitentiarium Senonensis, Epistolae aliquot Manuscriptae* || Antonius Sanderus: *Bibliotheca Belgica manuscripta*, 2. Insulis 1644, p. 141 *HL* 30 (1981) 42. Ioannes Baptista Coccino: *De antiquitate Cardinalis Penitentiarium maioris*. 17th century? In: *Rivista Storia Chiesa Italia*, 36 (1982), S. 332-380. *HL* 33 (1984) 344.
- paginarius** subst.: (nickname of P. Ramus, who read one page a day) *quotidie paginam unam nec minus nec amplius ut legeret: ex quo paginarius Ramus convitio ludicro dici solebat* || Nancelius (1599) 23 *HL* 24 (1975) 194.

- paginativ** adv.: **a page at a time** *mos Rami in legendo [paginativ]*. || Nancelius (1599) 23 *HL* 24 (1975) 194.
- ***Palatinatus Rheni** subst.: **Rheinfalz** *comitibus Palatinatus Rheni ... felicitatem P.* || Cornelius Schonaeus: *Terentius Christianus*. Cologne 1591, dedicatory letter *HL* 32 (1983) 407.
- ***Palatinatus, -us** subst.: **the Palatinate** *honoribus ... Domini Caroli Alberti I., utriusque Bavar(iae) ac Super(ioris) Palat(inatus) Ducis* || *Domitor Danubii. Drama Musicum*. Ingolstadt 1729, Sign. 4° Bavar. 2193, XI, 35 *HL* 30 (1981) 213.
- ***palatinus** subst.: **old Polish official** *Ex litteris Calvini ... ad palatinum Vilmensem et ecclesias Lithuanicas* || Found in: Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, ms. IV 4522, 16th cent. *HL* 27 (1978) 181.
- ***panoplia** (gr. πανοπλία) subst. **panoply** *qui inquam substitisset, nisi hac panoplia probe munitus?* || Moringus (1526) f. 265^r *HL* 29 (1980) 210.
- ***papicola** subst.: **papist** *crudelibus obstitit ausis papicolūm* || John Milton: *In Quintum Novembrem*. 1626 v. 222 *HL* 27 (1978) 250.
- ***papismus** subst.: **reign of the pope** *antiquis temporibus sub papismo tam in ecclesia quam in regimine seculari regnabant* || Wallin (1722) p. 65 *HL* 28 (1979) 268.
- ***par** subst.: **'pair'** *fuit ille Ioannes dux parque illustris nobiliorque comes* || Antonius Sylviolus (Forestier): *Elegia de generis nobilitate*. In: *Sylvula*. Pavia 1508, f. C.2^r *HL* 26 (1977) 64.
- paraeneticus** (gr. παραινετικός) adj.: **exhortatory** *oratio paraenetica* || Moringus (1526) f. 259^r *HL* (1980) 200.
- paramentum** subst.: **ornament** *tapetibus ... vasis ... indumentis ..., quae communi et vulgato verbo Paramenta appellantur* || Giannozzo Manetti: *De vita ac gestis Nicolai Quinti summi pontificis*. 1455 col 923 *HL* 28 (1979) 65.
- paraphrastice** (gr. παραφραστικός) adv.: **paraphrastically** *Ode ..., in quo paraphrastice expressus est Davidis psalmus* || Theodorus Cornelius Bergius: *Carmen annale, sive ode Martiniana*. Utrecht 1575 *HL* 23 (1974) 203. *Paraphrastice tractata Historia* || Henricus Knaustius: *Dido tragoedia* Germany 1566 *HL* 33 (1984) 149.
- parcus, -us** (mlat. parricus) subst.: **part of the Vatican chancery abbreviator** *maioris parcus* || Epitaph from 1492. In: V. Forcella: *Iscrizioni delle chiese ed altri edefici di Roma* Rome 1861, I 1230 *HL* 28 (1979) 181.
- patronus** subst.: **cartridge** *tale ornamentum et gestamen tale, PATRONOS quisque suos dicit* || Hermannus, Daniel: *De Marte cum Musis* v. 101. In: David Heliconius: *Academiae Samoscianae Recens Institutae Intimatio*. Riga 1594 *HL* 26 (1977) 213.
- ***Pedemontanus** adj.: **from Piedmont** *sub Pedemontanis Alpibus* || Francisco Capello: *Ad Antonium Porchiatti*. In: *Revista de la Universidad de Buenos Aires*, XXI (1915), 412 *HL* 31 (1982) 199.
- pelaginus** (gr. πέλαιος) adj.: **marine** *que pelagina tractat manibus lora* || Harmonius (1499) I.149 *HL-S I* (1978) 32.
- pentastega** (fr. πέντε + στέγη) subst.: **fifth floor** *grave corporis onus ... ab altitudine graduum circiter centum, e suprema tristega, imo si licet dicere pentastega devolutum* || Nancelius (1599) 76 *HL* 24 (1975) 268.

- peracer** adj.: **piercing** *ipse ipse summus Imperator Coelitus te deperdit, peracri amori saucius* || Coriolanus Martiranus: *Tragoediae VIII* ... Neapoli 1556, f. 175^v v. 6 *HL* 27 (1978) 168.
- *peramabilis** adj.: **very lovely** *peramabilis uxor* || Aonius Palearius: *Ad Basilium Amerbachium*. Basel 1562 l. 23 *HL* 32 (1983) 201.
- perignavus** adj.: **very lazy** *malui subimpius, quam perignavus videri* || Coriolanus Martiranus: *Tragoediae VIII* Neapoli 1556, dedic. letter *HL* 27 (1978) 164.
- perinclytus** adj.: **most famous** *perinclyto viro Michaeli Antonio Caro Columbianae Reipublicae moderatori Camoenarum carissimo* || P. Teódulo Vargas (1844-1911): *In mensem Marianum*. Publ. in *Horizontes* (Bucaramanya) III 1915 p. 14 *HL* 24 (1975) 312.
- permansuetus** adj.: **mild-tempered** *legem nature exolvere, quamquam sit permansuetu pectore, nemo potest* || Foullis (1512) I,432 *HL* 24 (1975) 121.
- perneens** = **pernens** (metri causa, s. *HL* 26 (1977) 163) part.: *te fratris orsa perneente* || Iohannes Auratus (Dorat): *Ad Regem Exhortatio* (1576) v. 48 *HL* 26 (1977) 180.
- peroccurrere** (cf. Lewis and Short s. 'curro': "very freq. in every period and species of composition") verb: **to face** *ut siquid opis habet peroccurrat malis* || Dati (1441 or 42) v. 708 *HL* 25 (1976) 142.
- perpluiscere** verb: **to shed** *sine fine perpluiscam* || Auratus (1552) v. 203 *HL* 22 (1973) 214.
- perpolitor** subst.: **who gives the finishing touch** *cuius operis frater inchoator est, perfector huius, perpolitor ipse sis* || Iohannes Auratus (Dorat): *Ad Regem Exhortatio* (1576) v. 422 *HL* 26 (1977) 198.
- perspectivalis** adj.: **concerning perspective** *Cantus Perspectivalis* || Argentein (1470) v. 67 *HL* 33 (1984) 82.
- perstrepitare** verb: **to splash** *fonticuli placent murmure perstrepitante cursim* || Melissus (1600) v. 12 *HL* 22 (1973) 254.
- persumere** = **sumere** verb: *persumpsit proprium respublica robur* || Mure (1526) v. 315 *HL* 28 (1979) 210.
- pertussis** subst.: **whooping-cough**
Ignatius Daniel Knolton: *Dissertatio Medica Inauguralis, de Pertussi*. Edinburgh 1773 *HL* 31 (1982) 181.
- Peruanus** subst.: **Peruvian** *iviit inaccessas Peruanae gentis ad oras* || Maxaemilianus Vrientius: *In obitum R. Justi Rijcke Marselarii* ... (I). Ghent, second half of 16th century, v. 11, *HL* 28 (1979) 244.
- Perus, -us** subst.: **Peru** *fallor, an extimo notescam Acanthis Americae solo Perúsque* || Melissus (1591) v. 31 *HL* 30 (1981) 195.
- philobarbarus** (gr. φιλοβάρβαρας) subst.: **friend of barbarians** *ἡμιουσοι ac philobarbari* || Erasmus: letter of 1527. In: P.S. Allen: *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*. Vol. VII, 1805:33, Oxford 1928 *HL* 30 (1981) 65.
- phusca** (gr. ῥή φοῦσκη) subst.: **sour wine** *phuscam cum succo pulegii commixtam* ... (*est autem phusca acetum et aqua calida et ova duo*) || Rudbertus a Moshaim: *Kynosophium ac opusculum Phaemonis de cura et conservatione canum* ... Vienna 1535 p. *HL* 32 (1983) 282.

- ***pinguere**, -eo verb: to fatten *Cyprida non famuit, non miti pectus Iaccho pinguebat* || Mure (1526) v. 394 *HL* 28 (1979) 212.
- ***pinta** (gr. πίνεiv) subst.: pint "... vini generosi pintam" (sic vocant nostrates, ex Graeco πίνω, certum mensurae genus circiter bilibris, heminas Atticas duas quodammodo cupientis et aequantis) || Nancelius (1599) 17 *HL* 24 (1975) 184.
- placentula** subst.: a cake aut offerat placentulam || Chilius (1533) v. 140 *HL* 23 (1974) 65. in aris thura cum placentulis verbis dicata sunt sacris || Chilius (1533) v. 680 *HL* 23 (1974) 94. placentulas video sacerdotem sacra mensa auferentem || Chilius (1533) v. 697 *HL* 23 (1974) 95. namque obtigit bene cocta tibi placentula || Chilius (1533) v. 1183 *HL* 23 (1974) 122.
- Plautine** adv.: as **Plautus** denique scaelerum omnium satores et sartores sunt, ut Plautine dixerim || Moringus (1526) f. 261^v *HL* 29 (1980) 204.
- ***plebanus** (paræcus, curio, sacerdos, qui plebi praeest, cf. Du Cange) subst.: parish priest insignis Colleg. Ecclesiae S. Mariae Hantuerpien. Plebanus & Canonicus || Cornelius Schonaeus: *Nehemias*. Antwerp 1570 D 6v *HL* 32 (1983) 392. plebanus Areolensis || signature of — and references to Mattia Lupi, about 1408. Found in: Guido Traversari: *Di Mattia Lupi (1380-1468) e de' suoi 'Annales Geminianenses'*. In: *Miscellanea storica della Valdelsa* XI.1 (1903), 24-25 *HL* 33 (1984) 8. Matthias plebanus discipulus Leon. Arretini || A.M. Bandini: *Bibliothecae Leopoldinae sive Supplementi ad Catalogum codd. Graec. Lat. Ital.*, Tomus III. Florence 1793, p. 503 *HL* 33 (1984) 12. dominum Matthiam plebanum Aioli || Leonardo Bruni Areentino: letter to the Siennese signoria. between 1427 and 1444. *Bibliothecae Leopoldinae sive Supplementi ad Catalogum codd. Graec. Lat. Ital.*, Tomus III. Florence 1793, p. 501 *HL* 33 (1984) 14.
- ***plebatus**, -us (lat. plebs, cf. plebanus) subst.: parish rector ecclesie de Larniano nec non capelle S. Laurentii plebatus de Peccioli in comitatu Pisarum || Mattia Lupi: Colophon 1398. In: S. Gimignano *MS19. Doctrinale of Alexander Villa Dei*, f. 84^v *HL* 33 (1984) 7.
- plebescere** (already at Niermeyer and Du Cange, but with a different meaning) verb: to become part of the 'plebs' heroum incipient humiles plebescere nati || Sebastian Klonowic: *Victoria Deorum*. Krakau 1587-1595, v. 531 *HL* 25 (1976) 257. heroumque solent humiles plebescere nati || Sebastian Klonowic: *Victoria Deorum*. Krakau 1587-1595, v. 368 *HL* 25 (1976) 257.
- poenitentiarius s. paenitentiarius
- ***pomaceum** subst.: cider
Julianus Palmarius: *De vino et pomaceo*. Saint-Lô 1588 *HL* 31 (1982) 223.
- pontarchus** (gr. πόνταρχος) subst.: sea-lord, admiral praecepta quae Christophorus Colon Indici maris Insularum Pontarcus, quem Almirantem vocant hispani, ... reliquit || Memorial del pleyto sobre la svccesión en possessión del estado y mayorazgo de Veragua, ... ca. 1607. Published in: Cesare de Lollis (ed.): *Scritti di Cristoforo Colombo*. Rome 1882-94, Vol. I: 301-312 *HL* 25 (1976) 224.
- porcula** subst.: garden bed tenerasque mandat porculis plantas || Melissus (1600) v. 19 *HL* 22 (1973) 253.

***porosus** (gr. πόρος) adj.: **porous**

Michael Wigglesworth: *Omnis Natura Inconstans Est Porosa*. Cambridge, Mass. 1651 *HL* 31 (1982) 168.

Posoniensis adj.: **from Bratislava (Pozsony = Pressburg)**

Posonienses Ephemerides. Pressburg 1835 *HL* 30 (1981) 236.

***potestas** subst.: **podestà** *Commissario et potestate Papie* || Archivio di Stato di Milano, Missive, 119, f. 1^{39r} 1474 *HL* 31 (1982) 63. *Benedictus de Zabolis Papie commissarius et potestas etc.* || Archivio di Stato di Milano, Visconteo-sforzesco, Pavia, c. 855 1474 *HL* 31 (1982) 64.

***Praebenda** subst.: **prebend** *dicis te aut praebendae, cui resides, ... praetextu non posse ovibus praesentiam servitutis tuae vigilem exhibere* || Briçonnet (1520) d.i.^v *HL* 27 (1978) 122 *non debet humanum inventum, ut est praebendarum institutio, dei praeceptum "pasce oves meas" infringere* || Briçonnet (1520) d.ii.^r *HL* 27 (1978) 123. *Quid enim praebendae residentiam praetexis?* || Briçonnet (1520) d.ii.^r *HL* 27 (1978) 123.

praedolere verb.: **to sorrow beforehand** *invidens multo praedoluit* || Dati (1441 or 42) v. 252 *HL* 25 (1976) 112.

praelibamentum subst.: **foretaste** *quibus quasi quibusdam prelibamentis possitis ipsi de summa legum vi ac maiestate iudicare* || Anthonius Haneron: *Oratio de laude legum*. § 1 Louvain ≈ 1435 *HL* 27 (1978) 13.

Praellea schola adj.: **collège de Presles (Paris)** *Ramus Praelleam scholam sortitur* || Nancelius (1599) 15 ss. *HL* 24 (1975) 182, etc.

praelocutoria epistula adj.: **preface**

Huldrych Zwingli: *epistula praelocutoria*. In Jacobus Ceperinus' (Wiesendangers) edition of Pindar. Basel 1526 *HL* 31 (1982) 223.

***praeservativus** adj.: **prophylactic** *contra rabiem praeservativa medicina* || Rudbertus a Moshaim: *Kynosophium ac opusculum Phaemonis de cura et conservatione canum ...* Vienna 1535 p. 5 *HL* 32 (1983) 285.

Jacobus Ferdinandus: *De regimine a peste praeservativo tractatus*. Cracoviae 1543 *HL* 33 (1984) 347.

***praesignare** verb.: **to prefigure** *dulcissimus Ihesus futuram ecclesiae imaginem praesignavit* || Briçonnet (1519) a.ii.^v *HL* 27 (1978) 90.

presbyteralis (gr. πρεσβύτερος) adj.: **priestly** *et hic gessi presbijterale decus* || Adam Jordaens: *Epitaphium Fr. Joannis de Weerde Brugensis*. 1479 *HL* 22 (1973) 97.

pressor subst.: **printer** *iniqui pressoris vicio falsifica manu* || Daniele Gaetani: *Ad Harmonium Marsum*. ≈ 1527, v. 12 *HL-S* 1 (1978) 2.

priapalia subst.: **Priapus festival** *lustra, Floralia, Priapalia* || Johannes Antonius Campanus: *Oratio in conventu Ratisponensi ad exhortandos principes Germanorum contra Turcos* Rome 1487, § 37 *HL* 28 (1979) 109.

primaria (n. pl.) subst.: **acrostich** *collige primaria* || Adam Jordaens: *Epitaph of Henricus De Merica*. Louvain 1473 *HL* 22 (1973) 98.

primitius fructus = **primitiae** subst.: *si tibi hunc libellum, hoc est ingenioli nostri fructus primitios dedicarem* || Laevinus Torrentius: *Europae lamentatio*. Gandavi 1544 praef. *HL* 22 (1973) 160.

***principatus, -us** subst.: **principality** *de certa bituminis naturalis speciei inventa ... in principatu Neocomensi* || Wallin (1722) p. 58 *HL* 28 (1979) 267.

- prioratus** subst.: 1. **prior's dignity** *officii prioratus pertaesus* || Petrus Trudonensis: *Origo et progressus monasterii Martiniani*. Louvain, 2nd half of 17th cent p. 64 l. 22 *HL* 22 (1973) 91.
2. **priory** *habuit praeterea prioratum quendam Rhedonensem in dioecesi Cadurcensi* || Nancelius (1599) 56 *HL* 24 (1975) 242.
- proniter** adv.: **headforemost** *donec confixa lapillo bombardae scopulo cecidit tum proniter alto* || Joannes Rhellicanus: *Stockhornias*. Zürich 1555, v. 81 *HL* 32 (1983) 223.
- prooemialis** (gr. προοίμιον) adj.: **prefatory** *Proëmiali Declaratione* || Philippus Couplet et al.: *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus, sive Scientia Sinensis latine exposita*. Parisiis 1687 *HL* 33 (1984) 322.
- *prorex** subst.: **viceroy** *ad ... Regnique Neapolitani Proregem* || Simon Verepaeus: letter to Antonius Perrenotus. Mechlin 1574 § 1 *HL* 23 (1974) 302.
- *protectrix** (post-class. protector) subst.: **protectress** *devotissimam martirem protectricem meam proprio motu mihi delegi* || Petrus Carmelianus: *Beatae Katerinae Egyptiae, Christi sponsae, vita*. between 1483 and 1485, Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, ms. 196 (praefatio) *HL* 33 (1984) 93.
- protestans** adj.: **protestant** *in regno protestanti apostasiam Henrici commendat* || Stettler, 1728? *HL* 30 (1981) 234.
- protopalaestria** (gr. πρῶτος + παλαίστρα) subst.: **champion** *vide quae et quanta sim, qualisve protopalaestria* || Macropedius (1538) v. 1042 *HL* 31 (1982) 115.
- protovates** (gr. πρῶτος + lat. vates) subst.: **archpoet** *Protovates Angliae* || Found in: William Lily: *Antibossicon*. London 1521 *HL* 26 (1977) 106.
- protrahere** verb: **to draw** *alius autem monachus in depingendo protrahendoque celeber* || Cornelius Scepperus: letter to S.v. Herberstein. Brussels 1539 *HL* 31 (1982) 148.
- proverbiascere** verb: **to get to be a byword** *nam quod de praelio passim proverbiascit (sanguinolentam, viz. esse pugnam unde nemo fugit), idem plerumque accidit in prelo* || Clarke (1632) p. 388 *HL* 25 (1976) 280.
- pseudomagus** (gr. ψεῦδος + μάγος) subst. **false magician** *quid pseudomagis reliquum est, quo naturalia esse nomina defendant?* || Joh. Becanus Goropius: *Opera hactenus non edita*. Antwerp 1580 p. 15 *HL* 22 (1973) 333.
- puerascere, -escere** verb: **to be a child** *quid igitur tanti principis, regis regum puerescentes animas spernis* || Briçonnet (1519) c.iii^v *HL* 27 (1978) 104 *at hi stare loco nesciunt, puerascentes, et rota figulari mobiliores omnia liguriunt* || Briçonnet (1520) c.iii^v *HL* 27 (1978) 121 *verum hodie multa ex parte, seu aetatem puerilesve mores spectes, puerascens est ecclesia* || Briçonnet (1520) d.ii^v *HL* 27 (1978) 124.
- *pulmonalis** adj.: **lung-**
Thomas Tarpley: *Dissertatio Medica Inauguralis, de Phthisi Pulmonali*. Lugduni Batavorum 1773 *HL* 31 (1982) 181.
- *pulsitare** verb: **to knock repeatedly** *Hieronymum dominum meum si fors maritus pulsitando offenderit* || Macropedius (1538) v. 219 *HL* 31 (1982) 90.
- pumificatus** (lat. pumex) adj.: **polished** *volvas Daedalo meditata sophismata sensu, et lima patrii pumificata sophi* || Poem of James Foullis, publ. in Robert Caubraith: *Quadrupertitum*. Paris 1510, v. 20 *HL* 24 (1975) 134.

- pupillula** subst.: **a little orphan girl** *clarisque iam Epidaurii beneficio est pupillulis* || Chilius (1533) v. 656 *HL* 23 (1974) 93.
- *quadregesimalis** adj.: **lenten homilies in omnes epistolas quadregesimales** || Rhetius (1574A) § 24 *HL* 23 (1974) 288.
- *quaestionarium** subst.: **questionnaire**
 Juan Diza Arce: *Quaestionarium expositivum pro clariori intelligentia Sacrorum Biblitorum*. Mexico 1647 *HL* 30 (1981) 141.
- quassitare** verb: **to toss violently** *bonam mihi spem praestitere Apollinis responsa, lauro quassitata Pythica* || Chilius (1533) v. 219 *HL* 23 (1974) 69.
- *quaternio** subst.: **quire** *cum primos tres Etymologiae quaterniones Scoeffero misisses* || Simon Verepaeus: letter to Johannes Moretus. Bois-le-Duc 1590 § 1 *HL* 23 (1974) 323. *cum postremos mitteres quaterniones* || Simon Verepaeus: letter to Johannes Moretus. Bois-le-Duc 1590 § 4 *HL* 23 (1974) 324.
- quatricentenus** = **quadragesimus** (cf. Du Cange: *quatricentum*) adj: **anno milleno quatricenteno quinto et quaterdeno** || Cyriacus Aconitanus. E.W. Bodnar/Ch. Mitchell: *Cyriacus of Ancona's Journeys in the Propontis a. Northern Aegean 1444-1445*. Philadelphia 1976 l. 1057 *HK* 32 (1983) 64.
- quidificus** subst.: **(a grammatical term) quem largitur ratio voci modus attribuens esse quidificum** || Argentein (1470) v. 17 *HL* 33 (1984) 80.
- *quiditas** subst.: **essence of a thing** *suam accidentia ipsa quiditatem habent* || Schifaldus (15th cent.) l. 164 *HL* 32 (1983) 122.
- quintare** verb: **to take a fifth from (as taxes)** *parochum decimat quintatve colonus pastorisque sui tergora glutit ovis* || Schwindrazhemius (1768) v. 117 *HL* 29 (1980) 296.
- ramifer** adj.: **bearing to branch** *ramifera ... diva columba* || Elijah Corlet: funeralary elegy on Thomas Hooker. Cambridge, Mass. 1647 v. 20 *HL* 23 (1974) 350.
- rangifer** (cf. Du Cange s.v.) subst.: **reindeer** *rangifer hic lances epulis ... instruit* || Anon.: *Ad contemptorem Lapponiae*. ≈ 1740 v. 3 *HL* 22 (1973) 325. *montani vivunt fere ex rangiferis suis* || Johannes Schefferus: *Lapponia*. Sweden 1673 p. 215 *HL* 22 (1973) 327.
- rangiferinus** (s. *rangifer*) adj.: **of a reindeer** *vestes ex pellibus rangiferinis habent* || Johannes Schefferus: *Lapponia*. Sweden 1673 p. 208 *HL* 22 (1973) 327.
- *recommittere** verb: **to commit to someone's charge** *dominationi vestre cui me humiliter recommitto* || Archivio di Stato di Milano, Studi. Parte Antica, 434 (2nd half of 15th cent.) *HL* 31 (1982) 73.
- recongelatus** adj.: **frozen again** *liquore molli in duos lapides recongelato* || Auratus (1552) v. 20 *HL* 22 (1973) 209.
- *rectoratus, -us** subst.: **rectorate** *in sua rectoratus sede claruit cum laude* || Archivio di Stato di Milano, Studi. Parte Antica, 434 (2nd half of 15th cent.) *HL* 31 (1982) 57. *ad cuius rectoratus dignitatem promoti sunt duo* || Archivio di Stato di Milano, Studi. Parte Antica, 434 (2nd half of 15th cent.) *HL* 31 (1982) 59. *rectoratus potius cedere quam in dubium revocare* || Archivio di Stato di Milano, Studi. Parte Antica, 434 (2nd half of 15th cent.) *HL* 31 (1982) 60. *nacti opportunitatem istius rectoratus* || Archivio di Stato di Milano, Missive, 119, f. 174^v. 1474 *HL* 31 (1982) 61. *de rectoratus*

- dignitate* || Archivio di Stato di Milano, Studi. Parte Antica, 434. 1481bis *HL* 31 (1982) 68f. [*sc. oratio*] *habita d. 8 Febr. MDCXXVIII cum rectoratum deponeret* || Petrus Cunaeus: *Oratio IV*. Leiden 1628; Leiden University Library, Ms. Cun. 8; posthumously published in: *Viri Cl. Petri Cunaei J. C. Orationes Varii argumenti* Leiden 1641 *HL* 33 (1984) 153.
- rectorius** adj.: of a rector *hac rectoria dignitate ornet* || Archivio di Stato di Milano, Studi. Parte Antica, 434 (2nd half of 15th cent.) *HL* 31 (1982) 60.
- ***reductive** adv.: *opponitur 'sua natura' omne fere verbum aut suapte natura aut reductive in aliqua harum coniugationum ... inveniatur* || Schifaldus (15th cent.) l. 611 *HL* 32 (1983) 136.
- ***refectorium** (lat. *reficere*) subst.: **refectory** *ludimagistro conceditur refectorium pro Aulularia Plauti agenda* || *Acta Capituli* (to 28.8.1525) in: A.C. De Schrevel: *Histoire du séminaire de Bruges*. Bruges 1895 I, 134 *HL* 23 (1974) 43. *ludimagistro conceditur posse agere Plutum Aristophanis in refectorio* || *Acta Capituli* (to 4.7.1525) in: A.C. De Schrevel: *Histoire du séminaire de Bruges*. Bruges 1895 I, 135 *HL* 23 (1974) 44.
- ***regentare** verb.: **to be a professor** *libri quos in Artibus in Collegio Montis Acuti Parisius regentando in lucem emisit* || publ. by Johannes Maior Scotus, Lyons 1516 *HL* 26 (1977) 99.
- reintitulatus** adj.: **enrolled a second time** *Magister Symon Verrept, reintitulatus* || Matriculation entry 30.8.1542, Univ. Louvain, In: A Schillings: *Matricule de l'Université de Louvain*. t. iv, p. 703, 83. *HL* 23 (1974) 271.
- reiuvenescere** verb.: **to become young again** *nunc reiuvenesco senex* || Correr (1429) v. 186 *HL* 29 (1980) 40.
- relectio** subst.: **re-reading**
Juan Diaz Arce: *Positiva relectio super psalmum 132*. Mexico 1631 *HL* 30 (1981) 141.
- ***religio** (cf. Niermeyer: "monastic community") subst.: **religious order** *praeterea facticias religiones ... caeca aemulatione ita accendi videmus ut parum conveniat* || Briçonnet (1520) c.ii^v *HL* 27 (1978) 118. *dicis te aut ... religionis cui addictitius es, ... praetextu non posse ...* || Briçonnet (1520) d.i.^v *HL* 27 (1978) 122.
- reluctitari** verb.: **to resist** *quibus inopia reluctitans ludit operam* || Chilius (1533) Argum. v. 11 *HL* 23 (1974) 56.
- remirari** verb.: **to admire (pro demirari?)** *regem gens subdita observat, cupit, probat, remiratur* || Lancinus Curtius: *Supplicationes ad Ludovici Regis Francorum et Ducis Mediolani soteria, 1505 Mediolani acta*. v. 43 *HL* 26 (1977) 41.
- renitescere** verb.: **to shine** *his [sc. literis] omnia in commodiora renitescunt* || Moringus (1526) f. 263^v *HL* 29 (1980) 206.
- repetitor** subst.: **teacher** *quum enim accepi, ..., te creatum esse repetitorem* || Agnelius Salernitanus: letter to Antonio Angelo. middle of 15th century?, Vat. lat. 2906, f. 91^r *HL* 29 (1980) 133.
- reprehensorius** adj.: **refutative** *Quas (sc. artes liberales) quidem ita tractari a se asserebat, ut alteram partem ἐλεγκτικὴν, reprehensoriam vocaret, alteram autem ἀποδεικτικὴν, demonstrativam* || Nancelius (1599) 43 *HL* 24 (1975) 222.

repugnax adj.: **resisting** *atque aequis cupitis pareat haud nimium repugnax* || Johannes Phil. Paraeus: *Poemata* s.l. 1616 p. 32 *HL* 22 (1973) 224.

***rescribendarius** subst.: **Church official**

Found in an epitaph from 1489, in V. Forcella: *Iscrizioni delle chiese ed altri edifici di Roma* ... Rome 1861-1884, VI 100 *HL* 28 (1979) 181.

***residentia** subst.: **residence** *nec putet quis non residentiarum praetextu paria prioribus annis impune ausurum* || Briçonnet (1519) b.iii.v *HL* 27 (1978) 99 *quid enim praebendae residentiam praetexis?* || Briçonnet (1520) d.ii *HL* 27 (1978) 123.

Rhenigena adj.: **born at the Rhine** *Hic redit in magnam Matrem Gregorius, olim Rhenigena et civis, o Goar alme, tuus* || Adam Jordaens: *Epitaphium F. Gregorij Riet de Sto. Goare*. 1479 *HL* 22 (1973) 97.

rhetorialis (gr. ῥητορικός) adj.: **rhetorical** *Cantus Rhetorialis* || Argentein (1470) v. 28 *HL* 33 (1984) 81.

***rhythmus** (gr. ῥυθμός) subst.: **sonnet** *multos et carmina et rithmos latino et vernaculo sermone composuit* || Servatius Aedicollus: *Francisci Petrarche vita ... breviter collecta*. Deventer 1508, l. 54 *HL* 29 (1980) 174.

rimatrix (late Lat. rimator) subst.: **female investigator** *physica rerum causarumque rimatrix* || Guarinus Veronensis: *Oratio*. 1442?; found in: L. Capra: *Una prolusione di Guarino*. In: *Giornale filologico ferrarese*, 6 (1983), 37-50 *HL* 33 (1984) 348.

rosariolum subst.: **rosary** *virgini annueramus rosariola et salutatiunculas* || Erasmus: *Colloquia*, 1529. In: *Opera omnia*. Amsterdam 1952 I,3 p. 535 l. 1473 *HL* 28 (1979) 347.

***rosarium** subst.: **a rosary** *aliquid de coraliis Ecclesiae, Agnos-dei dico, Rosarium, et siquid tale* || Justus Lipsius: letter to Franciscus Bencius. Liège 1591 *HL* 23 (1974) 268.

rugulae subst.: **wrinkles** *videbis faciem ei totam esse aratam rugulis senilibus* || Chilii (1533) v. 1100 *HL* 23 (1974) 117.

rusor subst.: **(quid?) paulatim rusor inuret nomen rusoris, quamvis latus integer addas** || Gregorius Corrarus: *Liber Satyrarum*. Sat. V, v. 30 *HL* 22 (1973) 33.

***sacellanus** adj.: **sacristan** *in gymnasiarcham ... eligebaturque, suffragantibus Sacellano seu Capellano dicto et Procuratore domus* || Nancelius (1599) 57 *HL* 24 (1975) 242.

sacramentaliter adv.: **by means of a sacrament** *instructionem ad rite confitendum, et communicandum tum spiritualiter, tum sacramentaliter* || Rhetius (1574A) § 28 *HL* 23 (1974) 289.

sacrificularius adj.: **of a priest (contemptuously)** *meretrix sacrificularia* || Macropedius (1539) v. 902 *HL* 31 (1982) 110.

saecularitas subst.: **worldlines** *priusquam secularitatis cuiuslibet aliquanti eius illaberetur animo* || Liber Fratrum of Sint-Maartensdal anno 1466. Brussels, Rijksarchief: Kerkelijk Archief van Brabant 20437 bis, f. 1v *HL* 22 (1973) 90.

sarissifer = sarissophorus (gr. σάρισα) adj.: **saepe sarissiferi crudelia pectora Thracis supplicis ad moestas deliquere preces** John Milton: *Elegia Quarta*. v. 65. 1629 *HL* 27 (1978) 250.

- satrix** subst.: **begetter, mother** *Furiarum satrix* || Joseph Simons: *Tragoediae Quinque*. Leodii 1656, p. 464 *HL* 32 (1983) 319.
- scalere** = **squalere** verb: *tua gravi scalebat antehac Civitas caligine* || Erasmus: *In commentarios D.B. Andree Tholozani poete*. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 360 f. V^v *HL* 27 (1978) 48.
- scannagium** = **cultellum** (mlat. scanare) subst.: *ius scannagii seu cultelli* || Salerno, 16th century. Found in: P.S. Piacentini: *Lettere di un ignoto umanista*. In: *HL* 29 (1980) 137.
- Scaphusianus** adj.: **from Schafhausen** *D. Ziegler Scaphusianus medicinae doctor* || Stettler, 7 June 1728 *HL* 30 (1981) 229.
- *scarlatinus** (pers. sägírlat) adj.: **scarlet**
Nicholas Baker Waters: *Tentamen Medicum Inaugurale, de Scarlatina Cynanchica*. Philadelphia 1788 *HL* 31 (1982) 184.
- *sclopus** subst.: **gun** *utraque sed tandem cautis fit praeda colonis, dum sclopo e latebris, plumbea tela vomunt* || Bossche (1657) *HL* 31 (1982) 195.
- *sculptorius** subst.: **sculpture** *Academia regia artis pictoriae et sculptoriae* || Wallin (1722) between p. 91 and 102 *HL* 28 (1979) 271.
- scutellula** subst.: **a small salver** *argenteas ... patinas putresque scutellulas* || Chilius (1533) v. 841 *HL* 23 (1974) 101.
- sebasma** (gr. σέβασμα) subst.: **a sacred object** *monstrat Reliquias atque Sebas-mata* || Anon. *Traiect. laus* v. 149 *HL* 23 (1974) 210.
- secessum** subst.: **retreat** *heri fecistis secessum spirituale, faciamus nos secessum scholare menstruum ut videamus quid egerimus* || Aurelio Espinosa Pólit: diary on 7 Oct. 1918 (unedit.) Quito *HL* 27 (1978) 277.
- *secretarius** subst.: **secretary** *Lapus Flavio Forliviensi Pontificis Maximi secretario s. p. d.* || Lapo da Castiglionchio: letter to Flavio Biondo. Bologna 1437 *HL* 23 (1974) 19. *Trinumnum Plauti a Czelinio, regiae Maiestatis secretario, in Polonicam linguam conversum* || Daniel Hermannus: *Discursus philosophicus de rana et lacerta succino Borussico insitis*. Rigae 1600 praef. *HL* 26 (1977) 205.
Found in an epitaph from 1466, in V. Forcella: *Iscrizioni delle chiese ed altri edifici di Roma ...*. Rome 1861-1884, XIII 1256 *HL* 28 (1979) 180.
- *semifractus** adj.: **half-broken**
In the 1673 edition of John Milton's *Poemata* "praeruptaque" at *In Quintum Novembrem* v. 143 has been altered to "semifractaque" *HL* 27 (1978) 247.
- *seminarium** subst.: **seminary** *docet Antverpiae in Seminario* || Verepaeus (1574) § 30 *HL* 23 (1974) 299.
- seminaufragus** adj.: **half drowned** *seminaufragus iam vix e gurgite vixque prodiissem* || Auratus (1552) v. 80 *HL* 22 (1973) 211.
- semipartus** adj.: **half conquered** *quae reliquit mors tibi trophaea semiparta* || Iohannes Auratus (Dorat): *Ad Regem Exhortatio* (1576) v. 432 *HL* 26 (1977) 200.
- *septennalis** adj.: **of seven years** *talís muliercula in ea [sc. tellure] extiterit, quae septennali jejunio orbis miracula auxit* || Stettler, 7 June 1728 *HL* 30 (1981) 229.

- septiceps** adj.: **with seven heads** *hydram illam haereseos septicipitem* || Georgius Holonius: *Laurentias*. Tragoedia de martyrio constantissimi levitae D. Laurentii Romae sub Decio passi. Antverpiae 1556, Stadtbibliothek Trier (Sig. 5/728 8^o) Aii^v *HL* 39 (1981) 160.
- *sesquiannus** subst.: **one and a half year** *propositum stipendium duobus dividendor, qui sesquianno descriptam professionem aequi partibus exequantur* || Nancelius (1599) 83 *HL* 24 (1975) 276.
- sesquimillesimus** adj.: **1500th** *decimoquarto calendas Apriles, anni sequimillesimi trigesimi secundi* || Chilius (1533) dedic. letter § 16 *HL* 23 (1974) 56.
- signatura** subst.: **drawing, map** *intellexi velle videre Magnificentiam vestram signaturam totius terre Moscovie* || Ivan Ljackij: letter to S.v. Herberstein. Wilna 1541 *HL* 31 (1982) 149.
- *simeus** (gr. σιμός) adj.: **simus** *Quem circum simeae quondam unica cura capellae/Errant* || Erasmus: *Carmen bucolicum*. 1,4; 1483. Printed in: Albert Hyma: *The Youth of Erasmus*. University of Michigan Publications: History and Political Science, 10 (Ann Arbor, 1930) *HL* 33 (1984) 103; but see now H. Vredeveld in *HL* 37 (1988).
- Skia** subst.: **the island Skye** *quam grata defesso virentem Skia sinum nebulosa pandis* || Samuel Johnson: *Skia*. 18th century; in: J.D. Fleeman: *Samuel Johnson: The Complete English Poems*. Middlesex 1971 *HL* 28 (1979) 296.
- somnollescere** verb: **to take a nap** *quod pastores in ea segnes sterterent ac somnollescerent* || Briçonnet (1519) a.ii^v *HL* 27 (1978) 90.
- specilla, -orum** subst.: **eye-glasses** *qui [sc. oculi] etiam extrema etate specillorum ope non egebant* || Servatius Aedicollus: *Francisci Petrarche vita ... breviter collecta*. Deventer 1508, l. 14 *HL* 29 (1980) 173.
- spingula** (mlat. spingarda?) subst.: **a weapon** *memini ... tibi nonnullas (ut aiunt) spingulas spopondisse* || Agnelius Salernitanus: letter to his brother Adrianus. middle of 15th century?, Vat. lat. 2906, f. 90^v *HL* 29 (1980) 130.
- statisticus** adj.: **concerning state affairs** *Ioh.Cochanovius Elegiae et alia miscell. Theol. et Statistica 1552-63*. || Found in: Biblioteka Narodowa, Warszawa, ms. IV 4522, 16th cent. *HL* 27 (1978) 183.
- stigmaticus** (gr. στίγμα) adj.: **branded** *genus homunculorum ... exclamat in me, ceu stigmaticum quendam sacrilegum aut fratricidam* || Clarke (1632) p. 382 *HL* 25 (1976) 272.
- stolidescere** verb: **to be dull** *ast pastores licet intelligentes stolidescunt brutescuntque ac deserunt* || Briçonnet (1520) c.iii. v *HL* 27 (1978) 121.
- streperus** (lat. strepere) adj.: **noisy** *streperi longa duella fori* || Anon.: *Ad contemptorem Lapponiae*. ≈ 1740 v. 12 *HL* 22 (1973) 326. *pars intermedio, diversis pondere ramis respondens streperos tollit acuta sonos* || Basilius Plinius (Plön): *Encomion inclitae civitatis Rigae metropolis Livoniae*. Leipzig 1595 v. 642 *HL* 22 (1973) 328.
- studiolum** subst.: **study (room)** *ex studiolo meo* || Agnelius Salernitanus: letter to Carlo de Ruggiero. middle of 15th century?, Vat. lat. 2906, f. 92^r-92^v *HL* 29 (1980) 139.
- studiosulus** subst.: **young student** *septem jam fere millia [sc. copies of the 'Formulae'] ... palam divendita in studiosulorum manibus terentur passim* || Clarke (1632) p. 380 *HL* 25 (1976) 270.

- *studium** subst.: **university** *hic quartodecimo vitae anno Parrhisios, prestantissimum bonarum artium Studium, se contulit* || Ioannes Ludovicus Vives: *Vita Ioannis Dullardi* § 2. In: Iohannes Dullardus: *Expositio in libros Meteororum*. Paris ²1514 *HL* 26 (1977) 93.
- stupidulus** adj.: **dull, foolish** *at in stupidulum si incidam ... virum* || Chilius (1533) v. 248 *HL* 23 (1974) 71.
- subasperatus** adj.: **irritated** *deique bonitatem peccatis ovium subasperatam leniunt* || Briçonnet (1519) b.i.^r *HL* 27 (1978) 111.
- subcrispare** verb: **to wrinkle** *subcrispat rabiem rugis* || Dati (1441 or 42) v. 120 *HL* 25 (1976) 104.
- subditio** subst.: **subjection** *Gallorumne velint subditione tegi* || Torrentius Laevinius: *Gelrogallorum grassatio*. Louvain 1542 v. 48 *HL* 22 (1973) 155.
- subfingere** verb: **to mask** *iuvabit ... artibus subfingere* || Dati (1441 or 1442) v. 473 *HL* 25 (1976) 128.
- subimpus** adj.: **indelicate** *malui subimpus, quam perignavus videri* || Coriolanus Martiranus: *Tragoediae VIII* Neapoli 1556, dedic. letter *HL* 27 (1978) 164.
- sublongus** adj.: **rather long** *fuit vir humili nonnihl corpore ac eberbis, naso sublongo* || Ioannes Ludovicus Vives: *Vita Ioannis Dullardi* § 5. Iohannes Dullardus: *Expositio in libros Meteororum*. Paris ²1514 *HL* 26 (1977) 94.
- *submonitor** subst.: **prompter** *in theatro autem submonitor ac dictator seu choragus* || Nancelius (1599) 15 *HL* 24 (1975) 182. *ubi literas Graecas aut mathemata domi discebat αὐτοδιδάκτος, vel adhibito submonitore* || Nancelius (1599) 25 *HL* 24 (1975) 196. *Ramus discit, et docet suos submonitores* || Nancelius (1599) 27 *HL* 24 (1975) 198. *Platonis epistolas tum ope lexicī, tum opera submonitorum Latinas fecit* || Nancelius (1599) 32 *HL* 24 (1975) 206.
- *subticere** verb: **to conceal** *secretioris forsā causae, quam subtices ... praetextu* || Briçonnet (1520) d.i.^v *HL* 27 (1978) 122.
- subviarium vehiculum** adj.: **underground, metro** Joseph Tusiani: *In vehiculo subviario*. In: *The Classical Outlook* (51, 3, 1973) p. 76 *HL* 33 (1984) 201.
- *succludere** verb: **to close** *alae ... oculos ... succludunt luteos sinu* || Dati (1441 or 42) v. 126 *HL* 25 (1976) 104.
- *sultanus** (arab.) subst.: **sultan** *Epithaphion (!) Mahumeti Sultani Grecorum atque Turchorum imperatoris* || Anon. epitaph, after 1481. Barcelona, Bibliot. de Cataluña, 1010 p. 213 *HL* 27 (1978) 59. *Sultanus cum animo suo reputavit, quantum detrimentum civium suorum mores ab hac desidiā ceperint* || Stettler, 18 January 1729 *HL* 30 (1981) 228.
- *superbenedictus** adj.: **absolutely blessed** *superbenedicti dei* || Briçonnet (1519) a.ii.^r, c.ii.^r, c.iii.^v; Briçonnet (1520) a.iii.^r *HL* 27 (1978) 89, 101, 104; 110. *superbenedicti IHESU* || Briçonnet (1519) b.iii.^r; Briçonnet (1520) c.i.^r *HL* 27 (1978) 98; 116. *superbenedicta bonitas* || Briçonnet (1519) c.vi.^r; Briçonnet (1520) a.iii.^v *HL* 27 (1978) 106; 109. *superbenedictus et superbonus deus* || Briçonnet (1520) d.iii.^v *HL* 27 (1978) 126.
- superbenignus** adj.: **absolutely obliging** *superbenigni domini mei IHESU* || Briçonnet (1519) b. .^v *HL* 27 (1978) 98. *superbenigni IESU* || Briçonnet (1520) b.iii.^v, d.i.^v, d.iii.^v *HL* 27 (1978) 115, 122, 127.

- *superbonus** adj.: **absolutely good** *superbono deo* || Briçonnet (1519) b.ii.^r, c.ii.^v, c.iii.^r; Briçonnet (1520) a.ii.^r, a.iii.^v *HL* 27 (1978) 95, 101, 103; 107, 109. *superbone IHESU* || Briçonnet (1519) c.i.^r c.v.^v; Briçonnet (1520) c.iii.^r *HL* 27 (1978) 99, 105; 119. *superbenedictus et superbonus deus* || Briçonnet (1520) d.iii.^v *HL* 27 (1978) 126.
- *supercoelestis** adj.: **absolutely heavenly** *neque dormit supercoelestis benignitas* || Briçonnet (1519) a.ii.^v *HL* 27 (1978) 90. *desertor militiae supercoelestis, et ob id iure exauctorandus* || Briçonnet (1519) c.iii.^v *HL* 27 (1978) 104.
- supererrare** = super errare, verb: *si spiritus extremus adhuc supererret, ore legam meo* || Petrus Cunaeus: *Tragoedia Dido*. Leiden, probably 1st half of 17th century. In: Iacobus Geel: *Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum qui inde ab anno 1741 Bibliothecae Lugduno Batavae accesserunt*. Leiden 1852, Cun. 7 *HL* 33 (1984) 197.
- supervivere** verb: **to survive** *genitor evixit super, restaret ut hoc tempore infoelix pater* || Correr (1429) v. 471 *HL* 29 (1980) 58.
- *superpluere** verb: **to send rain on** *ut nubes rore concrescant et iustum (cordibus videlicet fidelium) superpluant* || Briçonnet (1519) c.i.^r *HL* 27 (1978) 99.
- supprior** subst.: **subprior** *primis Supprior annis continuis novies ter fuit* || Adam Jordaens: *Epitaphium F. Jacobi de Westenschouwe supprioris*. 1480 v. 5 *HL* 22 (1973) 96.
- *suppullulare** (lat. pullulus) verb: **tp sprout forth** *en hydram Lernaeam! uno scilicet amputato calumniae capite suppullulant alia* || Clarke (1632) p. 382 *HL* 25 (1976) p. 272.
- *surdere** verb: **to be deaf** *forte nec ad nostras surdeat illa preces* || John Milton: *Elegia septima*. 1620 v. 90 *HL* 27 (1978) 238 sqq., 243 (n. 19), 245.
- syllabarius** (gr. συλλαβή) adj.: **syllabic** *neque satis constans illi foret quantitatis syllabariae ratio* || Nancelius (1599) 33 *HL* 24 (1975) 208.
- sympotria** = compotrix (gr. συμπότρια) subst. *quaeram meas sympotrias* || Macropedius (1538) v. 123 *HL* 31 (1982) 86. *redeo ad meas sympotrias* || Macropedius (1538) v. 312 *HL* 31 (1982) 93.
- sympresbyter** (gr. συμπρεσβύτερος) subst.: **Brother priest** *sympresbyteris - συνθεόλογος* || Erasmus: letter of 1525. In: P.S. Allen: *Opus epistolarum des. Erasmi Roterodami*, Vol. VI, 1581:21. Oxford 1926 *HL* 30 (1981) 65.
- *synodalis** (gr. σύνοδος) adj.: **of a synod** *Sermo Synodalis R. In Christo patris D. Guillermi Meldensis Episcopi: habitus Meldensis anno 1519* || Briçonnet (1519) a.ii.^r *HL* 27 (1978) 89. *quis vel utroque captus oculo dixerit esse synodalem coetum agere obiter (et ut canis e Nilo) extremis labiis lambere et abire* || Briçonnet (1519) b.iii.^r *HL* 27 (1978) 98. *Alter Sermo Synodalis R. in Christo patris D. Guillermi* || Briçonnet (1520) a.ii.^r *HL* 27 (1978) 107.
- syntagma** (gr. σύνταγμα) subst.: **collection**
Joachim Niseus: *Mellificium sive syntagma deliciarum*. Francofurti 1606 *HL* 33 (1984) 140.
- *synteresis** (gr. συντήρησις) subst.: **conscience** *pungente synteresi commoniti, aut veris dominis restituant* || Nancelius (1599) 78 *HL* 24 (1975) 272.
- tabacchalaureus** (s. tabbachon) subst.: **'tobachelor'** *at qui tabacci sic amat fumum miser ... audiat pro Bacchalaureus Tabacchalaureus*. || Charles Fitzgeffrey: *In*

- Lytum.* v. 15. In: *Affaniae sive Epigrammatum libri tres.* Oxford 1601 *HL* 26 (1977) 116.
- tabacchon** (span. tabaco) subst.: **tobacco Peruviani** (*quod Tabacchon dictitant*) *aconiti hiatu* || Carles Fitzgeffrey: *In Lytum.* v. 7. In: *Affaniae sive Epigrammatum libri tres.* Oxford 1601 *HL* 26 (1977) 116.
- tabulatus, -us** subst.: **carpentry templum** ..., *quod miro tabulatu, priscam tectonicen probat* || anon. Traiect. laus v. 167 *HL* 23 (1974) 210.
- tectonice** (gr. τεκτονική) subst.: **building templum** ..., *quod miro tabulatu, priscam tectonicen probat* || Anon. Traiect. laus v. 168 *HL* 23 (1974) 210.
- *temo navis** subst.: **tiller neque quicquam vetat remos, antemnam, artemonem** [*ceteri editores: temonem*], *foros et huiusmodi fragmenta navis vocari* || Erasmus: *Apologia ad annotationes Stunicae.* 1521; in: *Opera omnia.* Amsterdam 1983 IX,2 p. 162 l. 979 *HL* 33 (1984) 316.
- *tenor** subst.: **tenor (voice) vox gravis, aut graviore paulo altior (inter basin et tenorem media) sonora tamen** || Nancelius (1599) 48 *HL* 24 (1975) 228. *tu tenor es, Silvevoorts* || Laurentius Breynet: *Musica gratulatoria.* Louvain 1603 *HL* 30 (1981) 241.
- *terrestreitas** subst.: **earthliness quatenus quicquid terrestreitatis et faecis inest, exinaniatur et depuretur** || Briçonnet (1520) a. ""v *HL* 27 (1978) 110.
- tetradicus** (gr. τετραδικός) adj.: **quaternity (in metrics) tertia** [*sc. species iuncturae*] *tetradicum hexasimum* [*sc. a graecis dicitur*] *ut antipasticum et choriambicum* || Niccolò Perotti: *De generibus metrorum.* 1453 *HL* 30 (1981) 15.
- tetrificus** adj.: **uglifying nox ubi tetrificis terram profuderit umbris** || Foullis (1512) I,149 *HL* 24 (1975) 113.
- thalerus** (abbr. for: a coin from the mine St. Joachimsthal/Böhmen) subst.: **thaler summa 300 thalerorum** || Stettler, 4 January 1729 *HL* 30 (1981) 231.
- thea/thia** (chin. tē) subst.: **tea**
Petit Petrus: *Epos de vi et praestantia thiae Sinensis.* France 17th cent., publ. in: *VOX LATINA*, 13 (1977), 201-209. *HL* 26 (1977) 249.
- theologalis** (gr. θεολόγος) adj.: **theological** *De Rami virtutibus Theologalibus* || Nancelius (1599) 62 *HL* 24 (1975) 250.
- theophilosophicus** (gr. θεός + φιλοσοφικός) adj.: **theological and philosophical opusculum theophilosophicum** || Francisco Javier Lazcano: *Opusculum theophilosophicum de principatu seu antelatione Marianae gratiae.* Mexico 1755 *HL* 30 (1981) 153.
- thermometrum** (gr. θερμός + μέτρον) subst.: **thermometer pensum esse quasi thermometrum (sit venia verbo) fervoris scholae** || Aurelio Espinosa Pólit: diary on 7 Oct. 1918 (unedit.) Quito *HL* 27 (1978) 277.
- *thesaurarius** (gr. θησαυρός) subst.: **treasurer** *Ad reverendum generosumque dominum Georgium Ambasiarum ... protonotarium Thesaurariumque Roto-magensem* || Antonius Sylviolus (Forestier): *Elegia de generis nobilitate.* In: *Sylvula.* Pavia 1508 C.1^v *HL* 26 (1977) 61.
- thymetum** (gr. θύμων) subst.: **thyme-field Porcus in Thymeto** || Poem by Gregorio Arcila Robledo. In: *Gymnasium, Commentarium Bossense in Seminario Claretiano* 2 (1951), 88 *HL* 24 (1975) 319.

- timidiusculus** adj.: **craven** *desinant ceu canes timidiusculi cauda adblanditi coram* || Clarke (1632) p. 384 *HL* 25 (1976) 276.
- *topograohicus** (gr. τόπος + γράφος) subst.: **geographical** *De Belgis vita scriptisq. claris. praemissa topographia Belgii totius* || Valerius Andreas Desselius: *Bibliotheca Belgica* ... Louvain ²1643 *HL* 32 (1983) 405.
- *tormentum** subst.: **gun** *nuntiatur Anglos ... navem ... 60 tormentis, trecentisque militibus onustam intercepisse* || Stettler, 29 March 1728 *HL* 30 (1981) 227.
- tractitare** verb: **to practice** *alii aliud exercitium honestum tractitent* || Macrope-dius (1538) v. 14 *HL* 31 (1982) 81.
- traductio** subst.: **translation** *in Latinam linguam traductio non injuria mentem irrepserat* || Giannozzo Manetti: *De vita ac gestis Nicolai Quinti summi pontificis*. 1455 col. 927 *HL* 28 (1979) 31. *denique servavit hoc ... divus Hieronymus, in sacrorum voluminum traductionibus* || Gerardus Moringus: *Praefatio in epistolam priorem Petri*... Louvain 1526, Rijksarchief, Has-selt, ms 6681b, f. 285^r *HL* 29 (1980) 229.
- tragoediola** (gr. τραγῳδία) subst.: **little tragedy** *his igitur tragoediola hanc contexui* || Harmonius (1499) pref. *HL-S* 1 (1978) 25.
- *transpositio** subst.: **transfer** *quod authographiis et lituris et transpositionibus illegibilis esset* || Vincentius Hortensius: letter to S.v. Herberstein. ≈ 1536 *HL* 31 (1982) 147.
- tricornifer** adj.: **bearing the threefold crown** *cum circumgreditur totam Tricoro-nifer urbem* || John Milton: *In Quintum Novembrem*. 1626 v. 55, *HL* 27 (1978) 250.
- *trionus** adj.: **three-in-one (God)** *IHESUS ..., qui unitrinus et triunus est* || Briçonnet (1519) c.vi^r *HL* 27 (1978) 106. *princeps pastorum ..., qui unitrinus et triunus est* || Briçonnet (1520) d.iiii.^v *HL* 27 (1978) 127.
- *trivialis schola** adj.: **junior school incumbentes, non ut scholae tantum quas vocant triviales passim aperirentur || Leverett (1689) 82 *HL* 24 (1975) 334.**
- trudiculorum ludus** subst.: **a kind of tournament** Anon.: *Ludi trudiculorum in villa Jesu-Montana descriptio*. Mexico 1735 *HL* 30 (1981) 145.
- tubulus** subst.: **tobacco-pipe** *sulphureaque nubila tubuli cavata ducta per foramina ... glomerare doctus* || Charles Fitzgeffrey: *In Lytum*. v. 6. IN: *Affaniae sive Epigrammatum libri tres*. Oxford 1601 *HL* 26 (1977) 116.
- *tuipsare** verb: **"tutoyer"** *"Tu mihi"* (*semper enim tuipsando, ut aiunt, hominem alloquebatur*) || Nancelius (1599) 17 *HL* 24 (1975) 184.
- typoglyphus** (gr. τύπος + γλύφειν) subst.: **printer** *Gandavi excudebat Ioducus Lambertus Typoglyphus*. || Laevinius Torrentius: *Europae lamentatio*. Gan-davi 1544, printer's sign f. 1r *HL* 22 (1973) 159.
- typographia** (s. typographus) subst.: **printing office** *scholastica ad typographiam frequenter revocentur* || Verepaeus (1574) § 8 *HL* 23 (1974) 293. *in ipso Pontificis Maximo Palatio, et Typographia Vaticana* || Antonius Possevi-nus: letter to Justus Lipsius, 1599 *HL* 23 (1974) 254. *Catalogus librorum qui ex typographia Christophori Plantini prodierunt*. Antwerp 1584 *HL* 32 (1983) 393. *Index librorum qui ex typographia Plantiniana prodierint*. Antwerp 1596 *HL* 32 (1983) 393. *Index librorum qui ex typographia Plantiniana prodierunt*. Antwerp 1615 *HL* 33 (1984) 218.

typographicus (s. typographus) adj.: **printer's** *a mendis typographicis repurgatos* || Christophorus Plantinus: letter to Simon Verepaeus. Anvers 1587 *HL* 23 (1974) 311. *haec nostra opuscula, quae annis aliquot in scriniis Typographicis ... delituerant* || Nicolaus Nancelius: *Nancelii ... Declamationum liber*. Paris 1599, pref. letter 1594 *HL* 24 (1975) 165. *si per operas Typographicas licuisset importune festinabundas* || Augustine Lindsell (ed.): Commentaries on the letter of St. Paul by Theophylact. London 1636, corr. by Thomas Bayly, who added a letter to the reader, Π3^v *HL* 27 (1978) 144. *errata typographica* || Clarke (1632) p. 388 *HL* 25 (1976) 280.

typographium (s. typographus) subst.: **printing office** *manuscriptum viderant in typographio & bibliopolio* || Clarke (1632) p. 384 *HL* 25 (1976) 276.

typographus (gr. τυπογράφος) subst.: **printer** *huius operis typographus, Ioannes Bellerus* || Simon Verepaeus: letter to Gérard de Groesbeek. Hilvarenbeek 1567 § 9 *HL* 23 (1974) 275. *huius primae editionis Antverpiae ad signum Aquilae typographum Ioannem Bellerum* || Rhetius (1574A) § 3 *HL* 23 (1974) 281. *opera ... typis excudere statuit Maternus Cholinus ... typographus* || Rhetius (1574A) § 9 *L* 23 (1974) 283. *admone obsecro typographum ut advigilet ne ... editio mendis deformetur* || Rhetius (1574A) § 27 *HL* 23 (1974) 289. *a typographo librum accepissem* || Verepaeus (1574) § 5 *HL* 23 (1974) 292. *hanc ... methodum ... typographus semel aut iterum praelo subiecisset* || Simon Verepaeus: letter to Maternus Cholinus. Bois-le-Duc 1585 § 7 *HL* 23 (1974) 308. *libri ... in Typographorum manibus etiamnum detenti* || Simon Verepaeus: letter to Joannes Moretus. Bois-le-Duc 1593 Appendix § 20 *HL* 23 (1974) 335. *hi lucem videbunt cum eo voluntas accesserit typographorum* || Simon Verepaeus: letter to Joannes Moretus. Bois-le-Duc 1593 Appendix § 22 *HL* 23 (1974) 335. *quidam omnium literarum rudis typographus* || Hadrianus Barlandus: letter to Borsalus. Antwerp 1520 *HL* 26 (1977) 89. *Typographus Lectori* || Thomas Thomas: *Dictionarium*. London 1615 f. §4^r *HL* 27 (1978) 241. *miserandum est in manus tam mali typographi illum incidisse* || Cornelius Scepperus: letter to S.v. Herberstein. Brussels 1551 *HL* 31 (1982) 153. *in manibus typographi* || Clarke (1632) postscript p. 389? *HL* 25 (1976) 280. *venduntur hic libri vel a typographis ipsis vel a bibliopolis* || Wallin (1722) p. 48 *HL* 28 (1979) 266. *Daventriae in aedibus Alberti Paefraed typographi diligentissimi* || Albert Paffraet: colophon. In: Antonius Mancinelus: *Speculum de moribus et officiis*. Deventer 1516 *HL* 29 (1980) 167. *num mutato Typographo mendae nihilominus remaneant ... Tamen iure quodam indignor Typographum ... res meas ... foedis contaminasse manibus* || Stettler, 16 November 1728 *HL* 30 (1981) 222. *Author licet aequae notus mihi sit ac ipse Typographus* || Stettler, 16 November 1728 *HL* 30 (1981) 222. *exemplar ... nisi Coloniam, cum id typographus efflagitaret* || Cornelius Schonaeus: letter to his friend Petrus Sch(h)riverius. 1603 *HL* 33 (1984) 238.

***typotheta** (gr. τύπος + τίθημι) subst.: **printer** *passuum milia a typotheta abfuerim* || Clarke (1632) p. 388 *HL* 25 (1976) 280.

***typus** (gr. τύπος) subst.: **printing type** *illi Lugdunum Batavorum petunt, ut ingentem typorum copiam ... coemerent* || Stettler, 18 January 1729 *HL* 30 (1981) 228.

- *ultramontanus** adj.: **from north of the Alps (in Italian documents!)** *supplicatio scolarium ultramontanorum Gallorum et Theotonicorum* || Archivio di Stato di Milano, Studi. Parte Antica, 434 (2nd half of 15th cent.) *HL* 31 (1982) 58. *si ultramontanorum natio foret contenta* || Archivio di Stato di Milano, Studi. Parte Antica, 434, Pavia 1481 *HL* 31 (1982) 68. *si modo maior pars scolarium ultramontanorum consenserit* || Archivio di Stato di Milano, Studi. Parte Antica, 434, Pavia 1481 *HL* 31 (1982) 73.
- umbrositas** subst.: **shadiness** *Umbrositatem carpere saltuum* || Melissus (1600) v. 1 *HL* 22 (1973) 254.
- unicolor** adj.: **of one colour** *qui nec numerum quidem illarum, et variae ne sint an unicolores, nosti* || Briçonnet (1519) b.iii.^r *HL* 27 (1978) 96.
- unitrinus** adj.: **one-in-three (God)** *IHESUS ... qui unitrinus et triunus est* || Briçonnet (1519) c.vi.^r *HL* 27 (1978) 106. *princeps pastorum ... qui unitrinus et triunus est* || Briçonnet (1520) d.iii.^v *HL* 27 (1978) 127.
- universitas** subst.: **university** *caeterum per publicas in universitate nostra vacationes aliquantulum nactus otii* || Laevenius Torrentius: *Europae lamentatio*. Gandavi 1544, praef. *HL* 22 (1973) 159. *et ab inclyta Universitate Cracoviensi professores honestissimis praemiis constitutis evocat* || Found in: David Heliconius: *Academiae Samoscianae Recens Institutae Intimatio*. Riga 1594 *HL* 26 (1977) 210. *apud Caesarem Egassium Bulaeum in Historia universitatis Parisiensis, volumina VI, in folio, Paris 1665* || Wallin (1722) p. 82 *HL* 28 (1979) 270. *universitas Parisiensis constabat olim centum diversis collegiis* || Wallin (1722) p. 83 *HL* 28 (1979) 270.
- vaditare** verb: **to trot** *bellicus huc vaditet qui bene currat equus* || Ludovicus Helianus: *Pro Ludovico Galliarum rege eiusdem nominis XII votum*. ≈ 1500 v. 190 *HL* 26 (1977) 48.
- *valor** subst.: **value** *Rami bibliothecam ... circiter aureorum coronatorum valorem ad summum aequabat* || Nancelius (1599) 79 *HL* 24 (1975) 272.
- *variola** subst.: **smallpox**
John van Brugh Tennent: *Dissertatio Medica Inauguralis, de Insitione Variolarum*. Lugduni Batavorum 1765 *HL* 31 (1982) 179.
- venerabunde** adj.: **respectfully** *Cui quidem, quod reliquum est, me meaque venerabunde commendo.* || David Heliconius: *Academiae Samoscianae recens Institutae Intimatio*. Riga 1594 dedic. letter *HL* 26 (1977) 208.
- ventidica pinna** adj.: **weather vane** *ventidice pinne cecidere e turribus altis* || Mure (1526) v. 531 *HL* 28 (1979) 216.
- ventipotens** adj.: **ruling the wind** *non hic ventipotens piceas Corus movet iras* || Mure (1526) v. 345 *HL* 28 (1979) 211.
- ventivolus** adj.: **wind-borne** *monstro ... vetuistis alarum ... ventivolas iubas* || Dati (1441 or 42) v. 92 *HL* 25 (1976) 102.
- veprituens** adj.: **protecting the bushes** *dicar Deorum veprituentium Conviva* || Melissus (1591) v. 21 *HL* 30 (1981) 195.
- *vicecancellarius** subst.: **vice-chancellor** *littere reverendi domini vicecancellarii* || Archivio di Stato di Milano, Studi. Parte Antica, 434 (2nd half of 15th cent.) *HL* 31 (1982) 59. *approbarunt dicti domini vicecancellarius et rector* || Archivio di Stato di Milano, Studi. Parte Antica, 434 (2nd half of 15th

- cent.) *HL* 31 (1982) 60. *Antonius Ritus vicecancellarius almi studii Papiensis* || Archivio di Stato di Milano, Studi. Parte Antica, 434, Pavia 1481 *HL* 31 (1982) 74.
- ***vicecomes** subst.: **viscount** *de vita et obitu Galeaz. Mariae Sfortiae vicecomitis* || Gabriel Paverus Fontana: *Elegiacum poema de vita et obitu Galeaz. Mariae Sfortiae vicecomitis, Mediolani ducis quinti*. ≈ 2nd half of 15th cent. *HL* 27 (1978) 76. *libellus ... clarissimi disertissimique viri Thomae Mori inclytae civitatis Londinensis civis & Vicecomitis* || Thomas Morus: *Utopia*. Louvain 1516 *HL* 33 (1984) 120.
- ***viceprovincia** subst.: **subprovince** *Socii e Viceprovincia Aequatoriana Societatis Iesu* || Found in: *Horatiana seu Corona Poematum quam in honorem Principis Lyrae Latinae Q. Horati Flacci ... contexuerunt Socii e Viceprovincia Aequatoriana Societatis Jesu*. Quito, Editorial Ecuatoriana 1936 *HL* 27 (1978) 282.
- ***villaniter** (mlat. villanus) adv.: **modestly** *nostram effinxi Sibilam, ad te nunc villaniter venientem* || Anon. letter. Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya 1010, ≈ 1500 f. 1^r *HL* 24 (1975) 90.
- Westphalus** subst.: **Westphalian** *Hegius non fuit Daventriensis, sed Westphalus in ditione Monasteriensi ... natus* || Hamelmann (1564) *HL* 29 (1980) 163. *posuit in literis tyrocinium utriusque linguae rudimentis imbibitis sub Alexandro Hegio Westphalo* || Beatus Rhenanus: letter to the archbishop of Cologne. Schlettstadt 1536 *HL* 29 (1980) 165.
- zarus** (lat. Caesar) subst.: **czar**
Found in: *Barocco fra Italia e Polonia*. Ed. by J. Ślaski, Warszawa 1977, pp. 366-368 *HL* 27 (1978) 342.
- zigarus** (bulg. acigane < gr. ἀγιγγαυός) subst.: **gipsy** *nec cum Sauromatis Zigaros Zigarumque sodales confero* || Schwindrazhemius (1768) v. 27 *HL* 29 (1980), 288. *tristis Zigarus, Zigaris infamior ipsis proxima latronum terret utrimque specus* || Schwindrazhemius (1768) v. 103 *HL* 29 (1980) 296.

MISCELLANEA

N. VAN DER BLOM

Erasmus' Horse and the Ears of the Smith. On *Epist.* 867, 28-30.

Mrs. Ann Dalzell in *Erasmus in English* 15 (1987), 29-30 wrote an interesting contribution on Erasmus' report to his friend Beatus Rhennanus of his journey from Basle to Louvain. After a ride of only two days his horse was completely worn out:

"sic eum tractaverat sceleratus iste faber, ut illi ambae aures ferro candente inurantur".

The choice collection of translations of these words is instructive indeed. It shows that in using a translation one must always be on one's guard and in case of any uncertainty showing up go back 'ad fontes', viz. to the original Latin.

My colleague did so. The solution she offered was that 'auris' here means 'frog', i.e. the mass of soft horn within the wall of the hoof; and that 'ambae aures' is 'the frog across its whole breadth.' Ingenious as this translation may be, I have to confess that I am not convinced. For, as Mrs. Dalzell herself admits, the 'frog' resembles a heart rather than an ear. Webster's *International Dictionary* says it is triangular. Besides, she suggests that Erasmus by the use of the present tense 'inurantur' indicated that the horse was still suffering from the burn at the time he was writing, a month and a half after the ill-treatment (p. 29 and note 4). I wonder if this would not have required something like:

"sic eum tractaverat, ut illi ambae aures...inustae sint."

And I fail to see why 'illi' refers more naturally to 'eum' (the horse) than to 'iste faber'. I think, therefore, that the translation of Mrs. Barbara Flower, wrongly earmarked here as "doing justice neither to Latin nor to sense", is the only one of the series that scores a bull's eye. In what she wrote:

"that criminal handled him so badly that he ought to have both his ears branded with red-hot iron",

this 'he' — unless my 'auris Batava' deceives me — clearly is the smith.

Another argument of Mrs. Dalzell against Mrs. Flower's translation is "that the subjunctive in a consecutive clause does not express obligation". 'Ought' finds no favour in her eye. Am I completely wrong in understanding the clause in this way: "...that he deserves that both his ears be branded with red-hot iron"? That, at any rate, I think, was what Erasmus meant. He was, of course, too good a rhetorician to write: "...ut dignus sit (or: mereat) ut...inurantur". Avoiding the repetition of 'ut' he chose a compendiary construction. And I dare add tentatively that one can explain his words, too, by imagining that having written: "sic eum tractaverat ut...", he stopped for a moment and then, roused by just rage, continued with a curse: "illi ambae aures ... inurantur!", i.e. "May both his ears be branded!" This would add an optative element to the clause. Is it possible to express this conjecture by writing: "...that both his ears may be branded!"? I would welcome reactions from both Latinists and Anglicists.

"Ears were docked or amputated, not branded", Mrs. Dalzell says. This point, in my opinion, is not relevant here. Erasmus chose the verb 'to brand' on account of what the smith had done to his horse. Therefore he wished the smith punished "by having both his ears branded", that is, by henceforth being unable 'to sleep the sleep of the just'. He had in mind such proverbial expressions as ἐπ' ἀμφότερα (τὰ ὅτα) καθεύδειν, *dormire in utramque* (or: *utramvis*) *aurem*, perhaps even — an adage I vaguely remember to have once read — *dormire in ambas aures*. Compare, at any rate, the French *dormir sur les deux oreilles*. All these expressions point to a state of mind without any anxiety or uneasiness. This state of happy tranquillity Erasmus wished to be denied to the smith who had so badly burnt the foot of his horse. Only if this man — to whom Beatus at once will have reported what Erasmus thought of him! — "cauteriatam habebat suam conscientiam", had his conscience seared with a hot iron (the reader recognizes 1 Tim. 4.2) would he escape, I am sure, the effect of Erasmus' heartfelt curse. Let us hope for him he was not that bad!*

Hendrik Chabotlaan 45
NL-2661 JJ Bergschenhoek
Nederland

* I thank my colleague drs. E. M. H. van Gendt for kindly correcting my English.

INSTRUMENTUM CRITICUM

1. Latino d'Architetto.

Le conseguenze disastrose dell'ignoranza del latino si fanno sempre più evidenti nelle pubblicazioni scientifiche. È penoso per il latinista dover addittare sempre di più gli errori nei lavori d'altrui. Ma non possiamo passarli sotto silenzio quando la serietà stessa della scienza è messa in gioco. Sappiamo benissimo che oggi per oggi e a causa di profondi cambiamenti nell'insegnamento sia medio che superiore gli specialisti delle diverse discipline non dispongono più di una adeguata preparazione di tipo classico. Siccome però buona parte del patrimonio scritto europeo è redatto in latino, è chiaro che dal momento che uno vuole condurre studi di carattere storico, filologico o filosofico incapperà subito in problemi linguistici. Ma allora, il rigore scientifico e il semplice buon senso non richiederebbero di cercare un aiuto competente, cioè di latinisti? Quanto sia necessario una tale collaborazione ci dimostra un ennesimo esempio e cioè il libro di G. Simoncini, *"Roma Restaurata". Rinnovamento urbano al tempo di Sisto V*, edito a Firenze, 1990, da L. S. Olschki.

Non essendo architetto non vorrei giudicare dei meriti o meno del libro dal punto di vista urbanistico. Ma alla lettura mi hanno disturbato i numerosi errori nell'uso delle fonti latine. Comincia già alla p. 2, dove leggiamo: "In tale situazione la rinascità della città era un evento solamente auspicabile... Nella pianta elaborata da Mario Cartaro nel 1576 compare la didascalia 'Roma renasces', Roma rinascerà, e non, Roma rinasce." L'autore non sembra di sapere che una forma "renasces" non esiste in latino, poichè "renasci" è verbo deponente. Non ha visto, o forse non fu chiaro nella didascalia, quel trattino sopra la lettera E, che indica la N sospesa. La lettura corretta, quindi, è "Roma renascens", vuol dire che il processo di rinascità che secondo il S. cominciò "all'improvviso, durante il pontificato di Sisto V", in realtà risalì ai suoi predecessori.

I documenti pubblicati alle pp. 163 sgg. contengono numerosi errori di lettura e, non di rado, di traduzione. Mi limito ad una campionatura. L'autore non conosce il sistema romano classico di datazione; per

conseguenza, tutte le date moderne nelle traduzioni (e nel libro) sono sbagliate di un giorno. "Octavo Kal. Nov.", per es., non è il 24 ottobre, bensì il 25. Alla p. 166 troviamo addirittura una data "Nonas [Kalendas] Februarii (!!)", che secondo l'autore sarebbe il 23 gennaio (!!). Ovviamente, le None oppure il 5 di febbraio gli sono sconosciute e ha creduto bene di aggiungere l'assurdo "Kalendas". Alla p. 168, alla fine del § 2 leggiamo "frumenti copiam iulemque annonam". La traduzione tace (prudentemente) a proposito della strana parola "iulemque". È ovvio che si tratta di una lettura erranea per "vilemque" e che il senso è "abbondanza di frumento ed annona a buon mercato". Anche un carme di G.F.Bordino (pp. 189-190) viene maltrattato sia nel testo latino che nella traduzione. Nel verso 12, un pentametro ("Inde Quirinalem conspicit, hinc cochlidem", cioè: "da una parte scorge il Quirinale, dall'altra la colonna di Traiano"), la parola "cochlidem" è stata cambiata in "Colchidem" (metricamente impossibile) e tradotta: "e poi si scorge il Colchide". Dove mai nella Roma sistina si potesse vedere la terra colchica non ci viene poi spiegato. Nel v. 17: "Virgo, curarum Sixti praedulce levamen" l'aggettivo 'praedulce' viene diviso in due parole (prae dulce) e dalla traduzione si capisce che il 'prae' è stato interpretato come un participio: "Vergine preposta a dolce sollievo"!

È massimamente deplorabile che tali errori possono passare inosservati anche in pubblicazioni di case editrici prestigiose come quella di Leo S. Olschki o, come l'abbiamo mostrato l'anno scorso, della Biblioteca Vaticana. Cosa ne avrebbe detto il rimpianto Ugo Enrico Paoli? Probabilmente avrebbe composto una sferzante satira latina.

J. IJSEWIJN

2. De Nicolai Querculi carmine foede deturpato

Anno 1574 Nicolaus Psalmeus (v. Psaume) opusculum suum, quod "Vray et naïf portrait de l'Église Catholique" inscripserat, typis Remensibus denuo curavit excudendum. Ipsi opusculo additum est in calce Nicolai Querculi (v. Chesneau) carmen Phalaeceum. Proximo autem superiore anno a Bernardo Ardura ("Nicolas Psaume et son Portrait de l'Église", *Analecta Praemonstratensia*, 66 (1990), 232-253) et textus Francogallicus et Latinum poemation iteratis curis foras sunt edita. De illo non is sum qui iudicem; hoc vero (poemation dico) errorum enormitate tantopere est obscuratum, ut Phalaecei illi XXXIII, quibus

constat carmen, vix queant intellegi, cum versiculorum priorem in partem tot fere irrepserint menda, quot erant versus. Quocirca operae pretium duco singulos versus proponere emendatiores.

a) Vv. 1-11

Praesul deliciae, decusque honorque
 Gregis purpurei, Polonus ille
 Senex Hosius affabrè tabellam
 Quem depinxerat, exhibet videndam,
 Elinguem tamen, explicatione
 Ur certè sit opus stylum volenti
 Pictorisque manum poliozem
 Assequi proprius, sed ecce Praesul
 Psalmeus, Lotareus, audet alios
 In sensus ruere, & profunda quaeque
 Rimari tabula.

V. 1 ita interpungas: Praesul, deliciae

v. 4 legas *quam* pro *quem*

v. 6 legas *ut* pro *ur*

v. 7 legas *politiorem* pro *poliozem*

v. 8 legas *propius* pro *proprius*

v. 9 *alios* contra metrum peccat caretque significatione; cui voci cum respondeat *profunda*, *altos* legendum esse puto.

v. 11 *tabulae* lege pro *tabula*.

Vv. 1-2 et 6-8 quid sibi velint non satis liquet intellegat editor necne; siquidem ita interpretatur: "Raffinement, gloire et honneur, / prélat de son troupeau glorieux...". At purpureo grege significatur cardinalium coetus; ceterum primo versu non ad tabellam, sed ad praesulem relato, *deliciae* hic idem fere significant atque *objet d'affection*. Vv. autem 6-8 Francogallice ita eduntur: "Aussi était-il nécessaire d'avoir recours à son explication/ dont le style suivit au plus près la main artistique du peintre". Mihi vero videtur poeta voluisse haec: "Voilà pourquoi celui qui veut comprendre à fond le style et l'élégance de ce qu' a peint sa main, a certainement besoin d'explication".

b) Vv. 18-25

Qui pinxit Ventrem usque ad umbilicum
 Cosis, laudibus omnium probatur:
 Quamvis ille oculos sua falaces

Pictura moveat, libidinemque
Foedam cordibus excitet videntum.
Qui sponsam Domini brevi tabella
Depingit, vario monili amictam,
Integramque, nihil meretur? ...

Vv. 18-19 ita vertit editor: "Celui qui a peint le ventre jusqu'au nombril / bénéficie des louanges d'approbation de tous". At unde *Ventrem*? Postulatur hac sede pyrrhichius vel anapaestus elisione truncatus! Unde *Cosis*? "Anne latinum?" Minime! Nullus vero dubito quin hic sit legendum *Venerem* pro *Ventrem*, *Cous* pro *Cosis*. Cadunt enim illi versus in celeberrimas Veneris picturas quas Apelles Cous luserat (cf. Plin., *nat.* 35, 91-92).

Ceterum v. 20 pro *falaces* ("yeux trompeurs") legas *salaces*, doctam iure questus ignorantiam, quae s oblongam et f litteras mira pertinacia etiamnunc confundat commisceatque!

Quid multa? Praefiscine dixerim:
Latine rudis editor, Latina
quom deprenderis, hinc manus retorque!
Prudens consule te peritiores!

D. SACRÉ

INSTRUMENTUM BIBLIOGRAPHICUM NEOLATINUM

apparaverunt

J.IJsewijn, G.Tournoy, D.Sacré, M.de Schepper

Appellatio ad auctores.

Auctores librorum et commentationum de rebus neolatinis enixe rogamus ut nuntium de novis opusculis nobis mittant (in Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae, Blijde Inkomststraat 21, B-3000 Leuven, Belgium), quo citius in hoc instrumentum possint referri.

Haec bibliographia absoluta est Kalendis Augustis anni 1991.

SIGLA:

ARG	= Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte (Gütersloh).
BHR	= Bibliothèque d'humanisme et Renaissance (Genève).
GSLI	= Giornale storico della letteratura italiana (Torino).
HL	= Humanistica Lovaniensia (Leuven).
IMU	= Italia medioevale e umanistica (Milano).
JMRS	= The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies (Durham, N.C.).
JWCI	= Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes (London).
RIN	= Rinascimento (Firenze).
RnR	= Roma nel Rinascimento (Roma).
RPL	= Respublica Litterarum (Lawrence, Kansas).
RQ	= Renaissance Quarterly (New York).
RS	= Renaissance Studies. Journal of the Society for Renaissance Studies (Oxford).
WBN	= Wolfenbütteler Barock-Nachrichten (Wiesbaden).
WRM	= Wolfenbütteler Renaissance Mitteilungen (Wiesbaden).

ABBREVIATIONES:

Fubini: R. Fubini, *Umanesimo e secolarizzazione da Petrarca a Valla*, Humanistica, 7 (Roma, Bulzoni ed., 1990). Opuscula collecta.

Grammairiens: Rosier Irène (ed.), *L'héritage des grammairiens latins de l'antiquité aux Lumières. Actes du Colloque de Chantilly...1987*. Bibliothèque de l'information grammaticale 13 (Paris 1988).

Lazio: R.Lefevre (ed.), *Eruditi e Letterati del Lazio*, Lunario Romano XVIII (Roma, Palombi ed., 1988).

Monopoli: *Monopoli nell'età del Rinascimento. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio 22-23-24 marzo 1985* (Monopoli, Biblioteca Comunale "P.Ren-della, 1988).

Segel: vide infra sub 1.2 Polonia.

1. Generalia

- Cum hoc Instrumentum in eo esset ut prelo subiceretur prodierunt *Acta Conventus Neolatini Torontonensis*, Binghamton, N.Y., S.U.N.Y., in serie Medieval & Renaissance Texts and Studies, quam curat M. Di Cesare. Librum nondum vidimus itaque singula opuscula in Instrumentum anni 1991 referemus.
- Ludwig W., "Über die Folgen der Lateinarmut in den Geisteswissenschaften", *Gymnasium* 89 (1991), 139-158. De ignorantia (pseudo-)doctorum. Utinam omnes haec legant et in animo semper custodiant!

1.1 Bibliographica

- Bibliographie internationale de l'humanisme et de la Renaissance*. T.XXII, *Travaux parus en 1986* (Genève Droz, 1990). Cini (nr. 812, p. 74) idem est atque Angelus Politianus; Della Corte F. (nr. 1020, p. 93) est vir doctus nostri temporis, non aetatis litterarum renatarum!
- Daamen Marjan - Meijer A., *Catalogus van gedrukte Nederlandse gelegenheids-gedichten uit de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw in de Zeeuwse Bibliotheek te Middelburg*. Zeeuwse Bibliotheek 3 (Middelburg 1990). Continet etiam carmina extemporalia latina.
- Kristeller P.O., *Iter Italicum*, vol. V. *Alia itinera III and Italy III. Sweden to Yugoslavia, Utopia, Supplement to Italy (A - F)* (Leiden, Brill 1990). Codices "utopiani" in manibus sunt hominum, qui eos in usum doctorum permitti nolunt.
- Marcuse M.J., *A Reference Guide for English Studies* (U of California Press, 1990). Continet etiam "Neo-Latin Studies" (Section O vi).
- Polgár L., S.J., *Bibliographie sur l'histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus 1901-1980*. III. *Les Personnes - Dictionnaires*. 3 voll. (Roma, Institutum historicum S.J., 1990).

1.2. Historica

- Conde, A. Linage, "Los benedictinos y el latín", *Helmantica* 41 (1990), 85-127. Mabillon, Rettenpacher...

ITALIA

- Fubini R., "Intendimenti umanistici e riferimenti patristici dal Petrarca al Valla. Alcune note sulla saggistica morale nell'umanesimo", *Fubini*, pp. 137-181.
- Vide etiam infra 1.3: Litteraria, Vergilius (Kallendorf).
- ITALIA: FERRARA: Antonioni A. (ed.), *Umanesimo Ferrarese*, Quaderni del Giornale Filologico Ferrarese, 12 (Ferrara [Via Mellone 28/a], 1990). Continet: 1) O. Pasqualetti, "Poeti latini della Provincia di Ferrara nel secolo scorso" (pp. 9-23). Sunt Raphael Carozzari, Aloysius Graziani,

- Aloysius Chrysostomus Ferrucci et Alexander Zappata; 2) J.IJsewijn, "Gli studi greci di Rodolfo Agricola" (pp. 25-45); 3) D. Sacré, "De Aonio Paleario Verulano et Bartholomaeo Riccio Lugiensis" (pp. 47-67); 4) A. Antonioni, "Quattro secoli d'eloquenza all'Università di Ferrara. Prolusioni e altri discorsi accademici" (pp. 69-99).
- ITALIA: FIRENZE: Zintzen Cl., *Grundlagen und Eigenarten des Florentiner Humanismus*. Abhandlungen Geistes- und Sozialwiss. Klasse Akademie... Mainz 1989, Nr.15 (Wiesbaden, Steiner, 1989 [1990])
- ITALIA: LAZIO: vide supra Abbreviationes.
- ITALIA: NAPOLI: Della Rocca A., *L'umanesimo Napoletano del primo Cinquecento e il poeta Giovanni Filocalo* (Napoli, Liguori ed., 1988). Cap. I (pp. 11-46) *Academiam Pontanianam tractat*.
- ITALIA: MONOPOLI: vide supra Abbreviationes.
- ITALIA: PAVIA: Sottili A., "Il palio per l'altare di Santa Caterina e il 'dossier' sul rettorato di Giovanni di Lussemburgo", *Annali di storia Pavese* 18-19 (1989), 77-102. Eduntur in appendice epistolae xxix in *Academia Ticinensi et Mediolani annis 1460/61 et 1497 scriptae, maiore ex parte Latine*.
- ITALIA: SARDINIA: Cadoni E. - Turtas R., *Umanisti sassaresi del '500. Le 'biblioteche' di Giovanni Francesco Fara e Alessio Fontana*. Pubbl. di "Sandalion", Univ. degli Studi di Sassari 2 (Sassari, Ed. Gallizzi, 1988).
- GRAECIA
- Georgala - Priovolou Stella, Η λατινική στην Ιόνιο Ακαδημία. Ανεκδοτές Μαρτυρίες από το αρχείο Γκιλφορντ διδακτικά εγχειρίδια. Περιοδικό ΠΑΡΟΥΣΙΑ, Παρατήμα Αρ. 8 (Athena 1989). Hoc Supplemento n° 8 *commentariorum periodicorum q.t. Parousia documenta latina tractantur et phototypice proponuntur ad historiam Academiae Ioniae (1824 - 1864) pertinentia ex archivio Comitatus Angli Guildford, Academiae fautoris*.
- Niutta Francesca, "Da Crisolora a Nicolò V: Greco e greci alla Curia Romana", *RnR* 1990, 13-36.
- CROATIA:
- Glavičić Br., "Hrvatski latinisti-humanisti na razmeđu XV/XVI. stoljeća", *Sensjki Zbornik* 17(1990), 61-67. De oratoribus et poetis Croatiae latinis saec. XV-XVI.
- Gligo V. (ed.), *Govori protiv Turaka - Orationes contra Turcas*. Splitski Književni krug: Humanisti, kn. 7 (Split, Logos, 1983). *Orationes hae Croatiae versae eduntur, additis exemplaribus Latinis sive manu scriptis sive typis olim expressis, nunc autem lucis ope denuo expressis*: Franc. Marcellus, episcopus Tragurinus, *De excursionem Turcarum* (ms., 1503); Bernardinus Zane, archiep. Spalat., *Oratio in prima sessione Lateranensis Concilii* (Romae 1512); Joh. Statilius Tragur., *Oratio* (1521, in Andreae Mauroceni *Historia Veneta* [Venetiis 1623¹], pp. 27-30); M. Marulus, *Epistola ad Adrianum VI P.M.* (Romae 1522); Tranquillus Andronicus, *Contra Turcas oratio carmine heroico* (Ingolstadii 1518); *Oratio ad Germanos de bello suscipiendo contra Thurcos* (Vindobonae 1541); *Ad optimates Polonos admonitio* (Cracoviae 1545) *cum praefatione Iacobi Gorscii* (ib. 1584); Simon Begnius, episc. Modrusiensis, *Oratio in sexta Lateranensis*

Concilii sessione (1513); *De Corvatae desolatione ad Leonem X* (1516); Volfgangus de Frangepanibus, *Oratio ad Carolum V - Responsio Ioachimi Marchionis Brandenburgici* (Augustae Vind., 1530); Franciscus, Comes de Frangepanibus, *Oratio ad Caesarem* (Ratisponae 1541); Petrus Cedolinus, episc. Lesinensis, *Ad Clementem VIII P.M. pro defensione contra Turcam* (1594).

HISPANIA:

- Alcina Rovira J. Fr., "Literatura latina y literatura vulgar en España", in Fr. Meregalli (ed.), *Historia de la literatura española*, t. 1 (Madrid, Cátedra, 1990), pp. 77-96; Id., "La poesía latina del humanismo español: un esbozo", in: *Los humanistas españoles y el humanismo europeo. IV Simposio de Filología Clásica* (Murcia, Universidad, 1990), pp. 13-33.

-INSULAE CANARIAE:

- Millares Carlo A. y Hernández Suárez M., *Biobibliografía de escritores Canarios (Siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII)*, (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, El Museo Canario). Tomo I (1975).

LUSITANIA

- O humanismo português 1500-1600. Primeiro Simpósio Nacional 21-25 de Outubro de 1985* (Lisboa, Academia das Ciências, 1988). Nondum vidimus.

FRANCOGALLIA:

- Foyer J., "L'Ordonnance de Villers-Cotterêts", *Comptes Rendus [de l'] Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 1989 (Paris 1989), 636-646. Edictum mense Aug. 1539 datum de usu publico linguae Francogallicae.
- Vide infra: 1.3: Litteraria / MacPhail.

BRITANNIA:

- Vide infra: Germania / Forster.

HIBERNIA (IRELAND):

- De Clercq J. & Swiggers P., "Het Sint-Antoniuscollege van Leuven", *Museumstrip* 17 (Leuven, Stadsmuseum, 1990), 69-75. De Collegio Hibernorum O.F.M.Lovaniensi (1617-1796), in quo scripserunt theologi (Hugo McCaghwell Scotista) et hagiographi (Hugo Vardaeus / Ward, Thomas Sirinus / O'Sheerin, Patricius Fleming, Johannes Colganus / Mc-Colgan).

BELGIUM (VETUS)[= Nederland + België + Luxemburg]:

- Haitsma Mulier, Van der Lem G.A.C., m.m.v. Knevel P., *Repertorium van Geschiedschrijvers in Nederland 1500-1800* (Den Haag, Nederlands Historisch Genootschap, 1990). Historici cuiuscumque originis, qui in regno Nederlandico, quod nunc est, scripserunt. Accedunt et ii, qui ante 1609 in omnibus XVII Provinciis opera condiderunt. Multi latine scripserunt ut puta Gerardus Geldenhouwer, Cornelius Aurelius, H. Grotius etc.
- Roelevinck Joke, "Het Babel van de geleerden: Latijn in het Nederlandse universitaire onderwijs van de achttiende en de negentiende eeuw", *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde te Leiden 1989-1990* (Leiden 1991), 33-43. De notitia et usu linguae Latinae in studiorum universitatibus Nederlandicis 1700-1850.
- Sabbe M., Lamberigts M., Gistelinc F. (edd.), *Bernardus en de Cisterciënzersfamilie in België 1090-1990* (Univ. Leuven, Bibliotheek Faculteit Godge-

- leerdheid, 1990). Studia de ordine Cisterciensi in regno Belgico. Ad litteras neolatinas imprimis spectant: M.Standaert, "Auteurs divers à Orval, Villers, Aulne et Cambron" (pp. 347-360), de abbatiis in Luxemburgo, Brabantia et Hannonia; Bonny J., "Cisterciënzer auteurs van de Duinenabdij" (pp. 361-378), de abbatia de Dunis in littore Flandrico; Hendrix G., "Auteurs, vertalers en kopiïsten van de abdij Boudelo en de priorij Waarschoot" (pp. 379-404), de abbatia Gandavensi; Rombaut M., "Het intellectuele leven van Sint-Bernardus-aan-de-Schelde" (pp. 417-429), de abbatia S. Bernardi ad Scaldim prope Antverpiam. Accedunt descriptiones nonnullorum operum a patribus O. Cist. aut de Ordine scriptis.
- FLANDRIA: GENT (GANDAVUM): Sacré D., "Opuscula scholastica saec. XIX (inedita)", *Melissa*, nr. 38 (1990), 8-9. Carmina II (Raymundi Jacopssen, 1883-84) et oratiuncula (H. Van Innis, 1858) a discipulis Collegii Sanctae Barbarae scripta.
- FLANDRIA: GERAARDSBERGEN: Van Bockstaele G., Vanden Heerwegen A.-M., De Cock L., *Van Scholaster tot Principaal. Het Sint-Catharinacollege van Geraardsbergen en zijn voorgeschiedenis (1437-1989)* (Geraardsbergen, S.Catharinacollege, 1990). Vide imprimis caput 3 de schola latina in abbatia S.Adriani O.S.B. (1629-1795), § 7: "Het literaire schoolleven" = de litteris in schola excultis (pp. 64-67): Sunt Carmina (i.a. *Rhetorum Collegii S.Adriani oppidi Gerardimontani in Flandria poesis anagrammatica sub Quintino Duretio [du Retz] Insulensi...*, Antverpiae 1651; ca.400 pp.), Declamationes, Tragoediae (i.a. *Luna Ottomanica*, 30 VIII 1718) etc.
- HOLLANDIA: HAARLEM: McGee Julie L., *Cornelis Corneliszoon van Haarlem (1562-1638). Patrons, Friends and Dutch Humanists*. Bibliotheca Humanistica & Reformatrica 48 (Nieuwkoop, De Graaf, 1991). Vide imprimis pp. 297-320: "Mannerist Engravings, Neo-Latinists and the Haarlem Latin School", ubi Franco Estius Gorcomiensis, Nicolaus Wassenarius, Theodorus Schrevelius et Cornelius Schonaeus poetae tractantur; pp. 321-341: "Prints after Cornelis van Haarlem", ubi inscriptiones (plerumque metricae) sub picturis additae repetuntur. Liber per se utilis est, at crassa Latinitatis ignorantia deturpatur. Vide et infra sub 2.2: Schonaeus.
- GERMANIA:
- Dünnhaupt G., *Personalbibliographien zu den Drucken des Barock*. 2e verb. Aufl., Hiersemanns bibliographische Handbücher 9 (Stuttgart, 1990 sqq.)
 - Fleischer M.P., "Komm in der totgesagten Park und schau: der deutsche Humanismus nach 1550", *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 42(1990), 136-154. Synopsis et apologia litterarum Neolatarum apud Germanos annorum ca. 1550-1650.
 - Forster L., "Deutsche Drucke des 17. Jhdts in der Domkapitelbibliothek zu Durham / England", *WBN* 16(1989), 92-109.
 - Glaser H.A. (ed.), *Deutsche Literatur. Eine Sozialgeschichte*. Bd. 2: Bennewitz Ingrid - Müller U. (edd.), *Von der Handschrift zum Buchdruck: Spätmittelalter, Reformation, Humanismus: 1320-1572* (Reinbek bei Hamburg, Rowohlt, 1991). Continet capita aliquot de litteris mediolatinis (F. Rädle, pp. 274-286) et neolatinis: W.M.Bauer, "Humanistische Bildungsprogramme" (pp. 245-261); "Humanistische Bildungszentren" (pp. 262-273);

- J. IJsewijn, "Neulateinische Theatertexte" (pp. 116-124); "Humanistische neulateinische Literatur" (pp. 287-301).
- Vide infra 1.6: Scientifica / Wuttke; 2.1: Poetica / Paas.
- GERMANIA: BORUSSIA REGIA: vide infra: Polonia.
- GERMANIA: RHENUS SUPERIOR.
- Andermann K. (ed.), *Historiographie am Oberrhein im späten Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*. Oberrheinische Studien 7 (Sigmaringen, Thorbecke, 1988). Pleraeque commentationes etiam historicos spectant Latine scribentes: Kl. Schreiner, "Erneuerung durch Erinnerung. Reformstreben, Geschichtsbewusstsein und Geschichtsschreibung im benediktinischen Mönchtum Südwestdeutschlands an der Wende vom 15. zum 16. Jht." (pp. 35-88); Staab F., "Quellenkritik im deutschen Humanismus am Beispiel des Beatus Rhenanus und des Wilhelm Eisengrein" (pp. 155-164); Rott H.-G., "Probleme der Strassburger Historiographie des 16. Jhdts: Dr. Nikolaus Wurmser, Dekan des St. Thomaskapitels und sein Protokoll (1513-1524)" (pp. 192-204); Hillenbrand E., "Die Geschichtsschreibung des Bistums Konstanz im 16. Jht." (pp. 205-225); Ehmer H., "Reformatorsche Geschichtsschreibung am Oberrhein: Franciscus Irenicus, Kaspar Hedio, Johannes Sleidanus" (pp. 227-245).
- GERMANIA: THURINGIA: Marwinski Felicitas, *Johann Andreas Fabricius und die Jenaer gelehrten Gesellschaften des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Universität Jena, 1989). Vide pp. 12-13: Societas Disquirentium (1672-1683); pp. 84-86: "Die Societas Latina Jenensis (1733-um 1848)"; pp. 86-89: "Die philosophische Gesellschaft (1745-1753 bzw. um 1760)"; pp. 89-91: "Fabricius' Institutum litterarium Academicum (1751-nach 1754)".
- GERMANIA: LANDSHUT: vide infra 3.1 Scaenica / Beckenbauer.
- GERMANIA: NÜRNBERG: Kapp V.-Hausmann Fr.R. (edd.), *Nürnberg und Italien. Begegnungen, Einflüsse und Ideen* (Tübingen, Stauffenburg Verlag, 1991). Continet i.a. A. Sottili, "Nürnberger Studenten an italienischen Universitäten mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Universität Pavia" (pp. 49-104); G. Lombardi, "Historia, descriptio, laudatio. Gli umanisti italiani e Norimberga" (pp. 129-154); E. Bonfatti, "Noctes Noricae. Joachim Camerarius d. J. und Guido Pacirolis *Raccolta breve*, 1599" (pp. 195-214).
- GERMANIA: WUNSIEDEL: Ponader Elisabeth, "Lateinschule und deutsche Schule in Wunsiedel von den Anfängen bis zum grossen Stadtbrand 1731", *Archiv für Geschichte von Oberfranken* 68(1988), 41-120.
- CECOSLOVACIA:
- Martínek J., "Stand und Aufgaben der Humanismusforschung in den Böhmisches Ländern", *Listy Filologické* 113 (1990), 206-211; -Id., "De studiis Guelferbytanis librorum Bohemicorum investigandorum causa susceptis", *ib.*, 238-250. Imprimis spectat poetas: Petrum Fradelium (fl. s. xvii in.), Georgium Remum, Frid. Husanum Wimaria-Thuringum, Gregorium Bersmanum Annaebergensem, Venceslaum Clementem, Elisabetham Westoniam, Adam Fabianum Zolitiū, Matthiam Zuberum.
- vide infra: Hungaria / Klaniczay.

HUNGARIA:

- Feuer-Tòth Ròzsa, *Art and Humanism in the Age of Matthias Corvinus*, Studia Humanitatis 8 (Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990). Opus posthumum de rationibus inter humanistarum de arte scriptis et architectura Corviniana. Litterarum studiosis liber etiam est variis de causis utilis. Agitur enim de Petrarcha (*De remediis*), de Antonio Bonfinio (vide imprimis caput "The Architectural and Sculptural Terminology of the Humanists" et "the Hungarian Court and Their Classical Sources", pp. 76-104), de Francisco de Arrigonibus, cuius primum eduntur Epigrammata xxiv de statua equestri Francisci Sfortiae ad Ludovicum Maurum (pp. 132-134 et Tabb.7-8), de Francisco Bandini Florentino.
- Klaniczay T., "Umanisti boemi a Buda all'inizio del Cinquecento. Contributo alla storia della 'Sodalitas litteraria Danubiana'", in: *Filologia e letteratura nei paesi slavi. Studi in onore di S. Graciotti* (Roma, Carucci ed., 1990), pp. 551-564.

DACROMANIA:

- Armbruster A., *Der Donau-Karpatenraum in den Mittel- und Westeuropäischen Quellen des 10.-16. Jahrhunderts: eine historiographische Imagologie*, Studia Transylvanica 17 (Köln, Böhlau, 1990). Vide imprimis cap. IV (pp. 131-172): "Das Rumänienbild des italienischen Humanismus"; et cap. V (pp. 172-211): "Das Rumänienbild des 16. Jahrhunderts", necnon elenchum fontium (pp. 246-257) et studiorum (pp. 257-277).

POLONIA:

- Bogucka Maria, "Die polnische Kultur im Zeitalter der Renaissance", *Österreichische Osthefte*, 32 (1990), 286-305.
- Salmonowicz St., "Szkoly Jezuickie a gimnazja akademickie w Prusach krolewskich XVII-XVIII wieku. Próba porównania" - The Jesuit Schools and Academic Grammar Schools in Royal Prussia, XVII-XVIII Centuries. An Attempt at Comparison ", *Rocznik Gdański* 17(1987),151-179.
- Segel H.B., *Renaissance Culture in Poland: the Rise of Humanism, 1470-1543* (Ithaca -London, Cornell U.P., 1989).
- Wyczański A., "Humanisten und Staatsmacht in Polen in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts", *Österreichische Osthefte*, 32 (1990), 306-319.

RUSSIA:

- Kaiser W. - Völker Arina, "Repräsentanten der *Ars medica Halensis* in der Russischen Medizingeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts", *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte* 44 (Berlin 1990), 61-95. Additus est elenchus dissertationum medicarum.

FENNIA:

- Kajanto I., *Humanism in a Christian Society. II. Classical Moral Philosophy and Oratory in Finland 1640-1713*, Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae B-254 (Helsinki, Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1990).

AMERICA:

- Mund-Dopchie Monique, "L'extrême-occident de l'Antiquité classique et la découverte du nouveau monde: une manipulation de textes à des fins idéologiques", *Nouvelle revue du seizième siècle*, 1990, n° 8, pp. 27-49.

MEXICO:

- Acuña R., "Actas capitulares de la Provincia de Santiago de México, 1541", *Nova Tellus*, 7 (1989), 149-188. Eduntur Acta Provinciae Ordinis Praedicatorum relata a Didaco Ximénez et Dominico de Betanzos.
- Heredia Correa R., "En defensa de la patria agraviada", *Nova Tellus*, 7 (1989), 119-145. De scriptoribus Mexicanis, qui Emmanuelis Martini, decani Alonensis (+ 1737) malam de Indiis opinionem in Epistolis (Matriti 1735; Amstelodami 1738) expressam refutaverunt: sunt Joannes Gregorius de Campos y Martínez (*Oratio apologetica*, Mexici 1746), Julianus Gutierrez Dávila (Approbatio operis doctoris Eguiara y Eguren, c.t. *Selectae Dissertationes Mexicanae*), Vincentius Lopez (*Dialogus Aprilis*)
- Kerson A.L. (ed.), *Dieciocho*. A Special Issue, dedicated to *Eighteenth-Century Ibero-American Studies* = Vol. 13 (Hartford, CN., Trinity College, 1990), 1-2.
- Salgado Maria A., "On Poetry and Poets in Eighteenth-century Mexico", *Dieciocho* 13 (1990), 71-83. Etiam poetas latinos debito iuris honore respicit.
- Osorio Romero I., *Conquistar el eco. La paradoja de la conciencia criolla* (México, U.N.A.M., 1989). Opuscula collecta de litteris neolatinis Mexicanis.

PERU:

- Lobo Guerrero B. - Arias de Ugarte F.(edd.), *Sinodos de Lima de 1613 y 1636* Coleccion Tierra Nueva e Cielo Nuevo, vol. XXII = Sinodos Americanos 6 (Madrid, C.S.I.C. - Salamanca, Univ. Pontif., 1987). Editio documentorum phototypica, addita introductione. Latina sunt: 1) Erectio sanctae archiepiscopalis civitatis regum Peruanarum seu Novae Castellae provinciarum in Indiis occidentalibus metropolitanae ecclesiae, anno MDCCLIII (pp. 289-311); 2) Regula consueta seu institutiones consuetudinales Ecclesiae Metropolitanae Limensis editae [1593] (pp. 313-390).

CHILE:

- Hanisch Espíndola W., "El latín durante la Colonia", in *Semanas de Estudios Romanos*. Vol. III y IV, 1986, en homenaje al Prof. Dr. Carlos A. Disandro (Valparaíso, Univ. Católica 1987), pp. 271-295. Conspectus locupletissimus litterarum Latinarum apud Chilienses cultarum.

1.3. Litteraria

- Chomarat J., *Présences du latin: de Catulle à Montesquieu*. Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance 248 (Genève, Droz, 1991). Opuscula auctoris collecta: agit de Erasmo, Thoma Moro, M. Marullo, H. Vida, M. Palingenio et J.C. Scaligero.
- Macphail E. M., *The Voyage to Rome in French Renaissance Literature*. (PhD Princeton, 1989). Ch. II: Du Bellay in Rome; Ch. IV: Muret.
- Pigman G.W. III, "Neo-Latin Imitation of the Latin Classics", in P. Godman - O. Murray (eds.), *Latin Poetry and the Classical Tradition* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1990), pp. 199-210.

1.4. *Linguistica*

- Fontán A., "Excurso sobre los primeros empleos de la voz 'clásico' en los humanistas", in Id., *Los Clásicos, norma y modelo de decir* (Madrid, Unión Editorial, 1990), pp. 31-37. Primus omnium G. Budaeus in *Annotationibus ad Pandectas* (1508) scripsisse videtur 'auctores classici'.
- Fubini R., "La coscienza del latino negli umanisti: 'an Latina lingua Romanorum esset peculiare idioma'", in *Fubini*, pp. 1-53. Editio nova, cui additamentum postscriptum accedit (pp. 55-75), quod est iudicium criticum libri M.Tavoni, *Latino, grammatica, volgare* (1984).
- Schoeck R.J. with Martina Rütt and H.W.Bartz, "A Step Towards a Neo-Latin Lexicon (II)", *HL* 40 (1991), 423-445.
- Tunberg T., "De locutionibus nonnullis humanisticis, quae pro vestigiis linguarum nationalium habentur", *Vox Latina* 26 (Saarbrücken 1990), fasc. 101, pp. 415-430. Auctor orat ut in verbis latinis menda tollantur et sic legas: p. 418,3 etiam; 10 numerandus; 419,13-4: usurpatur; n.18,5 tres; 420,2 sed; 421,8 quod est; 423,8 teque; 427,8 "conseiller"; n.57 Lambini; 428,7 Ut.
- Van Hooff A.J.L., "A Longer Life for 'Suicide': When was the Latin Word for Self-murderer Invented?", *Romanische Forschungen* 102 (1990), 255-259. Non primum occurrit vox 'suicida' in altera editione *Theologiae Moralis* (1656) J. Caramuelis, ut putabatur, sed — quod quidem nunc scimus — apud Gualtherium a Sancto Victore, *Contra quatuor labyrinthos Franciae* (1177/78).
- Vide supra: Hungaria / Feuer-Tòth; 4.2: Melander.

1.5. *Thematica*

- IJsewijn J., "Umanisti del Nord in difesa dell'etica e della vera scienza: Erasmo - Vives - Tommaso Moro", *Academiae Latinitati Fovendae Commentarii*. Series altera 1 (Roma 1990), 55-78.
- ALBUM STUDIOSORUM: Bodmer J.-P., "Das Studentenstammbuch von Johann Jakob Breitingen (1575-1645)", *Zwingliana* 18(1990), 213-233. Album studiosi huius Turicensis servatur Londini: BL, Add.Ms. 15719. Continet amicos 123, quorum 119 Latine scripserunt. Nomina occurrunt Rudolphi Goclenii (Marpurgi, IV 1593), Philippi Marnixii Sanctaldegondiani, Josephi Scaligeri et Francisci Raphelengii (Leidae 9 X 1595), Francisci Junii (ib. ,11 X 1595).
- MUSICAE LAUDES: vide 2.1: Sacré.
- ARISTOTELES: Kraye Jill, "Aristotle's God and the Authenticity of 'De Mundo': An Early Modern Controversy", *Journal History Philosophy* 28(1990), 339-358.
- BASILIUS MAGNUS: Backus I., *Lectures humanistes de Basile de Césaire. Traductions latines (1439 - 1619)*, Études Augustiniennes, Série 'Antiquité', 125 (Paris-Turnhout, Brepols, 1990).
- CATULLUS: vide 4.2: Erasmus: Newman.
- CICERO: vide 4.2: Erasmus, *Erasmus... Yearbook* 8 (Rabil).

- CORIPPUS: Hofmann H., "Cornelius van Arckel und sein Coripp-kommen-
tar", *Philologus* 134 (1990), 111-138. Arckelius philologus erat Batavus
(1670-1724).
- CATULLUS: vide infra 2.1: Ludwig.
- HISTORIA APOLLONII*: Kortekaas G.A.A., "Het adaptatie-proces van de
Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri in de Middeleeuwen en vroege Renais-
sance", in H. Van Dijk - E.R. Smits (edd.), *Dwergen op de schoulers van
reuzen. Studies over de receptie van de Oudheid in de Middeleeuwen*.
Groninger studies over middeleeuwse cultuur (Groningen, E. Forster,
1990), pp. 57-74.
- LUCANUS: Tucker R.A., "The Alleged Neronian Epitaph for Lucan",
Latomus 50 (1991), 176-183. Agitur de epitaphio quod Rolandus de Plazola
se descripsisse asserit Romae apud S. Paulum extra muros, mense januario
1303, dein Sulpicius Verulanus et alii tradunt. Auctor tamen res humanis-
ticas parum nosse videtur. Ignorat e.g. Pomponium Laetum eundem esse
atque Pomponium Infortunatum.
- PETRONIUS: Grafton A., "Petronius and Neo-Latin Satire: the Reception of
the *Cena Trimalchionis*", *JWCI* 53 (1990), 236-249. Exstat in unico codice
in usum Poggii anno 1423 scripto, sed a nullo postea cognito donec
Marinus Statileus eum Tragurii iterum invenit et anno 1664 typis est
editus.
- PYTHEAS MASSILIENSIS: Mund-Dopchie Monique, "La survie littéraire
de la Thulé de Pythéas", *L'Antiquité classique* 69 (1990), 79-97.
- SENECA PHILOSOPHUS: Bruun N.W., "Zur Editio Princeps der *Apocolo-
cynstosis* und ihren Textverhältnissen", *Classica et Mediaevalia* 29 (1988),
209-216. Primum edidit Caius Silvanus Germanicus poeta, Romae 1513.
- SILIUS ITALICUS: W.-W. Ehlers, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 243 (1991),
102-113, recensuit *Punica* a J. Delz edita (Stuttgart, Teubner 1987) et pp.
105-108 versus VIII 144-244a, qui videntur spurii, iterum tractat. Primum
traduntur a Jacobo Constantino Fanensi (*Collectaneorum Hecatostys*,
1508), qui eos e vetusto codice a Baptista Guarino accepisse dicit.
- THEOPHRASTUS: Most G. W., "Three Latin Translations of Theophras-
tus' *Metaphysics*", *Revue d'histoire des textes* 18 (1988), 169-200. Interpre-
tes sunt Bartholomaeus Messanensis (ca. 1260-66), Gregorius Tiphernas
(ca. 1450) et Anonymus (Pseudo-Bessarion, post 1480), quem edidit Jaco-
bus Faber Stapulensis apud H. Stephanum, Parisiis 1515.
- THUCYDIDES: Klee U., *Beiträge zur Thukydides-Rezeption während des 15.
und 16. Jahrhunderts in Italien und Deutschland*. Europäische Hochschul-
schriften XV 47 (Frankfurt/M.-Bern- New York- Paris, P. Lang, 1990).
- VERGILIUS: Kallendorf Cr., *In Praise of Aeneas. Virgil and Epideictic
Rhetoric in the Early Italian Renaissance* (Hanover - London, U Press of
New England, 1989).

1.6. Scientifica

- Bäumer Anne, *Geschichte der Biologie*. Bd. 1. *Biologie von der Antike bis zur Renaissance*; Bd. 2. *Zoologie der Renaissance - Renaissance der Zoologie* (Frankfurt/M.-Bern-New York - Paris, P. Lang, 1991).
- Calabi Limentani Ida, "Spanheim, Burman, Maffei: l'origine della equivoca rivalità tra numismatica ed epigrafia", *Studi Secenteschi* 32 (1991), 191-212. Agitur de Ezechiele Spanhemio (1629-1710), Petro Burmanno (1668-1741) et Scipione Maffeo (1675-1755).
- De Jonge H.J., *Van Erasmus tot Reimarus. Ontwikkelingen in de bijbelwetenschap van 1500 tot 1800* (Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, 1991). Oratio de progressu scientiae biblicae ab Erasmo ad Reimarus, habita Leidae 27 IV 1991.
- Figliuolo Br., *Il terremoto del 1456*, 2 vols. (Altavilla Silentina, Edizioni Studi storici meridionali, 1988-89). Ad studium terrae motus in Aprutio et Campania facti permulta excutuntur opera humanistica, i. a. Jannotii Manetti *De terraemotu libri tres* (quorum paratur editio), Antonius Astesanus, Matthaeus Aquilanus etc. Inter documenta edita legitur epistula Romae scripta 18 XII 1456 (vol. II, p. 28, n° VIII).
- Harris Eileen, Assisted by N. Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556-1785* (Cambridge U.P., 1990). Praeter dissertatiunculas introductorias continet elenchum auctorum bio-bibliographicum. Aliquot tractatus Latine scripti sunt.
- Lomonaco F., *Lex Regia. Diritto, filologia e fides storica nella cultura politico-filosofica dell'Olanda di fine Seicento*, Studi Vichiani 19 (Napoli, Guida editori, 1990). Continet capita de Joh. Fred. Gronovio (+ 28 xii 1671) philologo et historico (pp. 37-125), ubi agitur de itinere eius in Italiam et de 'mytho romano' seu de arte antiquaria et historia in *Oratione de lege regia*; de iure politico et historia apud Udalricum Huber, professorem Franequeranum (pp. 127-186); de arte critica philologica Jacobi Perizonii (pp. 187-241). Sequitur in appendice (pp. 241-314) Martini Schoockii *De figmento legis regiae epistola* (1661) iterum e ms° Parisiensi edita.
- Van den Broeck J., *De historiografie van het recht in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden tijdens de 18de eeuw*, Iuris Scripta Historica II (Brussel, Kon. Academie W.L.S.K. van België, 1990). Nonnulli auctores de historia iuris Latine scripserunt (vide elenchum pp. 118-125), e.g. Sigerus Bernardus Van Espen, canonista Lovaniensis insignis (1646-1728), Judocus Le Plat (1732-1820), Carolus Philippus Pattijn (1687-1773: "Mare Liberum", 1726) et Balthasar Mertens († 1727: "Jus civile Brabantinum", 1706-09).
- Wuttke D., "Renaissance-Humanismus und Naturwissenschaft in Deutschland", *Gymnasium* 97 (1990), 232-254. Agit i.a. de S. Brantio et J. Regiomontano.
- Codex Canonum Ecclesiarum Orientalium*. Editio princeps: *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, vol.82, n.11 (18 X 1990), pp. 1033-1363.
- Vide et supra: Sigla, et 1.2: Russia.

1.7. *Ecdotica*

- Brown Michelle P., *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts From Antiquity to 1600* (London, The British Library, 1990).
- Grafton A., "Editing Technical Neo-Latin Texts: Two Cases and Their Implication", in J.N.Grant (ed.), *Editing Greek and Latin Texts. Papers Given at the 32d Annual Conference on Editorial Problems*, Univ. of Toronto 6-7 November 1987 (New York 1989), pp. 163-186. Exempla sunt N. Copernicus et J. Bodinus.
- Nellen H. J. M., "Editing 17th-century Scholarly Correspondence: Grotius, Huygens and Mersenne", *Lias* 17 (1990), 9-20; — Bots H. - Rademaker C.S.M., "Sélection Criteria and Techniques in the Editing of Letters", *Id.*, 21-26.

1.9. *Interpretatoria*

- Briesemeister D., "Neulateinische Gracian-übersetzungen aus dem 18. Jahrhundert in Deutschland", in S. Neumeister - D. Briesemeister (edd.), *El Mundo de Gracián. Actas del Coloquio Internacional, Berlin 1988* (Berlin, Colloquium Verlag, 1991), pp. 221-231. Interpres praecipuus est Adam E. Ebert, Viadrino-Francofurtanus (1653-1735).

2. **Poetica**2.1. *Generalia*

- Ernst Ulrich, *Text als Figur. Visuelle Poesie von der Antike bis zum Moderne* (Weinheim, VCH, 1987).
- Ludwig W., "The Origin and Development of the Catullan Style in Neo-Latin Poetry", in P. Godman - O. Murray (edd.), *Latin Poetry and the Classical Tradition* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1990), pp. 183-198.
- Moss Ann, "Latin Liturgical Hymns of the Reformation Crisis (1520-1568)", *HL* 40 (1991), 73-111.
- Paas J.R., *Effigies et Poesis. An Illustrated Catalogue of Printed Portraits With Laudatory Verses by German Baroque Poets*, 2 vols. (A-I; J-Z) (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1988).
- Rieder Br., *Contemplatio coeli stellati. Sternenhimmelbetrachtung in der geistlichen Lyrik des 17. Jahrhunderts. Interpretationen zur neulateinischen Jesuitenlyrik, zu Andreas Gryphius und zu Catharina Regina von Greiffenberg*, Deutsche Literatur von den Anfängen bis 1700. Bd 11 (Bern - Frankfurt/M.-New York, P. Lang, 1991). Tractantur Bidermannus, Bauhusius et Sarbievius.
- Sacré D., "Ab oblivione vindicetur Musa Musices", *Melissa*, num. 39 (1990), 8-9; 40 (1991), 8-9; 42 (1991), 8-9. Anthologia carminum de laude musices a saeculo decimo quinto ad nostros dies.
- Stoddard R.E., "Latin Verse of the Renaissance: the Collection and Exhibition

- at the Houghton Library", *Harvard Library Bulletin*, N.S. 1 (1990), 2, pp. 19-38.
- Slits Fr. P. T., *Het Latijns stededicht. Oorsprong en ontwikkeling tot in de zeventiende eeuw*. Diss. doct. Univ. Nijmegen (Amsterdam, Thesis Publishers, 1990). De laude urbium poetica eiusque originibus et historia usque ad saec. XVII. Tractantur imprimis litterae apud Germanos Inferiores renatae (Macropedius, Const. Hugenus, Caspar Barlaeus). Accedit J.C. Scaliger. Dissertatio ob singularem doctrinam et gratam scriptionem commendanda.
- Traina A., *Poeti Latini (e Neolatini). Note e saggi filologici II*. Seconda edizione riveduta e aggiornata (Bologna, Pàtron, 1991).
- Vide supra 1.2: Italia / Ferrara (Antonioni: Pasqualetti); Lusitania; Polonia (Segel).

2.2. Poetae

- ABAD DIDACUS: vide infra: Alegre Fr. X., et 4.2, *sub nomine*.
- ACERNUS (CLONOVIVS) SEBASTIANUS (Lublin, ca. 1545-1602): Wisniewska Halina, *Renesansowe zycie i dzieło Sebastiana Fabiana Klonowicza* (Lublin 1985). "Renatarum Litterarum aetas et opera Acerni."
- ACIDALIUS VALENS: Reeve M.D., "Acidalius on Manilius", *Classical Quarterly* 41 (1991), 226-239. Spectat codicem Oxoniensem, Bodl. Libr., Marschall 140.
- AEMILIUS GEORGIUS (Mansfeld 25 VI 1517 - Stolberg/Harz 22 V 1569): Watt S.A., "Two Unpublished (?) Poems of Georgius Aemilius", *BHR* 53 (1991), 119-121. Carmina duo "In Bucolica nuper ab Oporino edita", scripta Sigene m. Julio 1546. De Aemilio vide, potius quam vetustum Jöcherum, commentationem N. Holzberg, "Ein vergessener Schüler Ph. Melanchthons: G. Aem.", *ARG* 73 (1982), 94-122. In carmine B v.19 R.C.M. Nisbet recte legit "vates male Cherilos inter" (cf. Verg., *Buc.* 9.36), ut nobis nuntiavit editor.
- AENEAS SILVIUS PICCOLOMINEUS: vide 4.2, *sub nomine* A.S., *Acta Conventus Montis-Politiani 1989* : pp. 95-104: J.-L. Charlet, "Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini hymnode"; pp. 105-117: Perrine Galand-Hallyn, "Pie II, poète élégiaque dans la *Cynthia*."
- ALCIATUS ANDREAS: Adams A., "The Translator's Role in Sixteenth-Century Editions of Alciati", *BHR* 52 (1990), 369-383; — Moseley C.W.R.D., "Of Centaurus and Mino-aurus: Vaenius' Emblem 'Nil silentio utilius' and Alciato's 'Non vulganda consilia'", *Bulletin du bibliophile* (Paris, 1989), 324-330; — Saunders A., "Sixteenth-Century French Translations of Alciati's *Emblemata*", *French Studies* 44 (1990), 271-288. — vide etiam: 5. Inscriptiones.
- ALEGRE FRANCISCUS XAVERIUS: Pimentel Álvarez J., *Francisco Javier Alegre y Diego José Abad, humanistas gemelos. Prólogo, selección, traducción, edición y notas* (Mexico, U.N.A.M., Centro de Estudios Clásicos, 1990). Continet Alegris praefationem in *Alexandriada* suam, necnon carmina octo (e codice Mex. 1600); Didaci Abad *De Deo cantica* I, XII et XXIII.

- ANCHIETA, JOSEPHUS DE: De Azevedo Filho L.A., "Anchieta e a literatura barroca em Latin ", *Revista de Letras* 35 (Curitiba 1986), 37-47; — González Luis J., "Poesías latinas del Padre Anchieta", *Tabona*, n.s. 6 (Univ. de La Laguna, 1985-87), 395-419. Enarrat carmina quaedam minora.
- ANDRONICUS TRANQUILLUS: vide 1.2. Historica: Croatia (Gligo).
- ANONYMUS SPALATINUS (S.XVI-XVII): Glavičić Br., "O autorstvu Splitskoga ulomka Davidijade", *Radovi razdio filoloških znānosti* 17 (1977-78), 137-143. Quis scripserit fragmentum Davidiadis Spalatinum? Non est Marulus.
- ARRIGONIBUS, FRANCISCUS DE (Saec. XV): vide supra 1.2: Hungaria / Feuer-Tòth.
- AURELIUS CORNELIUS: Tilmans Karin, "The Origin of the Empire and the Tasks of the Prince: Neglected Renaissance Mirrors-of-Princes in the Netherlands", *HL* 40 (1991), 43-72.
- BADIUS ASCENSIVS, JODOCUS: Clavadetscher-Thürlmann S., "Familiares Explanations. Bemerkungen zur 'Navis Stultifera' des Jodocus Badius Ascensius", in A.Reinle, L. Schmutge, P. Stötz (edd.), *Variorum Munera Florum... Festschrift für H.F.Haeffle* (Sigmaringen, J. Thorbecke, 1985), pp. 328-338.
- BAPTISTA MANTUANUS: *Adulescentia: The Eclogues of Mantuan*. Edited With an English Translation by Lee Piepho, Garland Library of World Literature in Translation 14 (New York - London, Garland Publ. Co., 1989); — Alsop J.D., "The Sixth Eclogue of Baptista Mantuanus and the Elizabethan Poet Barnabe Googe", *Cahiers élisabethains* n.25 (Montpellier 1984), 1-8.
- BARLAEUS CASPAR: vide supra 2.1: Slits.
- BARTHOLOMAEUS SULMONENSIS: Papponetti G., "Bartholomaeus Sulmonensis Philalites contra Philephum", *HL* 40 (1991), 1-29.
- BAUHIUS BERNARDUS S.J.: vide 2.1: Rieder.
- BELLAIUS JOACHIMUS: Cooper R., "Poetry in Ruins: the Literary Context of Du Bellay's Cycles on Rome", *Renaissance Studies* 3 (1989), 156-166; — Galand-Hallyn Perrine, "Enargeia maniériste, enargeia visionnaire: des prophéties du Tibre au songe d'Océan", *BHR* 53 (1991), 305-328; — IJsewijn J., "Joachim Du Bellay's *Patriae Desiderium*", *HL* 40(1991), 244-261; — Tucker G.H., *The Poets Odyssey. Joachim Du Bellay and the Antiquitez de Rome* (Oxford, Clarendon Pr., 1990). Liber omnibus numeris absolutus. Magna cum cura et insigni acumine Bellaius poeta bilinguis exploratur, simul etiam exempla eius (quos inter Adamus Siber Germanus, 1515-83), et alii scriptores. Tractantur imprimis Janus Vitalis, Georgius Fabricius Germanus, Didacus Pyrrhus Lusitanus, Georgius Buchananus, Caelius Calcagninus etc. — Vide supra 1.3: Litteraria / MacPhail.
- BENEDICTI WERTELO GEORGIUS (Haarlem 1563-1588), *De Krijgsdaden van Willem van Oranje. Georgius Benedicti*, vertaald en van commentaar voorzien door Coll. class. c.n. E.D.E.P.O.L.(NL-2301 EE Leiden, Stichting Dimensie Postbus 11227, 1990). Editio carminis epici de rebus gestis Gulielmi Nassaviensis bilinguis.

- BERNERIUS JOSEPHUS († Roma 15 IX 1701): Morelli A., "Giuseppe Berneri, poeta, librettista e commediografo romano del Seicento", *Lazio*, pp. 83-94. Poeta bilinguis: *Poesis iocosa* (Patavii 1715).
- BIDERMANNUS JACOBUS S. J.: vide 2.1: Rieder Br.
- BIGOTTIUS GULIELMUS (*Laval VI/VII 1502): vide infra 4.2: Arlerius.
- BLOCCIUS PETRUS (Diegem/Brussel, ca. 1530 - + post 1582): P.B., *Praecepta formandis puerorum moribus perutilia*. Inleiding, Tekst en Vertaling van A.M. Coebergh-Van den Braak, Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia VI (Leuven U.P., 1991). Eduntur *Praecepta* (Lugd. Bat. 1559) et cetera Bloccii carmina latina, adiecta interpretatione Nederlandica. Adest etiam summarium introductionis anglice scriptum.
- BOCATIUS JOHANNES (Wetschau/Niederlausitz 25 XII 1569 - Nikolsburg 12 XII 1620): *Opera quae extant omnia. Poetica*, ed. Fr. Csonka. 2 voll. Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii recentisque aevorum. S.N. XII 1-2 (Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990). Opus maioris momenti!
- BOLTON EDMUNDUS (1575? - Cambridge? 1633?): Binns J.W. - Neville Davies H., "Christian IV and *The Dutch Courtesan*", *Theatre Notebook* 44 (1990), 118-123. Quid doceat de comoedia Johannis Marston ante reges acta *Tricorones sive Soles gemini in Britannia; carmen de Christiani IV regis adventu in eandem* (1607).
- BORGHIUS HIERONYMUS (Senise/Lucania 1479/80 - Napoli, post 13 VI 1550): De Nichilo M., "Capitoli Borgiani", *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e filosofia - Bari* 32(1989), 151-209. Opusculum est valde utile ad humanismum Regni Neapolitani melius cognoscendum. Continet capitula duo: 1. "Ritocchi biografici" (pp. 151-186), in quo nonnulla carmina et Historiarum fragmenta adferuntur; 2. "L'Historia" (pp. 187-209), de *Historiae* [1494-1547] libris XXI typis nondum editis. P.155, epigr. 2.2 metri causa legendum propono: "utraq[ue] nigra manus"; p. 164, n.31, l.10 eadem de causa: "iulus"; p. 183, v.40 lege: "cunctis".
- BOSCOVICIUS RUTGERUS (Dubrovnik 1711-Milano 1787): Glavičić Br., "Versifikatorska Tehnika Ruđera Boškovića", *Radovi. Razdio filoloških Znanosti* 26 (Zadar 1986-87), 185-203.
- BOYSSONEUS JOHANNES (Castres/Tarn, ca. 1500 - Chambéry, 1559): vide infra 4.2: Arlerius.
- BRUSCHIUS CASPAR (1518-1557): vide supra 1.2: Germania / Rhenus Sup.:Andermann / Hillenbrand, pp. 218-219: *Idyllion heroicum* (Ingolstadt 1551).
- BUCHNER AUGUSTUS (Dresden 1591 - Pollensdorf/Wittenberg 1661): Kelly W.A., "Two Unrecorded Latin Poems by Augustus Buchner", *WBN* 17 (1990), 8-9. Epigrammata in dissertationibus Wittebergensibus (1639; 1648).
- CALLIMACHUS PHILIPPUS: H.B. Segel, pp. 36-82: "From San Gimignano to Cracow: the Extraordinary Career of Filippo Buonaccorsi, alias Callimachus."
- CAMPANUS JOHANNES VODNIANUS: Martínek J., "De magistro Campano regni Hungarici laudatore", *Listy Filologické* 113 (1990), 52-56. Editur carmen ad Petri Fradelii Schemniceni, professoris Pragensis et poetae, patronos.

- CANTALYCIUS JOHANNES BAPTISTA (Cantalice, ca. 1450 -+ 1515?): Croce B., "Sulla vita e le opere del Cantalicio" [reedizione], *Lazio*, pp. 357-370.
- CAROZZARI RAPHAEL (Ferrara 1855 - 1918): vide supra 1.2: Italia / Ferrara (Pasqualetti).
- CELTIS CONRADUS: Segel H.B., pp. 83-108: "The Humanist a-Touring: Celtis Among the Sarmatians."
- CIOFANUS HERCULES: vide infra 4.2: Lucchictus.
- CLONOVIVS: vide ACERNUS.
- COCHANOVIVS JOHANNES: *Jan Kochanowski, Giovanni Cochanovio, poeta rinascimentale polacco, 1530-1584. Nel 450-mo anniversario della morte. Conferenze pubblicate a cura dell' Accademia polacca delle scienze a Roma*, 91 (Warszawa, Ossolineum, 1985). — Stawecka Krystyna, "Kochanowski a Sarbiewski", in *Jan Kochanowski 1584-1984. Epoka Twórczość - Recepcja*, t.I (Lublin 1989), pp. 309-318; — Segel H.B., pp. 250-262: "Jan Kochanowski and the Twilight of Polish Humanism."
- COLLATINUS, PETRUS [MAXIMUS] (Novara, + ca. 1500): Rosella Bianchi, *Filologia e Critica* 14 (1989), 132-135 ostendit Collatinum poetam esse *Epistolarum libri ad Pium II P.M. de exhortatione in Turcos* (edd. C.M.Nay, S. Grosso, C. Negroni, Novariae 1877) potiusquam Johannem Stephanum Cottam, ut vult Robertus Ricciardi.
- CORDARA JULIUS CAESAR S. J. (1704-1785): Pepin R. E., "The Satires of 'Sectanus' and the Spinelli Archive", *The Yale University Library Gazette* 65 (1990-91), 1-2 (=Oct. 1990), 20-25. De codice olim Josephi Card. Spinelli (+ 1763), nunc in bibliotheca Yalensi.
- CORYCIANA: IJsewijn J., "Poetry in a Roman Garden: the Coryciana", in P. Godman - O. Murray (edd.), *Latin Poetry and the Classical Tradition* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1990), pp. 211-231.
- COTTA JOHANNES STEPHANUS: vide supra: Collatinus.
- CRICIUS ANDREAS: Segel H.B., pp. 191-226: "The Hell-Raiser who became Primate of Poland."
- DANTISCUS JOHANNES: Segel H.B., pp. 161-190: "At the Courts of Kings and Emperors: Dantiscus as Diplomat and Poet."
- DOLETUS STEPHANUS: vide infra 4.2: Arlerius.
- DU FRESNOY CAROLUS ALPHONSUS (1611-1665): Salazar Ph.-J., "Charles-Alphonse Du Fresnoy, *Du Graphe* 1656, 1667. Traduit du latin avec un essai critique, 'L'institution de la peinture'", *L'Alphée*, n.s. 1 (Paris 1989), 98-121 + 138.
- DURETIUS (Du Retz) QUINTINUS Insulensis (fl. ca. 1650): vide supra 1.2: Belgium / Geraardsbergen.
- EOBANUS HESSUS: Helius Eobanus Hessus, *Dichtungen. Lateinisch und Deutsch*. 3. Bd: *Dichtungen der Jahre 1528 -1537*. Hrsg. und übersetzt von H. Vredevelde, *Mittlere deutsche Literatur in Neu- und Nachdrucken*, vol. 39 (Frankfurt/M. - Bern - New York - Paris, P. Lang, 1991).
- ESTIUS FRANCO (fl. Harlemi 1585/90): vide 1.2: Belgium Vetus / Hollandia: Haarlem.
- FAUCHERIUS DIONYSIUS O.S.B. (Vallabrègues/Arles, ca. 1487 - Lérins 1562):

- vide infra 4.2: Arlerius. Eduntur epistolae vii (pp. 201-03, 217, 239-47) et carmina duo (pp. 248-53).
- FELICI PERICLES (Segni 1911- Foggia 1982): "Themis et Thalia", *Ephemerides Iuris Canonici* 46 (1990), 175-179. Repetuntur carmina duo de Sacra Rota e Felicis libro c.t. *Vere Sereno: Carmina* (Vaticano 1980), pp. 136-148.
- FERRUCCIUS ALOYSIUS CHRYSOSTOMUS (Lugo 1797 - 1877): vide supra: Italia / Ferrara (Pasqualetti).
- FILETICUS MARTINUS: Caperna U., "Martino Filetico, umanista ciociaro del Quattrocento", *Lazio*, pp. 199-216.
- FLEMING PAULUS: Entner H., "Die Paul-Fleming-Werkhandschrift der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel", *WBN* 17 (1990), 73-82.
- FRIDERICHSEN IOHANNES (Dania, 1603-1641): Van Selin B., "Teleurstellingen en vondsten bij de jacht op Vondel-handschriften. 'T geluck waeit niemand in den mond", *Literatuur* 90 (1990), 2-7. Epigramma in laudem Justi Vondelii, poetae Nederlandici.
- FRISCHLINUS NICODEMUS: Röckelein H. - Bumiller C., *Ein unruhig Poet. Nikodemus Frischlin 1547-1590*. Veröffentlichungen des Stadtarchives Balingen, 2 (Balingen 1990).
- FRONIUS MARCUS (Neustadt/Siebenburgen 1659 - Kronstadt 14 IV 1713): Philippi Maja - Wirth-Poelchau Lore, "Magistri Marci Fronii Fatalis Urbis Exustio Anno 1689: 300 Jahre seit dem Grosse Brand von Kronstadt", *Siebenbürgische Semesterblätter* 3 (1989), 133-164; — Wirth-Poelchau Lore, "Gelegenheitsgedichte eines Kronstädters um 1700: Magister Marcus Fronius (1659-1713)", *HL* 40 (1991), 312-335.
- FRONIUS MICHAEL († Kronstadt 21 VIII 1728): Wirth-Poelchau Lore, "Die Leichengedichte auf den Kronstädter Stadtpfarrer Marcus Fronius (1713). Ein Beitrag zur Person des Verstorbenen, zu den Gedichten und den Dichtern", *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 13 [= 84] (1990), 39-61. Michael Marci frater tria composuit carmina funebria "pedestria" (pp. 51-54, 57-58, 58-59) vel potius "inscriptiones argutas" sive "Ellogia" ad mentem Emmanuelis Tesauro et Jacobi Masenii.
- GERSONIUS JOANNES: Placanica A., "Joannis Gersonii carmen de viro et muliere", *Studi Medievali*, 3a s., 31 (1990), 435-453. Nova editio et explanatio carminis de aequalitate viri et mulieris (vv.11-12: Est hominum species eadem, sit femina, sit mas;/ Sunt anime similes, que ratione vigent).
- GIRALDUS, LILIUS GREGORIUS: Alhaique Pettinelli Rosanna, "'Amicos expertus varios parumque fidos': Lilio Gregorio Giralaldi e il Sacco di Roma", *Filologia e Critica. Annali del dipartimento di italianistica dell'Univ. di Roma 'La Sapienza'* 1985-1990, pp. 49-62. Agitur de epistola metrica ad Tebaldeum.
- GOETHALS ANDREAS, O.Cist. († Gent, post 1707): Hendrix G., *Bernardina en Cisterciensia in de Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent* (Gent, U.B., 1990), pp. 10-13, 36-37 ("elegia anno 1669 scripta de votis trium confratrum"), p. 205 ("monosticha xiii sub picturis scripta").
- GOVEANUS (Gouvea) ANTONIUS (Beja, ca. 1505 - + post 1562): vide infra 4.2: Arlerius.
- GRAMAIUS JOANNES BAPTISTA (Antwerpen 1579/80 - Lübeck 1653): Sacré D.,

- "Gramayes *Encomium Abbatiae Jettensis*", *Graafschap Jette* 19 (Sint Pieters-Jette/Brussel, 1989), 18-19.
- GRAZIANI ALOYSIUS (Bagnacavallo 1838 - Lugo di Romagna 1916): vide supra: Italia / Ferrara (Pasqualetti).
- GREGORIUS SANOCEUS: Segel H.B., pp. 18-35: "Gregory of Sanok, the Free-thinking Archbishop."
- GROTIUS HUGO: Rabbie E., "Don Carlos at Tongeren, or: an Unhappy Love-affair in 1602", *Grotiana* N.S. 9 (1988 [1990]), 94-104. Enarratur origo *Epistulae Palladii ad Thaumantiam patri suo nubentem*.
- HARSDÖRFFERUS GEORGIUS PHILIPPUS: Krebs J.D., "Kuriöse Trinkgedichte", *WBN* 16 (1989), 19-25 ['Schokolade', pp. 19-20]. Editur carmen iocosum in librum *Chocolata Inda. Opusculum de qualitate et natura Chocolatae, auctore Antonio Colmenero de Ledesma* [medico Hispanensi, 1631]... *nunc vero curante Marco Aurelio Severino* [professore Neapolitano, 1580-1656]... in *Latinum translatus* (Nürnberg 1644). Aliud epigramma edidit L. Forster, id., p. 96.
- HERMANNUS DANIEL BORUSSUS (Neidenburg/Nidzica 1543 - Riga 1601): Babnis Maria, "Daniel Hermann (1543-1601). Próba biografi", *Roznik Gdanskie* 17(1987), 181-196.
- HÖEFEL JOHANNES: Wunder G., "Höefel Johann, 1600-1683, Syndikus und Lateindichter" in Id., *Lebensläufe*, Bd. 2 (Sigmaringen, Thorbecke, 1988), pp. 291-310 = *Fränkische Lebensbilder* 7 (1977), 123-141.
- HUGENIUS (Huyghens) CONSTANTINUS: vide supra 2.1: Slits.
- HUSSENIANUS NICOLAUS: Segel H.B., pp. 138-160: "Pope Leo X, the Bison, and Renaissance Cultural Politics."
- JANICIUS CLEMENS: Segel H.B., pp. 227-249: "Clemens Ianicius, the Fragile Blossom of Polish Latinity."
- JANUS PANNONIUS: Dani Hvarskog Kazališta. *Hrvatski Humanizam - Ianus Pannonius* (Split, Književni krug, 1990). Commentationes variae croatice scriptae, quarum una etiam de Johanne Stoyco seu Stojković de Ragusio (ca. 1392) theologo: Fr. Šanjek, "Ivan Stojković i počeci humanizma u Hrvata" (pp. 272-285). — Glavičić Br., "Epski heksametar Ivana Česmičkog", *Mogućnosti* 37 (Split 1990), sv. 1-2, pp. 12-35.
- JANUS SECUNDUS: Godman P., "Literary Classicism and Latin Erotic Poetry of the Twelfth Century and the Renaissance", in P. Godman - O. Murray, *Latin Poetry and the Classical Tradition* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1990), pp. 149-182. — Id., "Johannes Tertius: Goethe and Renaissance Latin Poetry", *JWCI* 53 (1990), 250-265; — *De Liefste. Onsterfelijke liefdesverzen*. Samengesteld en vertaald door P. Claes (Leuven, Kritak 1990), pp. 28-29. Editur carmen "Ad amicum" Latine et Nederlandice.
- JONAEUS EIULFUS (Island 1670 - Vellir/Hólar 1745): Pétursson S., "Nuptiae Holanae", *HL* 40 (1991), 336-356. Editur episcopi Holani epithalamium anno 1696 scriptum.
- LAGARINUS JOANNES (Italus septemtrion., ca. 1450): vide infra: Petrarca, *Codici latini*.
- LANDIVAR RAPHAEL: *Rusticatio Mexicana. Edición bilingüe. Introducción, texto*

- crítico y traducción rítmica al español*, por F. Chamorro (San José de Costa Rica, Libro Libre 1987) Editio critica magni pretii. — Kerson A.L., "The Heroic mode in Rafael Landivar's *Rusticatio Mexicana*", *Dieciocho* 13 (Hartford, CN., 1990), 149-164.
- LENTINI ANSELMUS, O.S.B. (Favara/Agrigento 16 IV 1901 - Montecassino 16 X 1989), Dell'Omo M., O.S.B., "Don Anselmo Lentini: il monaco e lo studioso", *Benedettina* 37 (1990), 433-441. Hymnographus S.R.E.; scripsit hymnos xliii pro nova 'Liturgia Horarum'. Anno 1964 factus est Relator seu Praeses Coetus VIIⁱ de hymnis breviarii 'ad exsequendam Constitutionem de Sacra Liturgia'.
- MACPHERSON JOHANNES (Skye 1713-1765): J.IJsewijn, *Horatius in ultima Thule sive de carminibus latinis Johannis MacPherson (1713-1765)*, Academiae Latinitati Fovendae Opuscula 1 (Romae 1991). Corrige menda typographica: p. 14, v.38: Perpetim (*non*: Perpetiam); p. 24, l.7: Johannem (*non*: Johanne)
- MACROPEDIUS GEORGIUS: vide supra 2.1: Slits.
- MARIAGER ANDREAS JENSEN († Jutland 1582): Schröder U., "Mariagrius og Brunellus. Et nyfundet Latinsk Digt", *Kong. histor. Samlinger* 1988, pp. 103-111. Editur carmen (20 vv.) Mariagrii ad Olaum Brunellum (ca. 1571).
- MARTYR ANGLERIUS, PETRUS: vide infra 3.2: Verardus.
- MARULLUS MICHAEL: Kidwell Carol, *Marullus. Soldier Poet of the Renaissance* (London, Duckworth, 1989); — Vide et 1.3 Litteraria / Chomarat.
- MARULUS MARCUS: Glavičič Br., "O Maruličevu alegorijskom tumačenju Davidjade", *Mogućnosti* 36 (1989), sv. 1-2, pp. 97-104; — vide et sub 4.2.
- MATHESIUS JOHANNES (fl. 1560): *Epitaphium Melanchthonis*. Vide supra 4.2: Paulinus H.
- NICOLAUS FRANCISCUS (Fl. Locris in Calabria, s. XVIII): Sinopoli N., "Santa Veneranda Vergine e Martire Locrese", *Rivista Storica Calabrese* 9 (1988), 367-389. Scripsit *Hymnum in Divam Venerandam* (Romae 1756).
- NOVÁK JANUS (Nova Riše 8 IV 1921 - Neu-Ulm 17 XI 1984): Stroh W., "Jan Novák, Lateiner aus Mähren", *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 152 (1991), n.3, pp. 30-31.
- PACIFICUS MAXIMUS: Galand Perrine, "Élégie et travestissement dans l'*Hecatelegium* de Pacifico Massimi d'Ascoli", in: *Homo sapiens. Homo humanus*. Vol. II. *Letteratura, arte e scienza nella seconda metà del Quattrocento. Atti del xxix conv. internaz. del Centro di Studi umanistici A. Poliziano, Montepulciano 1987* (Firenze, Olschki, 1990), pp. 75-93.
- PALEARIUS AONIUS: Sacré D., "Quaestiunculae Palearianae", *HL* 40 (1991), 206-243.
- PALINGENIUS, MARCELLUS STELLATUS: vide 1.3: Litteraria / Chomarat.
- PANNONIUS JANUS: vide: Janus Pannonius.
- PASCOLI JOHANNES: *Giovanni Pascoli, Giugurta*. A cura di A.Traina. Con testo a fronte. Letteratura universale Marsilio (Venezia, Marsilio Ed., 1990). Editio critica et adnotata. — *Testi ed esegesi pascoliana. Atti del convegno di studi pascoliani San Mauro Pascoli 23-24 Maggio 1987*. Quaderni di San Mauro 1 (Bologna, CLUEB, 1988); — Bonvicini M., "Per un' analisi del

- poemetto *Agape* di G. Pascoli", in *Mnemosynum. Studi ...A. Ghiselli*. Edizioni e saggi univ. di filol. classica (Bologna, Pátron, 1989), pp. 55-64; — Capovilla G., *La formazione letteraria del Pascoli a Bologna*, I: *Documenti e testi* (Bologna, CLUEB, 1988); — Grammatico Giuseppina, "Fanum Apollinis", in: *Semanas de Estudios Romanos*. Vol. III y IV (1986) *en homenaje al Prof. Dr. Carlos A. Disandro* (Valparaíso, Univ. Católica, 1987), pp. 271-295. Introductio, textus et interpretatio hispanica.
- PETRARCA FRANCISCUS: *Codici latini del Petrarca nelle biblioteche Fiorentine. Mostra 19 Maggio - 30 Giugno 1991. Catalogo* a cura di M. Feo (Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, 1991). Hic liber luculentissime editus multo plus praebet quam codicum monstratorum catalogum. Est revera introductio ad singula Petrarcae opera. Atque utinam docti doctaeque omnes semper haec editoris verba (p. xiii) habeant animo consignata: "Leggere un po' i manoscritti, oltre a prenderne religiosamente le misure, gli incipit e gli explicit... non é operazione perversa che in principio sia da rifiutare". Eodem loco editur epigramma Joannis Lagarini de carminibus Petrarcae. — De Venuto D., *Il Bucolicum Carmen di F. Petrarca: edizione diplomatica dell'autografo*, Testi e studi di cultura classica 5 (Pisa, ETS, 1990).
- PHILOCALUS (Filocalo) JOHANNES THOMAS, Troianus (Troia /Puglia, ca. 1485/90 - Napoli? post 1551): vide supra 1.2 Italia /Napoli (Della Rocca). In appendice eduntur *Carmen panegyricum in reditum Ferrantis Sanseverini* (1532) et *Carmen nuptiale* (1533).
- POLITIANUS ANGELUS: Angelo Poliziano, *Nutricia*. Introduzione e commento di Giuseppina Boccuto (Perugia, Galeno Editrice, 1990).
- PONTANUS JOHANNES JOVIANUS: Friedman R., "A 'lost' Pontano Manuscript in the Pierpont Morgan Library (M.867)", *Lettere italiane* 42 (1990), 276-286. Accedit elenchus codicum 'Parthenopeum' continentium.
- PRASCHIUS JOHANNES LUDOVICUS: Bircher M., "Johann Ludwig Prasch und die 'Wolfenbüttelsche Liberey'", *WBN* 17 (1990), 1-7; — Kelly W.A., "Another Unrecorded Latin Poem by Johann Ludwig Prasch", *Id.*, pp. 7-8.
- QUERCULUS (Chesneau) NICOLAUS (fl. 1574): Ardura B., "Nicolas Psaume et son portrait de l'Église", *Analecta Praemonstratensia* 66 (1990), 232-253. Editio carminis absurdis scatet erroribus. Vide supra Instrumentum criticum, pp. 449-451: D. Sacré, "De Nicolai Querculi carmine foede deturpato."
- RESENDIUS ANDREAS; *André de Resende, On Court Life*. Edited and Translated by J.R.C. Martyn. Bibliotheca Neolatina, vol. 3 (Bern - New York, P. Lang, 1990).
- RESTIUS JUNIUS (Dubrovnik 1755-1814); Glavičič Br., "Heksametar Latinista Džona Rastića", *Živa Antika* 31 (1981), 305-331.
- SANTA CRUZ MODESTUS (Jalisco/Mexico? ca. 1811 - Moctezuma/S.Luis Potosi 28 VII 1877): Peñalosa J.A., "Modesto Santa Cruz, una postal de la poesia latino-mexicana", *Nova Tellus* 7 (1989), 211-247. Iterum editur carmen c.t. *Brevis Descriptio vespis verni quodam in vico reipublicae Mexicanae anno 1850* (110 hexam.). Lege in v. 17 'innatat'; v.53 'cautibus'; v.55 'rivi miscetur et undis'; v.76 'pretiosius'; v.85: 'Aeque quisque'.

- Carmini hexametro insertum est unum distichon elegiacum (vv.90-91); adverbium 'perleniter' (v.1) antiquis est ignotum. (D.S.)
- SARBEVIUS MATHIAS C., S.J.: Starnawski J., "Quelques remarques concernant Mathias Casimirus Sarbiewski: sa vie, son œuvre, sa réception parmi les contemporains et aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles", *Conferenze pubblicate a cura dell'Accademia polacca delle scienze...a Roma*, 99 (Warszawa, Ossolineum, 1990), pp. 16-38; — Stawecka Krystyna, *Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski, prozaik i poeta* (Lublin, Kat. Uniwersytet Lubelski, 1989). De Sarbevio auctore pedestri et poeta; — Ead., vide supra: Cochranovius; — vide et 2.1: Rieder.
- SCALIGER JULIUS CAESAR: vide supra 2.1: Slits.
- SCAURUS FRANCISCUS Sr (Novara, s. XV): Ariatta P., "Un inedito carme di Francesco Scauro in onore del Cardinale Ardicino II Della Porta (British Library man. Add. 10416)", *Novarien.* 16 (1986), 1-52. Editio princeps carminis heroici (vv. 587) expleti Novariae 30 IV 1489.
- SCHONAEUS CORNELIUS: vide 1.2: Belgium Vetus/ Hollandia: Haarlem. In eodem libro inepte editur *Querimonia Fortunae* (pp. 369-371). Carmen elegiam esse editorem omnino fugit; idem foedos aliquot errores inseruit: v.13 'suus' pro 'suis', v.21 'sanguineas' pro 'sanguineas', v.33 'munus' pro num(m)us', v.36 'Claudibus' pro 'cladibus'. Interpretatio anglica tam absurdis erroribus scatet ut oculis vix credat lector. "Saga" vertitur "story", "leve (onus)" "lift up" etc. etc. Litaniae nostrae iterum addenda est invocatio: "Ab huiusmodi interpretibus libera nos, Domine!"
- SCHREVELIUS THEODORUS: vide 1.2: Belgium Vetus/ Hollandia: Haarlem.
- SECUNDUS JANUS: vide: Janus Secundus.
- SIGEMUNDUS DAVID (Kaschau/Kosice, ca. 1560 - fl. Alba Julia 1584): Kytzler B., "Laudes Silesiae IV: Kaiser Rudolph II. Breslauer Ehrenpforte in David Sigemunds Reisegedicht", *Jahrbuch der Schlesischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Breslau* 29 (1988), 103-110.
- SILVANUS GERMANICUS, CAIUS: vide 1.5: Seneca.
- SIMONIDES SIMON: Szwarcówna W., *Biblioteka Szymona Szymonowica* (Lublin, Wydawnictwo Biblioteki im. H. Łopacińskiego, 1989); — vide et 3.2.
- STELLA JULIUS CAESAR: Hofmann H., "La seconda edizione della 'Columbeis' di Giulio Cesare Stella: una revisione teologica", *Columbeis IV* (Genova 1990), 195-219.
- STURMIUS (Storms) JOANNES (Mechelen 29 VIII 1559 - Leuven 9 III 1650): De Swaef Nathalie, *Joannes Sturmius (1559-1650): een bio-bibliografische studie* (Univ. Leuven, diss. lic. hist., 1991). Commentatio de professore Lovaniensi, medico et poeta latino.
- SULPICIUS JOHANNES ANTONIUS: Sperduti G., "L'umanista Verolano Giovanni Antonio Sulpizio (sec. XV)", *Lazio*, pp. 217-233.
- SYLVIUS JACOBUS: Bamforth St. - Dupêbe J., "Un poème de Sylvius sur l'entrevue du Camp du Drap d'or", *BHR* 52 (1990), 635-642. "Francisci Francorum regis et Henrici Anglorum Colloquium" (Parisiis, Badius, 1521). Carmen editum est in *RS* 5 (1991), nr. 1-2.
- TAUBMANNUS FRIDERICUS (Wonsees 15/16 V 1565 - Wittenberg 24 III 1613): Münch D., *Der humorvolle Poet und Philologe Friedrich Taubmann aus*

- Oberfranken* (Gemeinde Wonsees, 1984); — Id., "Friedrich Taubmann, Poet, Philologe und 'Kurzweiliger Rat'", *Neues Forum* 1 (1985), 60-78.
- VAENIUS OTTO: Vide supra: Alciatus.
- VAN LENNEP DAVID JACOBUS (Amsterdam 1774-1853): Gerbrandy P., "De Mus. Een pastorale pastiche door David Jacob van Lennep", *Hermeneus* 63 (1991), 183-187. Parodia elegiaca *Passeris* Catulliani ab adolescentulo sedecenni scripta (dec. 1789).
- VEGIUS MAPHAeus (Lodi 1407 - Roma 1458): Kallendorf Cr. - Brown Virginia, "Maffeo Vegio's Book XIII to Virgil's Aeneid: A Check-List of Manuscripts", *Scriptorium* 44 (1990), 107-125; — Aeneidos Supplementum a B. Schneider editum (Weinheim 1985; cf. *HL* 34B, 1985, 149) critico iudicio ponderavit W.-W.Ehlers, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 240 (1988), 110-120.
- VULTEIUS (Visagier) JOHANNES (Vandy-sur-Aisne, ca. 1510 - Lyon 30 XII 1540): vide infra 4.2: Arlerius, passim et pp. 230-32 (carmina iv).
- WESTONIA ELISABETH (England, ca. 1582 - Praha 23 XI 1612): "Elizabeth Jane Weston - the Hidden Roots of Poetry", in *Prag um 1600* (Frankfurt am Main 1988), pp. 239-251. — Id., "Revising a Biography. A New Interpretation of the Life of Elizabeth Jane Weston (Westonia), Based on Her Autobiographical Poem on the Occasion of the Death of Her Mother", *Cahiers Elisabethains* 37 (1990), 1-8.
- ZAPPATA ALEXANDER (Comacchio 16 XII 1860 - Ancona 1 II 1929): vide supra: Italia / Ferrara (Pasqualetti).

3. Scaenica

3.1. Generalia

- La Rinascita della tragedia nell'Italia dell'Umanesimo. Atti del IV Convegno di Studi, Viterbo...1979* (Viterbo, Centro di Studi sul Teatro, 1980; repr. 1983).
- Theatrum O.S.B. in Flandria: vide supra 1.2: Belgium / Geraardsbergen.
- Beckenbauer A., "Die Theateraufführungen am Landshuter Jesuitengymnasium. Die Dramen der Aufklärungszeit im Vergleich zu denen des Hochbarocks", *Verhandlungen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein* 112/113 (1986-87), 81-118.
- IJsewijn J., "Neulateinische Theatertexte", in H.A. Glaser [vide supra 1.2: Germania], pp. 116-124.
- Immoos Th., "Japanische Helden im Österreichischen Barocktheater", *Anzeiger Österreich. Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philos.-Histor.Klasse* 126 (1989), 89-101
- Valentin J. M., *Theatrum Catholicum. Les Jésuites et la scène en Allemagne au XVIe et au XVIIe siècles* (Nancy, Presses Univ., 1991). Opuscula collecta et iterum edita.

3.2. *Scriptores scaenici*

- AENEAS SILVIUS PICCOLOMINEUS: vide 4.2 sub nomine A.S.P.: *Acta Conventus Montis-Politiani* 1989, pp. 215-229: H.D.Jocelyn, "The Unclassical Aspects of Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini's *Chrysis*"; pp. 349-356: Giuseppina Boccuto, "Spunti lucreziani in un monologo della *Chrysis* del Piccolomini."
- ANDREAE JOHANNES VALENTINUS: Kühlmann W., "Johann Valentin Andreaes 'Turbo' in einer Augsburger Aufführung des Jahres 1653", *WBN* 17 (1990), 89-95.
- BETTINIUS MARIUS: Aricò Denise, "'Furti gloriosi': Mario Bettini plagiato e ripreso (da Sarbiewski a Goethe)", *Filologia e Critica* 15 (1990), 57-87.
- BURTON ROBERTUS: McQuillen Connie H., *Robert Burton's Philosophaster: A Critical Edition With English Translation*. PhD Thesis (Washington State U, 1987).
- FORSETT EDUARDUS (London 1553-1630): Edward Forsett, *Pedantius*. Prepared With an Introduction by E. J. F.Tucker. Renaissance Latin Drama in England II 9 (Hildesheim -New York, G. Olms, 1989).
- FRISCHLINUS NICODEMUS: vide 2.2 sub nomine.
- LEGGE THOMAS: vide 4.2: Lipsius (Sutton).
- MERULA GAUDENTIUS (Borgolavezzaro / Novara 1500 - 22 III 1555): Ariatta P., "Un inedito autografo di Gaudenzio Merula: la commedia *Gelastino*", *Bollettino storico per la Provincia di Novara* 80 (1989), 1-68. Editio princeps e codice Ambrosiano comoediae 'Plautinae' anno 1534 Mediolani scriptae.
- MUSSATUS ALBERTINUS: Arnaldi G., "Il mito di Ezzelino da Rolandino a Mussato", in *La Rinascita* [cf. supra 3.1], pp. 85-97.
- PETRARCA FRANCISCUS: M.Feo, "'Tragedie' attribuite a Petrarca", in Id., *Codici latini del Petrarca* [vide 2.2: Petrarca], pp. 334-341.
- SARBIEVIUS MATTHIAS CASIMIRUS: vide supra: Bettinius.
- SCHONAEUS CORNELIUS: vide 2.2 sub nomine.
- SCHOTTENIUS HENRICUS, *Ludus Martius sive Bellicus*. Hrsg. und übersetzt von H.-G. Roloff. Bibliotheca Neolatina 1 (Bern-New York, P. Lang, 1990).
- SEIZ PLACIDUS O.S.B. (Pöcking 13 IX 1672 - Ettal 2 X 1736): Schaller St., "Placidus Seiz als Dramatiker, Benediktiner von Ettal (1671-1736)", *Oberbayerisches Archiv* 112 (1988), 7-79.
- SIMONIDES SIMON: Korzeniowski G., "De Simonis Simonidis ἀντιλαβῶν usu", *HL* 40 (1991), 282-311.
- VERARDUS MARCELLINUS: Gotor J.L., "Il carmen 'de casu regis' di Pedro Martire de Angleria e la tragicomedia 'Fernandus servatus' di Marcellino Verardi", in *La Rinascita* [cf. supra 3.1], pp. 159-203.
- VERNULAEUS NICOLAUS (Roblemont/Luxemburg 10 IV 1583 - Leuven 6 I 1649): *Un "Wallenstein" néo-latin: "le duc de Friedland - Fritlandus Tragoedia" (1637) par Nicolaus Vernulaeus (Nicolas de Vernulz)*. Texte édité par J.M. Rousseau, et traduit, avec une préface, par H. Plard (B-1050 Brussels, University Press [Pleinlaan 2], 1989); — Depuydt J., *Nicolaus Vernulaeus*

(1583-1649). *Een bio-bibliografische studie* (Univ. Leuven, diss. lic. hist. 1991). Orator, historicus, poeta tragicus.

VIDA MARCUS HIERONYMUS: vide 1.3: Litteraria / Chomarat.

VINCENTIUS THOMAS (* ca. 1603 - Blyth/Nottinghamshire, ca. 25 ix 1633): Th. Vincent, *Paria*. Prepared With an Introduction by St. Berkowitz. Renaissance Latin Drama in England II 16 (Hildesheim, Olms 1990). Editio princeps posthuma prodiit Londinii 1648. Imitatus est Eusebium Luchetti, *Le due Sorelle rivali* (Venetiis 1609). Acta Cantabrigiae in Collegio S. Trinitatis, 3 iii 1627.

ZILIOLUS ZILIOLI: Lorch M., "La Michaelida di Ziliolo Zilioli: Commedia o tragedia?" in *La Rinascita*, [cf. supra 3.1], pp. 135-158.

4. Prosa Oratio

4.1. Generalia

-AA.VV., *La Storiografia umanistica. Convegno internazionale...Mesina...1987* (Messina 1991). Nondum vidimus.

-McManamon J.M., S.J., *Funeral Oratory and the Cultural Ideals of Italian Humanism* (Chapel Hill - London, U of North Carolina Press, 1989). Appendix (pp. 252-292): "A short-title Finding List of Funeral Orations From the Italian Renaissance, ca. 1374-1534."

-Tateo Fr., *I miti della storiografia umanistica* (Roma, Bulzoni, 1990). Opus varium et locuples de quaestionibus criticis, geneticis et ideologicis historiographiae humanisticae imprimis in parte Italiae meridionali. Item indagantur scripta J.A.Campani, Aeneae Silvii Piccolomini, M. Antonii Sabellici et Joa. Jov. Pontani.

4.2. Auctores

ABAD DIDACUS JOSEPHUS (Jiquilpan / Mexico 1 VI 1727 - Bologna 30 IX 1779): Kerson A.L., "Diego José Abad, Dissertatio ludicro-seria", *HL* 40 (1991), 337-422.

ADAMUS DE MONTALDO: Pistarino G., "Elogio di Papa Sisto IV", *Atti e Memorie della Società Savonese di storia patria*, n.s. 24 (1988) [= *L'Età dei Della Rovere*], pp. 21-79. Editur et enarratur *Oratio de laudibus Syxti P.M.* (Vat. lat. 3567).

AEGIDIUS VITERBIENSIS O.S.A.: Egidio da Viterbo OSA, *Lettere Familiari*, a cura di Anna Maria Voci Roth. I: 1494-1506; II: 1507-1517. Fontes Historiae Ordinis S. Augustini, ser. altera: *Epistolaria alique fontes* (Roma, Institutum historicum Augustinianum, 1990).

AEGIDIUS PETRUS (Antwerpen 1486-1533): Degueldre G., "Een dubbele identiteit: Pieter Gielis, griffier en humanist, heer van 'De Biecorf', en Pieter Gielis, meersenier, heer van 'De Spiegel'", *Bulletin van de Antwerpse Vereniging voor Bodem- en Grotonderzoek*, 1988, nr. 1, pp. 1-22. Per multis actis publicis Antverpiensibus usus auctor demonstrat Petrum Aegidium,

Erasmi amicum, non habitasse — ut vulgo creditur — in domo vocata 'De Spiegel' (Speculum) et sita in angulo Fori Maioris (Grote Markt) et Byrsae Veteris (Oude Beurs), sed in aedibus, quas pater eius anno 1479 emerat in Foro Vetere Boario (Oude Veemarkt, nunc Eiermarkt vocata) ab altera ecclesiae cathedralis parte sito; quibus aedibus nomen erat 'De Biecorf' sive 'Alveare'. In 'Speculo' autem alter Petrus Aegidius habitabat, qui ante 1515 mortuus est et fortasse Petri nostri erat avunculus. Domum emit die 23a m. junii 1506.

AENEAS SILVIUS PICCOLOMINEUS: Enee Silvii Piccolominei postea Pii P.P.II *De viris Illustribus*. Ed. Adr. Van Heck, Studi e Testi 341 (Città del Vaticano, 1991); — *Pio II e la cultura del suo tempo. Atti del I Convegno internaz.* 1989. A cura di Luisa Rotondi Secchi Tarugi (Milano, Guerini e ass., 1991). Acta Conventus Montis-Politiani renovati praestanti cura edita triginta fere orationes continent, quibus de variis Pii II operibus sive poeticis sive dramaticis sive pedestribus docte agitur. Unum superest desiderium: utinam proximis Actorum voluminibus addantur indices, quibus divitiarum copia facilius reseretur. — Diener H., "Fridericus Dux Austriae Ernesti filius", aus 'De viris illustribus' des Enea Silvio Piccolomini", *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 28 (1986), 185-208. Vita nondum pridem edita, sed servata in codice Vat. lat. 3887 nunc primum (in appendice) divulgata; — vide et 4.1: Tateo.

AGRICOLA GEORGIUS (Glauchau 24 III 1494 - Aschersleben 1551): Georg Agricola, *Bermannus (Le Mineur). Un dialogue sur les mines*. Introduction, texte établi, traduit et commenté par R. Halleux et A. Yans (Paris, Belles Lettres, 1990). Editio bilinguis magni pretii.

AGRICOLA RUDOLFUS FRISIUS: Vanwambeke Miek, *R. Agricola's Latijnse Vertaling van Lucianus' Gallus*. (Univ. Leuven, licent. dissert. klassieke filologie, 1991). Editio critica; — Rudolf Agricola, *Over dialectica en humanisme. Uitgegeven, ingeleid en van aantekeningen voorzien door M. van der Poel*, Geschiedenis van de wijsbegeerte in Nederland, 5 (Baarn, Ambo, 1991). Sola interpretatio Nederlandica. — vide et infra: Melanchthon (Meerhoff).

AGRIPPA DE NETTESHEIM HENRICUS C.: Henri Corneille Agrippa, *De Nobilitate et Praecellentia Foeminei Sexus. Edition critique d'après le texte d'Anvers 1529...*sous la direction de R. Antonioli, Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance 243 (Genève, Droz, 1990). Emendanda quaedam. Lege p. 48, 5: absimilem; 15: meritis; 17: eodem; p. 52, 6: patientia; p. 54, 10: periclitari; p. 55, 18: delicatissimum; p. 63, 8: hydrophobia; 23: ventorum; p. 64, 8: stantes; p. 72, 19: pudicitia; p. 73, 12: adsereretur; p. 86, 13: luctationibus.

ALARDUS GULIELMUS (Wilster 22 XI 1572 - Krempe 8 V 1645): Kühlmann W., "Alard Wilhelm", in H.-G. Roloff (ed.), *Die deutsche Literatur*, R. II A (Bern, Frankfurt-M., New York, P. Lang, 1990), pp. 894-900.

ALBERTUS LEO BAPTISTA: Cardini R., *Mosaici. Il 'Nemico' dell'Alberti*, Humanistica 6 (Roma, Bulzoni Ed., 1990). Continet commentationes II, quarum prior de Intercenali 'Hostis' inscripto, altera de "satira et artium hierarchia ab Alberto ad Landinum." — Jarzombek M., *On Leon Battista Alberti*:

- His Literary and Aesthetic Theories* (Cambridge, Mass. - London, The MIT Press, 1989); — Id., "The Structural Problematic of Leon Battista's *De Pictura*", *R.S.* 4 (1990), 273-285; — Marolda P., *Crisi e conflitto in Leon Battista Alberti* L'Ippogrifo, 45 (Roma, Bonacci, 1988). Opuscula 1980-86 collecta. — Regoliosi Mariangela, "Gerarchie culturali e sociali nel 'De Commodis Litterarum atque Incommodis' di Leon Battista Alberti", in: *Sapere e/è potere... Il caso bolognese a confronto. Atti del 4° convegno, Bologna...1989*. Vol. I. *Forme e oggetti della disputa delle Arti*. A cura di Luisa Avellini (Comune di Bologna, 1990), pp. 151-170.
- ALCIATUS ANDREAS: vide infra 5, Inscriptiones: Roma (Ferrua).
- ALSTED JOHANNES HENRICUS (Ballersbach/Herborn 1588 - Weissenburg/Siebenburgen 1638): Schmidt-Biggemann W., "Apokalyptische Universalwissenschaft. Johann Heinrich Alsteds 'Diatrobe de mille annis apocalypticis'", *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 14 (1988), 50-71; — *Encyclopaedia*. Faksimile-Neudruck der Ausgabe Herborn 1630, mit einem Vorwort von W.Schmidt-Biggemann und einer Bibliographie von J. Jungmayr (Stuttgart- Bad Cannstatt, Frommann-Holzboog, 1990).
- AMERBACHIUS JOHANNES (1443-1513): Del Zotto C., "La 'Via Scoti' nell'epistolario di Johann Amerbach (1443-1513)", *Antonianum* 65 (Roma 1990), 161-186.
- ANDRONICUS TRANQUILLUS: vide 1.2 Croatia (Gligo).
- ANNIBALI HIERONYMUS C. (Latera, bapt. 24 XI 1733 - Viterbo 27 II 1813): Vittorina Novara, "P. Flaminio Maria da Latera, al secolo Girolamo C.Annibali", *Lazio*, pp. 15-26. Auctor ecclesiasticus bilinguis.
- ANONYMUS HAPSBURGIUS (Vindobonae 1632): Bosbach Fr., "Princeps in Compendio", in K. Reppen, *Das Herrscherbild im 17. Jahrhundert*, Schriftenreihe der Vereinigung zur Erforschung der neueren Geschichte 19 (Münster W., Aschendorf, 1991), pp. 79-114. Editur 'Principis speculum' compendiosum Caesari Austriaco scriptum.
- ANONYMUS MEXICANUS (s. xvii-xviii): Viveros G., "Noticias y documentos concernientes al desagüe de la ciudad de México. 1607, 1619", *Nova Tellus* 7 (1989), 189-209. Editur Vita R.P. Johannis Sánchez (1548-1619) e codice manuscripto, c.t. *Manipulus virorum aliquot zelo animarum illustrium* (Roma, Arch. Centr. S.J., 19, ff.292-360). Ex eodem codice idem vir doctus etiam octo vitas edidit in *Efemérides Mexicanas* 20 (Univ. Pontif. de México, 1989), quas non vidimus.
- ARATOR STEPHANUS S.J. (dioec. Raab 1541 - Olmütz/Olomouc 1612): Szántó (Arator) István S.J., *Confutatio Alcorani (1611)*, ed. I.D. Lázár. Adattár xvi-xviii századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez 27 (Szeged 1990). Editio princeps e codice Olomucensi.
- ARLERIUS ANTONIUS (Calvisson, ca. 1502 - Nîmes?/Torino? 1545 ex.): *Correspondance d'Antoine Arlier, humaniste languedocien 1527-1545. Edition critique du Ms. 200 (761-R. 132) de la Bibliothèque Méjanes d'Aix-en-Provence*. Texte établi et commenté par J.N.Pendergrass, Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance, CCXLIV (Genève, Droz, 1990). Editio omni laude digna, simul et opus admodum utile quo litterae renatae in Provincia et

- Pedimontio illustrantur. Non solum agitur de Arlerio, sed etiam de Stephano Doletto, Dionysio Faucher, Johanne Vulteio, Claudio Baduel etc.
- ARNGRIMI THORCHILLUS (Thorkel Arngrímsson, Islandus, 1629-1677): *Laekningar - Curationes - séra Thorkels Arngrímssonar*. Skýrt hefur og birt Vilmundur Jónsson (Reykjavík, Helgafell, 1949). Liber Islandice scriptus continet epitaphium Arngrimi latinum (p. 27) et editio princeps e ms° *Curationum morborum* ab auctore medico in praxi sua observatarum. Peculiare hoc specimen Latinitatis Islandicae ut latius innotesceret hic post tot annos a quo editum est etiamnum laudavimus
- AVENTINUS JOHANNES: Prinz Fr., "Johann Turmair, genannt Aventinus (1477-1534) - Bayerischer Humanist und Historiker", in *Der Aquädukt 1763-1988. Ein Almanach aus dem Verlag C.H. Beck im 225. Jahr seines Bestehens*. Vorwort von W. Beck (München, Beck, 1988), pp. 187-195.
- BADIUS JODOCUS: vide supra 2.2.
- BADUELLUS CLAUDIUS (Nîmes, s. XVI): vide supra: Arlerius.
- BANDINUS FRANCISCUS: Vide supra 1.2: Hungaria / Feuer-Tóth.
- BARBARUS FRANCISCUS: Fr. Barbaro. *Epistolario*. Vol. I. *La tradizione manoscritta e a stampa*. A cura di Cl. Griggio, Ist. Naz. Studi sul Rinascimento, Carteggi umanistici, 5 (Firenze, Olschki, 1991).
- BARCLAIUS JOHANNES: Desfougères Anne-Marie, "De la réalité à l'allégorie: l'Argenis de Barclay", *Travaux de linguistique et de littérature* 22 (Strasbourg 1984), 327-335 + 347-351; — Vaillo C., "Vidas de peregrinación y aprendizaje por Europa: El Satiricon de Barclay y el Criticón de Gracián", in A. Sotelo Vázquez - Marta C. Carbonell (edd.), *Homenaje al prof. Antonio Vilanova* (Barcelona, Universidad, 1989), pp. 737-748.
- BARON STEPHANUS O.F.M. (England, ca. 1470/80 - 1520/36?): *De Regimine Principum (1509)*. Translated and Edited by P.J. Mroczkowski. American Univ. Studies, Series 17: Class. Lang. and Lit. 5 (Bern, Frankfurt M., New York, P. Lang, 1991).
- BARTHIUS CASPAR: Briesemeister D., "Kaspar von Barth (1587-1658) und die Frühgeschichte der Hispanistik in Deutschland", M. Tietz (ed.), *Das Spanieninteresse im deutschen Sprachraum. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Hispanistik vor 1900* (Frankfurt M., 1989), pp. 1-21. Latine vertit 'Diana enamorada' = *Nemoralium libri V*.
- BEATUS RHENANUS: vide supra 1.2/ Germania/Rhenus Sup.: Andermann.
- BEGNIUS SIMON (Zadar, ca. 1460-1536): Glavičić Br., "Latinski jezik Šimuna Kožićica Benje", *Radovi. Razdio filoloških Znānosti* 14-15 (Zadar 1976), 155-173. Duas orationes latine habuit: in sexta Lateranensis Concilii sessione (1513), et De Corvatiae desolatione ad Leonem X (1516); — vide et 1.2: Croatia (Gligo).
- BEMBUS PETRUS: D'Ascia L., "Bembo e Castiglione su Guidobaldo da Montefeltro", *GSLI* 166(1989), 51-69.
- BESSARION (Pseudo-): vide 1.5: Theophrastus; 4.2: Perottus
- BEVERLANDUS HADRIANUS: De Smet R., "Hadriani Beverlandi epistolae XII. Édition critique et commentaire", in De Smet R., Melaerts H., Saerens C. (edd.), *Studia varia Bruxellensia* (Leuven, Peeters, 1990), pp. 29-56.

- BODINUS JOHANNES: vide 1.7 Ecdoctica (Grafton).
- BONFINIUS ANTONIUS: vide supra 1.2: Hungaria: Feuer-Tòth.
- BORGHESIUS SCIPIO: Sacré D., "Ein unbekannter und unveröffentlichter Brief an Justus Lipsius", *WRM* 15 (1991), 19-20. Scipio gratias agit pro accepta Senecae editione, Romae 8 IV 1606.
- BORGIA ALEXANDER (Velletri 1682- Fermo 1764): Bonadonna Russo Maria T., "Monsignor Alessandro Borgia di Velletri", *Lazio*, pp. 121-144. Historicus.
- BORSETTUS FERDINANDUS (Ferrara 1682-1764): Sacré Th., "Ferdinandus Borsetti Ferrariensis, Poggii Florentini heres", *Melissa* 37 (Brussel 1990), 8-10. Eduntur facetiae aliquot e codice Ferrarriensi I 193.
- BOYSSONEUS JOHANNES (Castres/Tarn ca. 1500 - Chambéry 1559): vide supra: Arlerius, pp. 233-34 (epistola).
- BRITANNUS ROBERTUS (Arras, ca. 1500? - † post 1551): "R. Britannus, 'On the Best Form of Commonwealth': A Dialogue Between Pierre du Chastel and Aymar Ranconet. Edited and Translated by R.W. Dyson and M. Tudor, With Introductory Remarks by H. Tudor", *History of Political Thought* 21 (1990), 37-58. Sola interpretatio anglica.
- BRUNUS JORDANUS: Giordano Bruno, *Summa terminorum metaphysicorum*. Ristampa anastatica Marburg 1609. A cura di T. Gregory e E. Canone (Roma, 1989); — G.B., *De umbris idearum*. A cura di Rita Sturlese. Premesso di E. Garin, *Studi e Testi* [dell'] Istituto Naz. di Studi sul Rinascimento, xxvi (Firenze, Olschki, 1991). Editio critica et adnotata locupletissima.
- BRUNUS LEONARDUS: Viti P. (ed.), *Leonardo Bruni, Cancelliere della Repubblica di Firenze. Convegno di Studi (Firenze...1987)* (Firenze, Olschki, 1990). Vide imprimis partem III: *Letteratura e storia*: 1) V. Branca, "Un 'lusus' del Bruni Cancelliere: il rifacimento di una novella del 'Decameron' (IV 1) e la sua irradiazione europea" (pp. 207-226); 2) Concetta Bianca, "Le orazioni di L.B." (pp. 227-246); 3) Anna M. Cabrini, "Le 'Historiae' del Bruni: risultati e ipotesi di una ricerca sulle fonti" (pp. 247-320); vide etiam partem IV (pp. 341-390): *Lettere pubbliche e lettere private*, quae constat tribus comentationibus a P.Viti, M. Davies et Lucia Gualdo Rosa conscriptis; — Gualdo Rosa Lucia, "L'elogio delle lettere e delle armi nell'opera di Leonardo Bruni", L. Avellini (ed.), *Sapere e/è potere. Discipline, Dispute e Professioni nell'università medievale e moderna. Il caso bolognese a confronto. Atti del 4° Convegno...1989*. Vol. I: *Forme e oggetti delle disputa delle arti* (Bologna 1990), pp. 103-115. — Gualdo Rosa Lucia - Viti P. (edd.), *Per il censimento dei codici dell'epistolario di Leonardo Bruni. Seminario internaz. di studi, Firenze, 30 ott. 1987*. Nuovi Studi Storici 10 (Roma, Istit. storico ital. per il Medio Evo, 1991); — Viti P., "Inediti e autografi di Leonardo Bruni: le lettere pubbliche del primo cancellierato fiorentino (1411)", *Archivio storico lombardo* 147 (1989), 3-29.
- BRUSCHIUS CASPAR: vide supra 2.2.
- BUCER MARTINUS: Rott J.(ed.), en collaboration avec R.Friedrich, *Correspondance de Martin Bucer. Tome II (1524-1526)*. Opera Omnia, Series III = *Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought* 43 (Leiden, Brill, 1989).

- BUDAËUS GULIELMUS: De la Garanderie M.-M., "Guillaume Budé philosophe de la culture", *Bulletin Assoc. G. Budé* 1990, Nr. 4, 371-381; — Gadoffre G., "La culture antique et le sacré chez Guillaume Budé", in: *Assoc. G. Budé. Actes du xii^e congrès (Bordeaux, 17-21 août 1988): Les écrivains et le sacré...1^e partie: Rapports et Conférences* (Paris, Belles Lettres, 1989), pp. 339-342; — Logan Marie-Rose, "Writing the Self: Guillaume Budé's Poetics of Scholarship", in M.-R. Logan and P.L.Rudnytsky (edd.), *Contending Kingdoms. Historical, Psychological and Feminist Approaches to the Literature of Sixteenth-Century England and France* (Detroit, Wayne State U.P., 1991), pp. 131-148; — vide et 1.4: Linguistica (Fontán).
- BURMANUS PETRUS Sr.: vide 1.6 Scientifica (Calabi)
- BURMANUS PETRUS Secundus (Holland 1713-1778): P. H. Schrijvers, "De filoloog als literair criticus in de 18de eeuw. Petrus Burmannus' *De entusiasmo poetico* (1742)", *Documentatieblad werkgroep Achttiende Eeuw* 22 (1990), 9-26.
- CAHAGNESIUS JACOBUS (fl. Caen 1600): Neveux H., "Humanisme et élites urbaines à Caen au XVI^e siècle d'après *Elogiorum civium Cadomensium* de Jacques de Cahaignes", in K.Malettke - J. Voss (edd.), *Humanismus und höfisch-städtische Eliten im 16. Jht.* (Bonn 1990), pp. 181-193. *Elogiorum centuriam primam* edidit Cadomi 1609.
- CAMERARIUS JOACHIM Junior: vide 1.2: Germania /Nürnberg.
- CAMPANUS JOANNES ANTONIUS: vide 4.1: Tateo.
- CAMPANELLA THOMAS: *De virtutibus supernaturalibus, quibus ad beatitudinem homo regitur (Inediti, Theol. Liber XI); de donis et fructibus Spiritus Sancti. De Beatitudine (Ined., Theol. Liber XII)*. A cura di R. Amerio e O. M. Nobile Ventura, Ediz. Naz. dei classici del pensiero ital., s. II 38 (Roma 1988).
- CARAMUEL JOHANNES: *Il 'Sintagma de arte typographica' di Juan Caramuel e altri testi secenteschi sulla tipografia e l'edizione*. Edizione, introduzione e note a cura di V. Romani (Roma, Vecchiarelli ed., 1988).
- CAROLOSTADIUS (Bodenstein von Karlstadt) ANDREAS (Karlstadt, ca. 1480 - Basel 24 XII 1541): Zorzin A., *Karlstadt als Flugschriftenautor*, Göttinger Theologische Arbeiten 48 (Göttingen - Zürich, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990). Liber etiam continet absolutissimum operum C. elenchum.
- CARRARIENSIS JOHANNES MICHAEL ALBERTUS: Alonso C., OSA, "La biografia inédita de Santa Clara de Montefalco por el humanista Giovanni Michele Alberto Carrara (s.XV)", *Analecta Augustiniana* 44 (1991), 5-61.
- CASTIGLIONE BALTHASAR: vide supra: Bembus P.
- CEDOLINUS PETRUS: vide 1.2: Croatia (Gligo).
- CIOFANUS HERCULES (Sulmona, s. xvi): Papponetti G., "Geminazioni della memoria: l'Ovidio di Hercole Ciofano", *Ovidio poeta della memoria. Atti Convegno internaz.,...Sulmona...1989* (Roma, Herder, 1991), pp. 143-179.
- COLLENUCCIUS PANDULPHUS: Paolini P.: "Aspetti letterari del Colleenuccio storico"; *Italianistica* 17 (1988), 49-77.
- COLVENERIUS GEORGIUS (Gemp / St.Joris-Winge 21 V 1564 - Douai 29 V 1649): Culvenor C.C., *The Colveners of the Old Netherlands. A Biography of George Colveneere, 16th-century Theologian...*(Private edition: C.C.C., 52

- Rostrevor Pde, Mont Albert North, Victoria 3129, Australia, 1990): "Epitaphium Duacense"(p. 35); "The Colveneere Publications" (pp. 37-56).
- CONTOBLACAS ANDRONICUS (+ post 1474): Monfasani J., "In Praise of Ognibene and Blame of Guarino: Andronicus Contoblacas's Invective Against Niccolò Botano and the Citizens of Brescia", *BHR* 52 (1990), 309-321. Editio princeps.
- COPERNICUS NICOLAUS: vide Segel H.B., pp. 127-137: "Copernicus: the Scientist as Humanist"; — 1.7 Ecdotica (Grafton).
- CORTESIUS PAULUS: Poeschel Sabina, "A Hitherto Unknown Portrait of a Well-Known Roman Humanist", *RQ* 43 (1990), 146-154.
- COUPLET PHILIPPUS S.J.: Heyndrickx J. (ed.), *Philippe Couplet S.J., The Man Who Brought China to Europe (1623-1693)*, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series XXII (Sankt Augustin/Bonn, 1990). Primus Confucianam philosophiam exposuit in libro c.t. *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus*.
- COX LEONARDUS: Breeze A.- Glomski Jacqueline, "An Early British Treatise Upon Education: Leonard Cox's *De erudienda iuventute* (1526)", *HL* 40 (1991), 112-167.
- CRANTZIUS (Krantz) ALBERTUS (Hamburg 1448-7 XII 1517): Löfstedt B., "Notizen eines Latinisten zu Albert Krantz", in G. Bernt, F. Rädle, G. Silagi, *Tradition und Wertung. Festschrift für Fr. Brunhölzl* (Sigmaringen, J. Thorbecke, 1989), pp. 295-305. Observationes ad opera q.t. *Wandalia et Saxonia pertinentes*.
- DECEMBRIUS PETRUS CANDIDUS: vide infra: Pizolpassus.
- DILHERR JOHANNES MICHAEL (Themar/Hildburgshausen 14 X 1604 - Nürnberg 8 IV 1669); Kühlmann W., "Addenda zur Korrespondenz Johann Michael Dilherrs - zugleich ein Hinweis auf einen Briefcodex namhafter Theologen (BNU Strassburg)", *Zeitschrift bayer. Kirchengeschichte* 59 (1990), 106-115. Excerpta et summaria epistolarum annorum 1631-52. Praeter theologos adsunt Daniel Heinsius et philologi minores. Codex etiam plurimas litteras servat Michaelis Virdung (1575-1637). Nota p. 111 n. 25 vocabula 'octennalis (peregrinatio)' et 'abiturire'.
- DIPLOVATATIUS THOMAS: vide infra: Vascus de Quiroga.
- DLUGOSSIUS JOHANNES: Szelińska Wacława, *Jan Długosz, storico e primo geografo polacco*. Conferenze pubblicate a cura dell' Accademia polacca delle scienze...a Roma 88 (Roma, Palazzo Doria, 1984).
- DOLETUS STEPHANUS: vide 1.3: Litteraria / Chomarat.
- EBERT ADAM E.: vide supra 1.7: Briesemeister.
- ELISABETHA I, Angliae Regina: Perry Maria, *Elizabeth I. The Word of a Prince. A Life From Contemporary Documents* (London, The Folio Society, 1990), pp. 319-320: editur epistola ad Henricum VIII patrem dedicatoria interpretationis latinae, quam E. fecit, libri pii Catharinae reginae, c.t. *Prelationes seu Meditationes*. Valde dolendum est hanc editionem — ut hodie fieri solet — nonnullis erroribus foedatam esse: eximie curatur externa libri vestis, negligitur textus!
- EQUICOLA MARIUS: Kolsky St., *Mario Equicola, the Real Courtier*. Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance 246 (Genève, Droz, 1991); — Vecce C., *Un'*

apologia per l'Equicola. Le due redazioni della Pro Gallis Apologia di Mario Equicola e la traduzione francese di Michel Roté (Napoli, Istituto Univ. Orientale, Dpto di studi letterari e linguistici dell'Occidente, 1990). Editio princeps opusculi primigenii (1504) e codice autographo Lugduno-Batavo, et nova editio opusculi retractati (Ferrariae? 1509), necnon veteris interpretationis Gallicae a Michael Roté factae (Parisiis 1550). Corrigenda: p. 73,8 pro 'perditum in' lege 'perditum ire'; p. 76,5 pro 'invitur' 'vivitur'; p. 76 (11), 6 restequé divi dicent = recte diiudicent; (12), 2: vaties = vates; p. 77 (15), 3: non ut = non it; p. 81 (25),5: sequunt = sequuntur; p. 87 (43),4: mavis = maius; p. 89 (47),8 inimice = inimicicie, et 12 ingentim = ingenti.

ERASMUS:

- Michelini Tocci L., *In Officina Erasmi: L'apparato autografo di Erasmo per l'edizione 1528 degli Adagia e un nuovo manoscritto del Compendium Vitae*. Note e discussioni erudite 20 (Roma, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1989); — Rummel Erika, "An Unpublished Erasmian *Apologia* in the Royal Library of Copenhagen", *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 70 (1990), 210-229.
- Engels M.H.H., *Erasmus' handexemplaren: vijf Griekse Aldijnen in de Franeker collectie van de Provinciale Bibliotheek van Friesland te Leeuwarden* (Leeuwarden, Provinc. Bibliotheek van Friesland, 1989).
- Rummel Erika (ed.), *The Erasmus Reader* (U of Toronto Press, 1990). Anthologia erasmiana anglice versa; — *Collected Works of Erasmus. New Testament Scholarship*. Gen. Editor R.D.Sider. Vol. 46. *Paraphrase on John*. Translated and Annotated by Jane E. Phillips (U of Toronto Press, 1991); — Érasme, *Oeuvres choisies*. Présentation, traduction et annotations de J. Chomarat (Paris, Le livre de poche, 1991). Amplissima selectio, ex parte nunc primum gallice versa.
- McConica J., *Erasmus. Past Masters* (Oxford-New York, Oxford U.P., 1991); — Schoeck R. J., *Erasmus of Europe: the Making of a Humanist 1467-1500* (Edinburgh U.P., 1990). Prior pars novae vitae Erasmianae intellectualis.
- *Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook* 8 (1988). Continet i.a. A. Rabil, Jr., "Cicero and Erasmus' Moral Philosophy" (pp. 70-90); E.V. Telle, "Marriage and Divorce on the Isle of Utopia - Utopian Reverberations With Erasmus of Rotterdam" (pp. 91-117).
- Bierlaire Fr., "Érasme et le monde animal", in Liliane Bodson - R. Libois (edd.), *Contributions à l'histoire des connaissances zoologiques* (Université de Liège, 1991), pp. 71-87; — Correll B., "Malleable Material, Models of Power: Women in Erasmus's "Marriage Group" and Civility in Boys", *ELH* 57 (1990), 241-262; — Gordon W.M., *Humanist Play and Belief. The Seriocomic Art of Desiderius Erasmus*. Erasmus Studies 8 (Toronto U.P., 1990) — Halkin L.-E., "Une énigme de l'histoire littéraire: l'Eloge de la Folie", *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres...de l'Académie royale de Belgique*, 5° s., t.75 (Bruxelles 1989), pp. 191-210; — Kinney A.F., *Continental Humanist Poetics. Studies in Erasmus, Castiglione, Marguerite de Navarre, Rabelais, and Cervantes* (Amherst, U of Massachusetts Press, 1989),

- pp. 46-86: "Sancte Socrates, ora pro nobis: Erasmus, the *Encomium Moriae*, and the Poetics of Wordplay"; — Müller W.G., "Das Problem von Schein und Sein in Erasmus' *Sileni Alcibiadis* und Shakespeares *Macbeth*", *WRM* 15 (1991), 1-18. — Newman J.K., "Erasmus' Praise of Folly as an Introduction to Catullus", in Id., *Roman Catullus and the Modification of the Alexandrian Sensibility* (Hildesheim, 1990), pp. 444-453. — Remer G., "Rhetoric and the Erasmian Defence of Religious Toleration", *History of Political Thought* 10 (1989), 377-403; — Van der Blom N., "Erasmus' Horse and the Ears of the Smith. On Epist. 867, 28-30", *HL* 40 (1991), 446-447; — Vieth D.M., "The *Moriae Encomium* as a Model for Satire in Restoration Court Literature: Rochester and Others", in: *Rochester and Court Poetry*. By D.M.Vieth and D.Griffin. Introduction by A.Roper (Los Angeles, The William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1988). — Branca V., "Galeazzo Flavio Capella traduttore di Erasmo", *Lettere italiane* 42 (1990), 66-90.
- Heesakkers C.L., "'Superet quae saecula massa': een massief dat de eeuwen kan trotseren. Rond het Rotterdamse standbeeld van Erasmus en de Leidse uitgave van zijn verzamelde werken", *Mededelingen van de Stichting J.C. Weyerman* 13 (Amsterdam 1990), 33-52.
- vide et 1.3: Litteraria / Chomarat; 1.6: Scientifica / De Jonge.
- FABRICIUS JOHANNES ANDREAS (Dodendorf /Magdeburg 1696 - Nordhausen 28 II 1769): Marwinski Felicitas, *Johann Andreas Fabricius und die Jenaer gelehrten Gesellschaften des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Jena, Friedrich-Schiller-Universität, 1989).
- FACCIOLATUS JACOBUS: Cherchi P.A., "Jacopo Facciolati and the Canon of Latin Authors", *Storia della storiografia* (Milano 1986), n° 6, pp. 46-61.
- FAUCHER DIONYSIUS: vide supra: Arlerius, pp. 201-47 (epistolae VII).
- FERDINANDUS JACOBUS (Bari 1510-post 1556): Sisto P., "Tra Bari, Padova e Cracovia: Jacopo Ferdinando e la prevenzione della peste", in Fr. Tateo (ed.), *Storia di Bari. Vol. II: Dalla conquista Normanna al ducato Sforzesco* (Bari, Laterza, 1990), pp. 549-559. Auctor medicus de peste.
- FICINUS MARSILIUS: *Lettere I. Epistolarum Familiarium liber I*, a cura di Seb.Gentili (Firenze, Olschki, 1990). Editio critica diligenter facta et fontium apparatu instructa. — Zintzen C., "Die Inspiration des Dichters: Ein Brief Ficinos aus dem Jahre 1457", in: Görler W.- Koster S. (edd.), *Pratum Saraviense. Festgabe für Peter Steinmetz*, Palingenesia 30 (Stuttgart 1990), pp. 189-203.
- FLORIUS FRANCISCUS: Tournoy G., "Francesco Florio's Novella Revisited", *HL* 40 (1991), 30-42.
- FLUDD ROBERTUS (1574-1673): Huffman W.H., *Robert Fludd and the End of the Renaissance* (London - New York, Routledge, 1988).
- FRANGEPANIS, FRANCISCUS et VOLFFGANGUS: vide 1.2: Croatia (Gligo).
- FROIDMONT LIBERTUS (Haccourt 3 X 1587 - Leuven 28 X 1653): Bernès Anne-Cath.(ed.), *Libert Froidmont et les résistances aux révolutions scientifiques. Actes du Colloque Château d'Oupeye... 1987* (Association des Vieilles Familles de Haccourt, Thier des Bruyères 46, B-4547 Haccourt, 1988). Auctor varia opera scientifica Latine scripsit, i.a. iter ficticium in novum

- mundum Galileianum (*Saturnaliae Coenae variatae somnio, sive peregrinatione coelesti*, Lovanii 1616).
- GALATEUS, ANTONIUS de FERRARIIS: Defilippis D., "Città ideale e città celeste nella riflessione ideologica di A. De Ferrariis Galateo", in *L'Umanesimo di Sant'Agostino. Atti del Congresso internaz., Bari ...1986* (Bari, Levante ed., 1988), pp. 479-491.
- GELDENHOUWER GERARDUS; Bejczy I.P., "Gerard Geldenhouwer of Nijmegen, *Epistola de officio christiani principis* (1538); *Enchiridion principis ac magistratus christiani* (1539)", *HL* 40 (1991), 168-205; — Vide et 2.2: Aurelius Cornelius.
- GESNERUS CONRADUS: Leu U.B., *Conrad Gesner als Theologe. Ein Beitrag zur Zürcher Geistesgeschichte des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Zürcher Beiträge zur Reformationsgeschichte 14 (Bern, Frankfurt M., New York, P.Lang, 1991).
- GORSICIUS JACOBUS: vide 1.2: Croatia (Gligo).
- GOTHOFREDUS JACOBUS (Genève 1587-1652): J. G., *Codex Theodosianus* 16, 8, 1-29. *Über Juden, Himmelsverehrer und Samaritaner*. Übersetzt und bearbeitet von Renate Frohne. Europ. Hochschulschriften, R. 3. Geschichte, Bd. 453 (Frankfurt/M. - Bern - New York - Paris, P. Lang, 1991).
- GRATIUS ORTUINUS: Chaix G., "Le 'Fasciculus rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum' d'Ortvin Gratus et l'esprit réformateur de Cologne en 1534", in B. Chevalier - R. Sauzet (edd.), *Les Réformes. Enracinement socio-culturel. XXV^e Colloque intern. d'études humanistes, Tours 1982* (Paris, Ed. de la Maisnie, 1985), pp. 387-392.
- GREGORIUS TIPERNAS: vide supra 1.5: Theophrastus.
- GRONOVIVS JOHANNES FREDERICUS: vide 1.6: Lomonaco.
- GUARINUS VERONENSIS: Percival W. Keith, "Anaphora in Medieval and Renaissance Latin Grammars", in *Grammairiens*, pp. 245-258.
- HALL JOSEPHUS: vide infra: Sterne Laur.
- HEDIO CASPAR ("Ettlingen 1494): vide supra 1.2: Germania /Rhenus Sup.: Andermann.
- HEINSIUS DANIEL: vide supra s.v. Dilherr.
- HELVETIVS JOHANNES FRIDERICUS (Cöthen/Anhalt 1630 - 's Gravenhage 1709): Von Martels Zw., "*Zoudt u de steen der Wijzen herkennen*": *de geschiedenis van een wonderbaarlijke transmutatie van lood in goud. Vertaalde fragmenten uit het 'Gouden Kalf' (1667)* (Univ. Groningen, editio privata, 1989). Proponitur et Nederlandice vertitur *Vitulus aureus* (Amstelodami 1667) seu libellus, quo auctor narrat se anno 1666 plumbum in aurum obryzum commutasse. Libellus non prostat venalis.
- HERBERSTEIN, SIGISMUNDUS AB: Leitsch W., "Herbersteiniana", *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* N.F. 38 (1990), 548-564. Conspectus studiorum recentiorum.
- HUBER UDALRICUS: vide 1.6: Lomonaco.
- HUTTENUS UDALRICUS: Bächtold H.U., "Ulrich von Hutten und Zürich. Eine Nachlese zum Hutten-Jahr 1988", *Zwingliana* 18 (1989), 12-19.
- HUYGENS CHRISTIANUS ('s Gravenhage 1629-1695): Christiaan Huygens, *Cosmotheoros / De Wereldbeschouwer. Vertaling Pieter Rabus*. Voorzien

- van een inleiding door H.A.M.Snelders (Utrecht, Epsilon uitgaven 1989). Interpretatio nederlandica anno 1699 a Petro Rabo Roterodamensi facta operis Hugeniani posthumi (1698) de planetis. Ipsi *Cosmotheori libri II* denuo editi sunt in *Operibus Hugenii Omnibus*, t. xxi.
- IRENICUS FRANCISCUS ("Ettlingen 1495): vide supra 1.2: Germania /Rhenus Sup.: Andermann.
- JAHN OTTO (1813-1866): Neuhausen K. A., "Otto Jahn als lateinischer Prosaautor (am Beispiel seiner 'Praefatio' zur Ausgabe der Epitoma des Florus)", in: W. M. Calder III, H. Cancik, B. Kytzler (edd.), *Otto Jahn (1813-1868)*, (Stuttgart, Fr. Steiner, 1991), pp. 189-194.
- JÓNSSON ARNGRIMUR: Santini C., "Classicità e umanesimo nella *Crymogaea* di Arngrímur Jónsson", *Quaderni linguistici e filologici* 3 (Macerata 1985), 317-338.
- JOVIUS (Giovio) PAULUS: Travi E., "La sosta a Napoli di Paolo Giovio", *Quaderni dell'Istituto nazionale di studi sul Rinascimento meridionale* 4 (1987), 107-129.
- JUNIUS FRANCISCUS: Nativel Colette, "Quelques sources antiques du 'De Pictura Veterum' de Franciscus Junius", *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 5 (1989), 2, pp. 33-49.
- KIRCHER ATHANASIVS S.J.: Corradino S., S.J., "Athanasius Kircher: 'Damnatio memoriae' e revisione in atto", *Archivum Historicum S.J.* 59 (1990), 3-26.
- LEGRAND ANTONIVS (Douai 16.. - London 26 VII 1699): Antoine Legrand, *Scydromedia*. Hrsg., übersetzt und kommentiert von Ursula Greiff. Bibliotheca Neolatina 5 (Bern-Berlin-New York-Paris, P.Lang, 1991). Editur Utopia docta, quae primum Londini 1669, iterum Noribergae 1680 typis excusa est. Praemittitur disquisitio de vita et operibus auctoris, addita est interpretatio germanica, notae item exegeticae copiosae necnon indices nominum, rerum et Latinitatis. Liber multis laudibus vehendus. Ad vocem 'asciticus' vide nunc *HL* 39 (1990), 346. Nota 'medicus sanicida fit' (p. 102,24). *Purpurati* (p. 48, 13 etc.), ni fallor, sunt summae auctoritates ecclesiasticae (cfr. in Ecclesia catholica: Cardinales).
- LEUNCLAVIVS JOHANNES (Coesfeld / Münster, ca. 1541 - Wien VI 1593 aut '94): Burtin Marie-P., "Un apôtre de la tolérance: l'humaniste allemand Johannes Löwenklau, dit Leunclavius (1541-1593?)", *BHR* 52 (1990), 561-570.
- LEWIS CLIVE S. (1898-1963): Moynihan M., *Letters C[live] S[taples] Lewis - Don Giovanni Calabria. A Study of Friendship. Edited and Translated* (Ann Arbor, Servant Books, 1988).
- LIPSIUS JUSTUS: Halsted D., "Distance, Dissolution and Neo-Stoic Ideals: History and Self-definition in Lipsius", *HL* 40 (1991), 262-274; — Stolleis M., "Lipsius-Rezeption in der politisch-juristischen Literatur des 17. Jahrhunderts", *Der Staat* 26 (1987), 1-30; — Sutton Dana F., "Justus Lipsius to Thomas Legge, January 1, 1585", *HL* 40 (1991), 275-281; — Vide supra: Borghesius.
- LUCCHICTUS MARCUS ANTONIVS (Prezza 15.. - Pentima 1584): Papponetti G., "Il 'Corfinium' di Marc'Antonio Lucchitti", *Bullettino della Deputazione Abruzzese di storia patria* 79 (1989), 89-120. Iterum editur libellus c.t.

- Corfinium...et Carmina* (Sulmone 1583). *Corfinium pedestri sermone descriptum est. Praemittitur Hercules Ciofani tetrastichon.*
- LUDOVICUS PIRANENSIS: Cova L., "‘Super septem vitia’ e ‘De proportionibus’. Due opuscoli inediti di Ludovico da Pirano (XV secolo)", *Atti. Centro di Ricerche storiche* 17 (Rovigo 1986/87), 83-154.
- MAFFEUS SCIPIO: vide 1.6: Scientifica (Calabi).
- MANEIRO JOHANNES LUDOVICUS (Veracruz 2 II 1744 - México 16 XI 1802): Juan Luis Maneiro, *Sobre la vida de tres Mexicanos illustres (siglo XVIII)*. Prólogo, edición, traducción y notas de J. Pimentel Alvarez (México, UNAM, Centro de Estudios Clásicos, 1990). Eduntur ex opere *De Vitis aliquot Mexicanorum* (1791) Vitae Antonii Lopezii Portilli, Petri Mali et Michaelis Gutierrii.
- MANETTUS JANNOTIUS: Giannozzo Manetti, *Über die Würde und Erhabenheit des Menschen. De dignitate et excellentia hominis*. Übersetzt von H. Leppin, hrsg. und eingeleitet von A. Buck. Philosophische Bibliothek 426 (Hamburg, Felix Mainer Verlag, 1990); — Vide et 1.5: Figliuolo.
- MARCELLUS FRANCISCUS: vide 1.2: Croatia (Gligo).
- MARNIXIUS SANCTALDEGONDIUS: Gerlo A.-De Smet R., *Marnixi Epistulae. De Briefwisseling van Marnix van Sint-Aldegonde. Een kritische uitgave. Pars I: 1558-1576* (Brussel U. P.- Nieuwkoop, De Graaf, 1990). *Epistulae* 73 sex linguis scriptae.
- MARULUS MARCUS: Béné Ch., "Nouveaux documents sur la diffusion en France de l'œuvre de Marulić", *BHR* 52 (1990), 617-622; — Glavičić Br., "O jeziku i stilu Marulicevih 'Starozavjetnih Ličnosti' (De Veteris Instrumenti viris illustribus commentarium)", *Radovi. Razdvo filoloških znanosti* 21-22 (1981-83), 89-105. De lingua et genere dicendi; — Id., "Sudbina Marulicevo djela De humilitate et gloria Christi", *ib.* 29 (1989/90), 167-174. De fortuna operis M.Maruli...; — Dani Hvarskog Kazališta: *Marko Marulić* (Split, Književni krug, 1989). *Commentationes variae Croaticae scriptae de Marco Marulo*. — Novaković D., "Marulićeve 'starozavjetne ličnosti' i antička biografska tradicija", *Mojućnosti* 36 (1989), sv. 1-2, 105sq.; — vide etiam sub 2.2.
- MASCARDUS AUGUSTINUS: Bellini E., "Agostino Mascardi fra 'Ars Poetica' e 'Ars historica'", *Studi Secenteschi* 32 (1991), - .
- MATTHAEUS AQUILANUS (Pizzoli / Aquila, ca. 1410 - Napoli? II 1475): Matteo dell'Aquila, *Tractatus de Cometa atque Terraemotu* (Cod. Vat. Barb. lat. 268). A cura di B. Figliuolo. Osservatorio Vesuviano: Storia e scienza della terra. Collana di fonti e monografie II (Salerno, P. Laveglia ed., 1990). *Narratio anno 1457 scripta de terribili terraemotu anni 1456*. Editio nitide curata.
- MELANCHTHON PHILIPPUS: Meerhoff K., "Mélanchthon lecteur d'Agricola: rhétorique et analyse textuelle", *Réforme, Humanisme, Renaissance*, n° 30 (1990), 5-22.
- MELANDER OTTO (Hessen 1571 - Praha 1640): Löfstedt B., "Zum Latein des Humanisten Otto Melander", *Arctos* 24 (Helsinki 1990), 97-106. Eius extant *Iocorum atque seriorum...libri III* (Lich 1604-04-05), qui satis multa verba recentiora continent.

- MELISSUS PAULUS: Gerlo A., "Een ongekende brief van Paulus Melissus aan Justus Lipsius", *Kleio* 20 (Univ. Leuven 1990/91), 137-142.
- MESSENIUS JOHANNES (Freberga/Östergötland 1579/80 - Uleaborg 8 XI 1636): Jönsson Ann-Mari, *Johannes Messenius, Chronologia Sanctae Birgittae. A Critical Edition With Introduction and Commentary* (Lund, Dept. of Classical Studies, 1988).
- MILTON JOHANNES: Bauman M., *A Scripture Index to John Milton's De Doctrina Christiana. Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies* 67 (Binghamton, N.Y., 1989); — Miller Leo†, "In Defence of Milton's *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio*", *R.S.* 4 (1990), 300-328.
- MINTURNUS ANTONIUS SEBASTIANUS (Minturno [Traetto] 1502 - Crotone 1574): Pugliese Maria R., "Antonio Sebastiano Minturno e l'Arte Poetica", *Atti dell'Accademia Pontaniana*, n.s. 39 (1990), 80-90.
- MORGENSTERN CAROLUS (Magdeburg 28 VIII 1770 - Dorpat 3 IX 1852): Neschke-Hentschke Ada, "Carl Morgenstern, *De Platonis republica commentationes tres*, Halae 1794. Der erste moderne Kommentar zu Platos 'Staat'", *Antike und Abendland* 36 (1990), 152-162.
- MORUS THOMAS: *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More. Vol. 7: Letter to Bugenhagen, Supplication of Souls, Letter Against Frith*. Edited by Fr. Manley, G. Marc'hadour, R. Marius and Cl. H. Miller (New Haven - London, Yale U.P., 1990).
- Trapp J.B., "La iconografia de Santo Tomas Moro", *Lecturas de historia del Arte: Ephialte* 2 (Instituto de Estudios iconograficos, Victoria - Gasteiz, 1990), 45-59. Editur etiam Mori epitaphium Londinense (pp. 57-59); — Albanese D., "The New Atlantis and the Uses of Utopia", *ELH* 57 (1990), 503-528; — Moulakis Ath., "Pride and the Meaning of 'Utopia'", *History of Political Thought* 11 (1990), 241-246; — Skimmer Q., "Sir Thomas More's Utopia and the Language of Renaissance Humanism", in A. Pagden (ed.), *The Languages of Political Theory in Early-modern Europe. Ideas in Context* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 123-158; — Trevor-Roper H., *Renaissance Essays* (U of Chicago Press, 1989); — vide et 1.3: Litteraria / Chomarat.
- NEBRISSENSIS ANTONIUS: Bonmati Sanchez Virginia, "Les grammairiens anciens et modernes dans les 'Introductiones Latinae' d' Antonio de Nebrija", in *Grammairiens*, pp. 293-302.
- NICOLAUS JOHANNES (Arles, fl. 1530-40): vide supra: Arlerius, pp. 219-27 (epistolae).
- NIPHUS AUGUSTINUS (Jopoli / Calabria 1473 - ca. 1540): A. Nifo, *Sobre la belleza y el amor*. Traducción, estudio preliminar y notas por Fr. Socas (Sevilla, Publicaciones de la Universidad, 1990). Interpretatio hispanica librorum II de *Pulchro et Amore* (Romae 1531), cui accesserunt copiosae notae de fontibus, item index argumentorum bilinguis (Hispanus cum vocabulis Latinis intra uncus adiectis).
- OLYMPIA FULVIA MORATA: *Briefe. Aus dem Lateinischen, Italienischen und Griechischen*. Übersetzung von R. Kössling und Gertrud Weiss-Stählin. Mit Einleitung, Anmerkungen, Literatur- und Personenverzeichnis hrsg. von R. Kössling (Leipzig, Reclam, 1990).

- PALIIETTI JACOBUS JOSEPHUS: *Pharmacopoea Sardo, ex selectioribus codicibus, optimisque scriptoribus collecta, in unum corpus digesta, et nunc primum edita a Jacobo Josepho Palietti Pedemontano, in Sardiniae regno archiatrorum comite, in regio Caralitana Athenaeo anatomiae, ac medicinae theoricopracticae publico professore, et Taurinensis medicorum Collegii socio. Ex regia typographia Caralitana MDCCLXXIII*. Ristampa anastatica (Carlo Delfino ed., Piazza Italia 11, I-07100 Sassari, 1991)
- PALMERIUS NICOLAUS: Monfasani J., "A Theologian at the Roman Curia in the Mid-Quattrocento. A Bio-Bibliographical Study of Niccolò Palmieri, O.S.A.", *Analecta Augustiniana* 54 (1991), 321-381.
- PANVINIUS ONUFRIUS, O.S.A.: Gersbach K. A., "Onofrio Panvinio's 'De comitiis imperatoriis' and Its Successive Revisions: Biographical Background and Manuscripts", *Analecta Augustiniana* 53 (1990), 411-452. Editio princeps prodit Basileae 1558; — Id., "Onofrio Panvinio and Cybo Family Pride in His Treatment of Innocent VIII and in the 'xxvii Pontificum Maximorum elogia et imagines'", *Ib.*, 54 (1991), 115-141.
- PASQUA OCTAVIANUS († Gerace 1591): Fuda R., "Le 'Vite' inedite di Ottaviano Pasqua", *Archivio storico italiano* 148 (1990), 331-391. E codice manuscripto opus editur, c.t. *Comites et Marchiones Hieracii, qui rerum potiti sunt*.
- PAULINUS (PAULSEN) HENRICUS (Emden 1537 - 17 XII 1602): Von Reeken E., "Henricus Paulinus (1537 - 1602): Rede über...Philipp Melanchton", *Lias* 17 (1990), 27-61. Editur oratio funebris graece scripta et 30 VIII 1560 Witebergae impressa. Praemittuntur epitaphium Melanchthonis metricum a Johanne Mathesio scriptum et Paulini epistola dedicatoria ad magistratus urbis Emdae.
- PEROTTUS NICOLAUS: *Nicolai Perotti Cornu Copiae seu Linguae Latinae Commentarii*, ed. J.-L. Charlet (Sassoferrato, Ist. internaz. di Studi Piceni), vol. I (1989); II (1991). Continuabitur; — Lollini F., "Bessarione e Niccolò Perotti a Bologna: due episodi poco noti", *Schede umanistiche* 4 (Bologna 1990), 55-61. Editur e codice Bononiensi (Bibl. Univ. 182, f.41r) epistola Perotti "De Bononia quomodo antiquitus vocabatur." — Lombardi G., "Nuovi studi su Perotti", *RnR* 1989, pp. 102-116.
- PETRARCA FRANCISCUS: Vide primum 2.2: Petrarca / Codici latini. Eo in catalogo, pp. 474-476, nova editur "Epistula quam dictavit Fr. Petrarca ad Ludovicum regem Ierusalem et Siciliae contra Pandolphum de Malatestis per Bernabum de Vicecomitibus. — Francesco Petrarca, *De Vita solitaria, Buch I. Kritische Textausgabe und ideeengeschichtlicher Kommentar* von K. A.E. Enenkel. Leidse Romanistische Reeks, 24 (Leiden, Brill, 1990) Opus maioris momenti — Carozza D.A. and Shey H.J., *Petrarch's Secretum With Introduction, Notes and Critical Anthology* (Bern - New York, P.Lang, 1989). Desideratur textus latinus. — Fr. Petrarca, *De top van de Ventoux. Het Geheim. Godgewijde ledigheid*. Vertaald, ingeleid en van aantekeningen voorzien door Ch. Tazelaar (Baarn, Ambo, 1990). Interpretationes Nederlandicae (*De Ascensu Montis Ventosi, Secretum, De otio religioso*).
- Herendeen W.N., "The Etiology of Landscape: Petrarch, Freud, and the

- Landscape of Disease", *Annals of Scholarship* 7 (New York 1990), 279-302; — Papy J., "Francesco Petrarca en Ludovicus Sanctus: een 'ciceroniaanse' vriendschap?", *Handelingen Kon. Zuidnederl. Mij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis* 43 (Brussel 1989), 87-98. De indole ciceroniana epistolarum ad 'Socratem'.
- PETRUS DE VALENCIA: Pedro de Valencia, *Academica sive de indicio ergo verum ex ipsis primis fontibus*. Introducción, traducción y notas de José Oroz Reta (Badajoz, Diputación, 1985).
- PETRUS MARSUS: Defilippis D., "Un accademico romano e la conquista di Granata", *Istituto Universitario Orientale: Annali. Sezione romanza* 30 (1988), 223-229. De Panegyrico S. Augustini. Cf. et *RnR* 1989, pp. 149-150.
- PFLUG JULIUS (Sachsen 1499-1564): Pollet J.V., *Julius Pflug (1499-1564) et la crise religieuse dans l'Allemagne du XVI^e siècle. Essai de synthèse biographique et théologique*. Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought 45 (Leiden, Brill, 1990); — Neuss E. -Pollet J. V. (edd.), *Pflugiana. Studien über Julius Pflug (1499-1564). Ein internationales Symposium, 1985* (Münster, Aschendorff, 1990). Continet i.a. K.A.Neuhausen, "Sprache und Stil der lateinischen Briefe von Julius Pflug. Im Lichte seiner Stiltheorie sowie der Charakteristik bei Erasmus. (pp. 139-176).
- PIGHIIUS STEPHANUS: Teitler H.C., "Stephanus Pighius (1520-1604). Een humanist uit Kampen", *Hermeneus* 63 (1991), 34-38.
- PINUS JOHANNES (Toulouse, ca. 1470-1 XI 1537): vide supra: Arlerius, pp. 169-70.
- PIRCKHEIMER BILIBALDUS: *Pirckheimer Jahrbuch* 6, 1991 (Verlag H.Carl, Pf 9110, D-8500 Nürnberg 11). Continet; "Retrospektive Tendenzen in Kunst, Musik und Theologie um 1600. Akten des interdisziplin. Symposiums 30./31. März 1990 in Nürnberg, hrsg. von K. Löcher: ad picturam, architecturam, musicam et Reformationem pertinentia.
- PIZOLPASSUS FRANCISCUS (Bologna, ca. 1370-Milano 1443): Fubini R., "Tra umanesimo e Concili. L'epistolario di Francesco Pizolpasso", *Fubini*, pp. 77-135. In appendice eduntur epistolae Pizolpassi et Petri C. Decembrii.
- PLANCIUS (Platevoet) PETRUS: Bossu J., "Petrus Plancius, predikant en geograaf", *De Franse Nederlanden. Jaarboek* 16 (1991), 106-124.
- POGGIUS BRACCIOLINUS N.: Fubini R., "Poggio Bracciolini e San Bernardino. Temi e Motivi di una polemica", *Fubini*, pp. 183-219; — Id., "Il 'Teatro del Mondo' nelle prospettive morali e storico-politiche di Poggio Bracciolini", *ib.*, pp. 221-302; — Id., "L'orazione di Poggio Bracciolini a Costanza sui vizi del clero (1417)", *ib.*, pp. 303-38; — Guidi R.L., "Sottintesi e allusioni tra Poggio e Sarteano a proposito di una polemica mancata", *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 83 (1990), 118-161.
- POLITIANUS ANGELUS: Angelo Poliziano, *Commento inedito alle Georgiche di Virgilio*. A cura di Livia Castano Musicò. Studi e Testi dell'Ist. Naz. di Studi sul Rinasc., 18 (Firenze, Olschki, 1990). Editio princeps — singulari cura facta et lautissime impressa — notarum, quae sua manu A. Politianus [annis 1471-80?] apposuit exemplari alterius Vergilii editionis Romanae (1471), quod servatur Parisiis in B.N., Rés. g. Yc 236. Fontes antiqui

- revelantur totumque opus indicibus commode aperitur; — Wesseling A., "Poliziano and Ancient Rhetoric: Theory and Practice", *Rin.* 2a s., 30 (1990), 191-204.
- PONTANUS JOANNES JOVIANUS: vide sub 4.1: Tateo.
- PRAEDINIUS REGNERUS (Winsum, ca. 1510 - Groningen 18 IV 1559): Postma F., "Regnerus Praedinius (ca. 1510-1559), zijn school en zijn invloed", *Archief Geschiedenis Kath. Kerk in Nederland* 32 (1990), 153-181.
- PUFENDORF SAMUEL: Duchhardt H., "Pufendorf in England. Eine unbekannte Übersetzung von Pufendorfs Reichsverfassungsschrift aus dem Jahre 1690", *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 72 (1990), 143-152. De anonymi *Present State of Germany* (Londini 1690) et Severini de Monzambano [= Pufendorf] *De statu imperii Germanici* (1667). — Seidler M., *Samuel Pufendorf's 'On the Natural State of Men. The 1678 Latin Edition and English Translation. Studies in the History of Philosophy* (Lewiston, N.Y., The E. Mellen Press, 1990).
- SABELLICUS MARCUS ANTONIUS: vide sub 4.1: Tateo.
- SACCUS CATO († Pavia 1463): Sottili A., "Università e cultura a Pavia in età visconteo-sforzesca", in *Storia di Pavia* III ii (Milano 1990), pp. 359-451 (pp. 376-395).
- SALUTATUS COLUCCIUS: Salutati C., *Vom Vorrang der Jurisprudenz oder der Medizin. De nobilitate legum et medicinae*. Lateinisch-deutsche Ausgabe. Übersetzt und kommentiert von P.M.Schenkel. Eingeleitet von E. Grassi und E. Kessler. Humanistische Bibliothek, Reihe II: Texte, Bd. 25 (München, Fink, 1990).
- SANCTIUS BROCEUS, FRANCISCUS: Mellet Sylvie, "Temporalité et temps verbaux de Priscien à Sanctius", in *Grammairiens*, pp. 95-108.
- SARTORIUS JOANNES (Amsterdam, ca. 1500-Delft 1557): Trapman J., "Joannes Sartorius (ca. 1500-1557), gymnasiarch te Amsterdam en Noordwijk, als Erasmusiaan en spiritualist." *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 70 (1990), 30-51. Bio-bibliographia critica Sartorii seu Tosarii Aquilovicani, grammatici, Adagiorum collectoris et paraphrastae biblici. Ad notam 5: in bibliographia humanistica Gerlo-Vervliet falso ei nomen Sarrey apponitur. Ioannes Sarrey Neoportuensis gymnasiarcha Leidensis erat ca. 1560, cuius *Grammaticarum Institutionum libri duo* Antverpiae prodierunt anno 1555.
- SAVONAROLA HIERONYMUS: G.Savonarola O.P., *Apologie inzake de grondslag van de dichtkunst*. Ingeleid, vertaald en geannoteerd door R. Kuil (Kampen, Agora, 1988); — Jérôme Savonarole, *La Fonction de la poésie*. Traduit et annoté par Br. Pinchard; précédé de Br. Pinchard, *Le Noeud de la Colère* (Lausanne, Ed. l'Age d'Homme, 1989). Sola interpretatio gallica; — Binns J.W., "Late Medieval Poetics: the Case of Girolamo Savonarola", *Annals of the Archive of 'Ferran Valls i Taberner's Library'* 9/10 (Barcelona 1991), 307-339. Introductio et interpretatio anglica *Apologetici de ratione poeticae artis* (1492).
- SCALIGER JULIUS CAESAR: Jensen Kr., *Rhetorical Philosophy and Philosophical Grammar. Julius Caesar Scaliger's Theory of Language*. Humanistische Bibliothek. Texte und Abhandlungen, Reihe I. Abh. 46 (München, W.

- Fink, 1990); — Lardet P., "Scaliger lecteur de Linacre", in *Grammairiens*, pp. 303-323; — vide et 1.3: Litteraria / Chomarar.
- SCHAEFFERUS JOHANNES (Strassburg 1621 - Uppsala 1679): Kajanto I., "Johannes Scheffer on the *Imitatio Veterum*", *Arctos* 24 (Helsinki 1990), 73-84.
- SCHILL JOHANNES HENRICUS (Durlach, ca. 1615 - Strassburg 1645): Schäfer W.E., "Johann Heinrich Schill (ca. 1615-1645). Zwei kleine Funde", *WBN* 17 (1990), 12-13. *Studiosus iuris*.
- SCHOOCKIUS MARTINUS: vide 1.6: Lomonaco.
- SIBILLA BARTHOLOMAEUS O.P.(Monopoli, ca. 1450 -† ante 31 X 1493): De Nichilo M. - Desantis G., "Fra Bartolomeo Sibilla oratore": 1.[M. D. N.], "L'orazione in morte di Ippolita Sforza"; 2.[G. D.], "L'orazione in morte di Francesco, Federico e Nicola Antonio del Balzo", in *Monopoli*, t.II, pp. 683-730/731-754. *Editiones optime curatae*.
- SIGONIUS CAROLUS: Snyder J.R., *Writing the Scene of Speaking: Theories of Dialogue in the Late Italian Renaissance* (Stanford U.P., 1989), capitulo II^o tractat Sigonii *De dialogo librum* (1561).
- SIXTUS V [Felice Peretti]: Sansolini Cecilia, *La spiritualità di Sisto V nei suoi sermoni anteriori al pontificato (nel iv centenario dell' elezione 1585-1985)*, (Roma, Pont. Univ. Gregor., 1989). *Continet biobibliographiam Sixtinam*. *Sermones partim latini sunt, ex parte italici*; — vide et J. IJsewijn, "Latino d'architetto", *HL* 40 (1991), 449-450.
- SLEIDANUS JOHANNES: vide supra 1.2: Germania/ Rhenus Sup.: Andermann.
- SPANHEMIUS EZECHIEL: vide 1.6: Scientifica (Calabi).
- SPENER PHILIPPUS JACOBUS (Rappoltsweiler 13 I 1635 - Berlin 5 II 1705): Philipp Jakob Spener, *Schriften*. Hrsg. von E. Beyreuther. Bd. 16 (vol.1-2): *Consilia et iudicia theologica latina. Opus posthumum ex eiusdem litteris 1709. Partes 1-3*. Eingeleitet von D. Blaufuss (Hildesheim - New York, G. Olms, 1989). *Pietismi conditor*.
- STATILIUS JOHANNES: vide 1.2: Croatia (Gligo).
- STENUS [Stein] BARTHOLOMAEUS († Breslau, ca. 1522): Walter E., "Zu Barthel Steins *Descriptio Vratisлавie* (Beschreibung Breslaus)", *Jahrbuch der schlesischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Breslau* 30 (1989), 63-76.
- STERNE LAURENTIUS: Gottlieb S., "Sterne's Slawkenbergius and Joseph Hall", *Cahiers élisabethains* (1986), n° 30, pp. 79-80.
- STIBLINUS CASPAR (Allgäu 1526- Würzburg 1562): Kytzler B., "Stiblin's *Coropaedia*", *Jahrbuch für internationale Germanistik* 16 (1984), 1, pp. 82-93.
- STOYCUS (STOJKOVIC) JOHANNES DE RAGUSIO: vide 2.2: Pannonius.
- STUDIOSUS FLANDRICUS (Parisiis, ca. 1525-35): Margolin J.-Cl., Pendergrass J., Van der Poel M., *Images et lieux de mémoire d'un étudiant du xvi^e siècle. Étude, transcription et commentaire d'un cahier de latin d'un étudiant néerlandais* (Paris, Guy Trédanel, 1991). *Editur codex Parisius, Bibl. historique de la Ville*, 109, cum commentariis locupletissimis.
- STURMIUS JOANNES: vide supra 2.2, s.v.
- TIMPLER CLEMENS, Saxo (Stolpen 1563/64 - 1624): Freedman J.S., *European Academic Philosophy in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries: the Life, Significance, and Philosophy of Clemens Timpler (1563/4 - 1624)*, (Hildesheim, Olms, 1988).

- TRAVERSAGNUS GULIELMUS: Murphy J.J., "The Double Revolution of the First Rhetorical Textbook Published in England: the *Margarita Eloquentiae* of Gulielmus Traversagnus (1479)", *Texte* 8/9 (1989), 367-376.
- VALLA LAURENTIUS: Chomarat J., "Le 'De reciprocatione sui et suus' de Lorenzo Valla", in *Grammairiens*, pp. 283-292. — De Caprio V., "Tendenze attuali della critica Valliana", *RnR* 1990, 49-66; — Fubini R., "Indagine sul 'De voluptate' di Lorenzo Valla. Il soggiorno a Pavia e le circostanze della composizione", *Fubini*, pp. 339-394; — Polara G., "Valla, De professione religiosorum VII 7", *Paideia* 45 (1990), 345-347; — Regoliosi Mariangela, "Lorenzo Valla e la concezione della storia", *La storiografia umanistica. Convegno internaz. ...Messina...1987* (Messina 1991), pp. 1-22. — Van der Poel M., "Lorenzo Valla als pleitbezorger van het Latijn. Rede gehouden te Rome, 18 oktober 1455", *Hermeneus* 63 (1991), 14-19. De Valla latinitatis patrono.
- VASCUS DE QUIROGA JOHANNES (Michoaca, s. xvi): Vasco de Quiroga, *De debellandis Indis. Un tratado desconocido*. Edición de René Acuña. Bibliotheca humanistica Mexicana, 1 (Mexico, UNAM. Centro de Estudios Clásicos, 1988). Fragmentum superstes operis maioris nunc primum editum e codice Matritensi, Regiae Hist. Academiae 312, ff. 198-209. Accessit enarratio locupletissima, item Thomae Diplovatati Vita Bartoli (e libro *De claris iurisconsultis*, Pisauri 1771). -Mentio huius libri infelici quodam casu excidit ex *Instrumento* anni 1989 (cf. p. 350 s.n. Diplovatatus!).
- VERNULAEUS NICOLAUS: vide supra 3.2. s.v.
- VETESY LADISLAUS (S. XV): Martignone Fr., "L'orazione di Ladislao Vetesy per l'obbedienza di Mattia di Ungheria a Sisto IV", *Atti e Memorie della Società Savonese di storia patria*, n.s. 25 (1989) = *L'Età dei Della Rovere*, vol. II, pp. 205-249. Tertium editur oratio, quae Romae excusa est 2 II 1475 et circa 1480.
- VIRDUNGUS MICHAEL: vide sub v. Dilherr.
- VIVES JOHANNES LUDOVICUS: *Selected Works of J. L. Vives.*, vol. 5. *Early Writings 2: Epistula Forti - Vita Ioannis Dullardi - Christi Triumphus - Ovatio Mariae - Clipeus Christi - Praelectio in quartum Rhetoricorum ad Herennium - Praelectio in Convivia Philelphi. Introduction, Critical Edition, Translation and Notes*. Edited by J. IJsewijn and Angela Fritsen with Ch. Fantazzi (Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1991); — J.L.Vives, *Über die Gründe des Verfalls der Künste. De Causis corruptarum Artium. Lateinisch-deutsche Ausgabe*. Übersetzt von W. Sendner unter Mitarbeit von Chr. Wolf und E. Hidalgo-Serna. Hrsg., kommentiert und eingeleitet sowie mit Vives' Leben, Bibliographie und Personenregister versehen von E. Hidalgo-Serra. Humanistische Bibliothek, Reihe II 28 (München, W.Fink, 1990).
- Noreña C.G., *A Vives Bibliography*. Studies in Renaissance Literature, vol. 5 (Lewiston, N.Y. - Queenston, Ont. - Lampeter, U.K., The Edwin Mellen Press, 1990). Cautissime adhibendum!; — Id., *J.L.Vives, The Passions of the Soul: the Third Book of De Anima et Vita. Introduction and Translation*. Studies in Ren. Lit. 4 (Ib., 1990); — Id., *Juan Luis Vives and the Emotions*. Foreword by G.Kimball Plochmann (Carbondale and Edwardsville, Southern Illinois U.P., 1989). Nova summa de vita et cogitatis

- J.L.Vivis; — Holm, Janis B., "Struggling With the Letter: Vives's Preface to the Instruction of a Christian Woman", in M.R. Logan & P.L.Rudnytsky, *Contending Kingdoms* (Detroit 1991), pp. 265-297; — [N.], "Ignatius in Brugge", *Jezuïeten* 49 (1991), n.1, 5-9.
- Anno 1992 in *Humanisticis Lovaniensibus* prodibit editio princeps *Literarum ad Craneveldium Balduinarum* 1-30, quarum auctores sunt Vives, Fevynus, Geldenhouwer, Vecerius, Borsalus, Thomas Morus et Erasmus.
- VOETIUS GISEBERTUS (Heusden 3 III 1589 - Utrecht 1 XI 1676): Van Oort J., Graafland C., De Groot A., De Jong O.J. (edd.), *De onbekende Voetius. Voordrachten Wetenschappelijk Symposium, Utrecht 3 maart 1989* (Kampen, J.H.Kok, 1989). Commentationes xvi de theologo Ultraiectensi.
- VON SPEE FRIDERICUS S.J.(Kaiserswerth 1591 - Trier 1635): Kytzler B., "Zur rhetorischen Struktur der *Cautio Criminalis* des Friedrich von Spee", in J.M.Battafarano (ed.), *Friedrich von Spee: Dichter, Theologe und Bekämpfer der Hexenprozesse* (Trento 1988), pp. 265-76.
- WAKEFIELD ROBERTUS († 1527): Robert Wakefield, *On the Three Languages [1524]* Edited and Translated With Introduction and Notes <by> G. Lloyd Jones . *Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies* 68 (Binghamton, N.Y., S.U.N.Y., 1989). Iterum editur *Oratio de laudibus et utilitate trium linguarum Arabicae Chaldaicae et Hebraicae* (Londini 1524), adiecta interpretatione anglica et notis 369 exegeticis. Verba latina nonnumquam erroribus et interpunctione antiquata obscurantur, interpretatio fide haud semper est digna. Vide censuram in commentariis q.t. *Gnomon* prodituram. Hic satis est monere Varinum (p. 121) non esse Varronem, sed Guarinum Veronensem, Crispinum lippum (S.133) non esse Gilbertum Crispinum abbatem Westmonasteriensem, sed Crispinum illum Horatianum (*Sat.* I I.120-121), Scipionem denique Carteromachum (p. 169) non esse Scipionem Africanum, sed Scipionem Carteromachum seu Fortiguerra (1466-1515), qui anno 1504 Venetiis opusculum edidit *De laudibus litterarum Graecarum*.
- WELSERUS MARCUS (Augsburg 10.VI.1558 - 23.VI.1614): Roeck B., "Geschichte, Finsternis und Unkultur: zu Leben und Werk des Marcus Welser (1558-1614)", *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 72 (1990), 114-141.
- WORMS RENATUS (1861-1926): R.Worms, *Wesen und Methode der Soziologie - De Natura et Methodo Sociologiae*. Herausgegeben und übersetzt von S. Albert (D-6600 Saarbrücken 11, Societas Latina, Universität FR 6.3, 1991). Iterum editur et Germanice vertitur Renati Worms dissertatio anno 1896 Parisiis primum divulgata. Additae sunt observatiunculae quaedam de usu Latinitatis, necnon indices personarum et rerum (Germanice expressarum). Desideratur autem index linguae sociologicae latinus.
- WURMSER NICOLAUS (Strassburg 22 IX 1473 - Waldkirch 30 III 1536): vide supra 1.2: Germania/Rhenus Sup.: Andermann. Scripsit *Notas deliberationum Capituli S. Thome*, quae in codice manuscripto Argentorati adservantur.
- ZANE BERNARDUS: vide 1.2: Croatia (Gligo).

5. Inscriptiones

- Epigraphik* 1988. *Fachtagung Für mittelalterliche und neuzeitliche Epigraphik, Graz 1988. Referate und Round-Table-Gespräche.* Hrsg. von W. Koch (Wien, Österreich. Akademie der Wissenschaften; Philos.-histor. Klasse, Denkschriften 213, 1990).
- BOLOGNA
 - Bernardini Carla, "La sezione delle epigrafi e degli stemmi (Lapidario del Museo Civico Medievale)", *Schede umanistiche* 4 (Bologna 1990), 73-78.
- BONN
 - [Schultze-Rhönhof Hedi], "Hundertmal Latein in Bonn. Schüler sammeln lateinische Inschriften in ihrer Stadt", *Das Rheinische Landesmuseum Bonn* 1991, Heft 2, pp. 19-22. Relationem, additis exemplis, praebet de investigatione epigraphica a discipulis Gymnasii a Clara Schumann vocati perfecta. Exstat altera relatio copiosior pro manuscripto edita: *100 mal Latein in Bonn. Gesucht und gefunden 1990/91 vom Lateinkurs GK 103 der Jahrgangsstufe 11 des Clara-Schumann-Gymnasiums.*
- MURTEN (Helvetia)
 - Ehlers W.-W., "Casanova, die Burgundier und das Beinhaus von Murten", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 70 (1987), 293-296. Inscriptionem ossuarii Muratensis in memoriam militum Burgundicorum ab Helvetiis 1476 caesorum recte interpretatur, foedos editorum Casanovae errores expellit.
- ROMA
 - Ferrua A., S.J., "Andrea Alciato e l'epigrafia paleocristiana", *Archivio della Società romana di storia patria* 112 (1989), 249-268. Pp. 266-68 repetuntur inscriptiones romanae metricae sex, quae apud Forcellam non reperiuntur.
 - Kajanto I., "L'epigrafia latina a Roma nel Quattrocento", *RnR* 1989, pp. 73-84.
 - Vide et 1.5 s.v. Lucanus (Tucker).
- USINGEN (Taunus): Volk Fr., "Inscriptio saeculi XVI", *Vox Latina* 27 (1991), fasc. 104, p. 180.
- Vide supra 4.2: Colvenerius; Morus Thomas (Trapp);

6. Latinitas Novissima

- D'Elia Antonius, *Latinarum litterarum historia* (Napoli 1990).
- Erdő P., *Introductio in historiam scientiae canonicae. Praenotanda ad Codicem* (Roma, Pont. Univ. Gregoriana, 1990).
- Fitzek A., *Latein in unserer Zeit. Europäische Kulturgeschichte im Spiegel von Ehrenurkunden* (D-8700 Würzburg 1, Credo-Versand, Pf. 5460, 1990)
- Immè Geneviève, *Amatoria Periegesis - Voyage d'Amour. Carmina bilingua* (Mazet St. Voy, Ed. Tarmeye, 1991)
- Reinhardt Heinrich, *Centuria Haicum. Das ist: eine Sammlung von gut hundert Gedichten in japanischer Manier und lateinischer Sprache.* Herausgegeben,

- übersetzt und kommentiert von R. Chlada (Bern - Frankfurt/M., New York, Paris, P. Lang, 1991).
- Schön Maximilianus, *Mysterium iniquitatis. Inaudita et singularis narratio* (Augsburg, Pinus, 1990).
 - Tusiani Josephus, "Placidus vesper", *Jact Review*, 2. S. , 7 (1990); — Id., "A Luxury of Light", *Italian Quarterly* 30 (1989), n.117. Continet carmina latina II.

7. Opera incepta

- Ductu Professoris L. Braun (in Studiorum Universitate Francofurtana ad Moenum) dissertatio doctoralis paratur de supplementis Aeneidos (Vegius, Forestus, Villanova,...): *Neulateinische Aeneissupplemente. Eine vergleichende literarische Würdigung*.
- Dr. Andreas Beriger, Noairns, CH-7415 Rodels, Helvetia, editionem criticam parat Rutgeri Sycambri *De vita sua*.
- Mox prodibit Supplementum Humanisticum Lovaniense VII: *Pegasus Devocatus. Studia in honorem C. Arri Nuri (Harry C. Schnur). Accessere selecta eiusdem opuscula inedita*. Cura et opera Gilberti Tournoy et Theodorici Sacré. Continet i.a. Nuri *Supplementum Petronianum*.

-Academia Disciplinarum Nederlandica:

Editio historico-critica carminum Constantini HUGENII (Huygens) iuveniliū parabitur Amstelodami apud Academiam Disciplinarum Nederlandicam. Vide nuntium *Akademie Nieuws* IV 13 (juni 1991), p. 7.

-Academia Disciplinarum Austriaca haec nobis nuntiavit:

Die Kommission für antike Literatur und lateinische Tradition an der ÖAW in Wien (Leiter: Univ. Prof Dr. Hans Schwabl) betreibt seit einiger Zeit als eines ihrer Forschungsvorhaben das Projekt "Nachleben antiker Mythologie in der Renaissance", das sich auf die verschiedenen Arten der schöpferischen Rezeption antiker Mythen konzentriert. Der Schwerpunkt liegt (zunächst) in der lateinischen Literatur des Quattro- und Cinquecento; als Grundlage sind bereits etwa 200 Texte aus diesem Zeitraum gesammelt, die folgenden Kriterien entsprechen:

- 1) Rezeption vorliegender antiker Mythen:
 - a) gelehrte Erklärung schwieriger mythologischer Anspielungen und Zusammenhänge durch Renaissance-Philologen (mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von deren Einfluss auf spätere literarische Gestaltungen).
 - b) (dichterische) Ausgestaltung entlegener antiker Mythen und damit z.T. verbundene aufwertende Neuinterpretation von Randfiguren der klassischen Mythologie.
- 2) Um- oder Neugestaltung gegenüber der Antike:
 - a) Einsatz des traditionellen Götterapparates in der Epik der Renaissance.
 - b) Weiterführung einer mythologischen Erzählung über das für die Antike

Belegte hinaus, bzw. deren Erweiterung durch Hinzufügung neuer mythischer Gestalten.

- c) neue mythische Personen in traditioneller Handlung, besonders aus Lokalpatriotismus oder panegyrischer Intention geschaffene Personifikationen von Orten, Flüssen und Landschaften.
- d) bekannte Gestalten der klassischen Mythologie in neu erfundener mythischer Handlung (mit besonderer Berücksichtigung philosophischer bzw. aitiologischer Kunstmythen).

Ziel des Unternehmens ist es, die Primärquellen (an deren Ergänzung laufend gearbeitet wird) in Hinblick auf Inhalt und Zielsetzung vorzustellen und dies in Art eines Lexikons zu veröffentlichen, d.h. gegliedert nach mythologischen Gestalten, literarischen Genera, thematischer Neubehandlung, Autoren - jeweils mit den entsprechenden Querverweisen.

Kommission für antike Literatur und lateinische Tradition der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften

c/o Institut für Klassischen Philologie der Universität Wien

Dr. Karl Lueger-Ring 1

A - 1010 WIEN, OESTERREICH.

INSTRUMENTUM LEXICOGRAPHICUM

NOVA LEXICA

- *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, Vol. X. 1, Fasc. V: Pastor - Paucus (Lipsiae, Teubner, 1990).
- *Lexicon Latinitatis Medii Aevi Hungariae*. Vol. II, Fasc. 1: Caballa - Clicarius (Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1991).
- *Lexicon Latinitatis Nederlandicae Medii Aevi*, edd. Olga Weijers et Marijke Gumbert-Hepp. Fasc. 33-34: Ingremio- Intercedo / Intercenarius - K (Leiden, Brill, 1990); Fasc. 35: L - Licite (1991).
- *Lexicon Mediae Latinitatis Danicae*. Fasc. III: Continentia - evinco (Aarhus 1990).
- *Novum Glosarium Mediae Latinitatis* : Pars - Passerulus (Hafniae 1989).

INDEX VERBORUM RECENTIORUM

Sequuntur verba, quae neque in *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* neque in *Lexico Totius Latinitatis* Forcelliniano reperiuntur. Ea autem, quae in lexicis et glossariis Mediae et recentioris Latinitatis leguntur, stellula (*) notavimus.

- | | |
|--|--|
| Abiturire = <i>to leave before long (the Latin School)</i> : p. 481. | *Decretale = <i>decretal</i> : p. 15. |
| Academia = <i>University</i> : p. 124; 164; 276. | Didascalus (διδάσκαλος) = <i>school-teacher</i> : p. 142 (16); 158 (32); 160 (36). |
| *Admonitorius = <i>admonishing, summoning</i> : p. 171. | *Dominus dominus = <i>Monsignor</i> : p. 124; 164. |
| A(d)sciticius = <i>assumed</i> : p. 485. | Elucidatorium = <i>commentary</i> : p. 74. |
| Blandisonus = <i>fair-spoken</i> : p. 352 (v. 182). | Encyclopaedia = <i>universal learning</i> : p. 158 (32). |
| Breviare = <i>Breviarium</i> : p. 15. | Eusebia = <i>'piety'</i> : p. 198. |
| *Cancellaria = <i>chancery</i> : p. 276. | *Guerra = <i>strife, warfare</i> : p. 16. |
| *Cancellarius = <i>chancellor</i> : p. 164. | Iacobigena = <i>son of Jacob</i> : p. 322 (v. 29). |
| *Canonicus = <i>canon</i> : p. 12; 15; 16. | Idemmet = <i>idem + met</i> : p. 382 (6); 406 (16); 408 (18). |
| *Cardinalis = <i>cardinal</i> : p. 12. | *Inclusive = <i>inclusively</i> : p. 39, n.14. |
| Charma (χάρμα) = <i>joy</i> : p. 351 (v. 151). | Invidulus = <i>hostile</i> : p. 355 (v. 277). |
| Chrema (χρῆμα) = <i>richness</i> : p. 19 (2, v. 2). | Lativagus = <i>wandering everywhere</i> : p. 355 (v. 286). |
| *Commissarius = <i>commissioner</i> : p. 276. | |
| Cura de Arcubus = <i>Court of Arches</i> (ecclesiastical court): p. 276. | |

- Liligera corona = *lily-bearing crown*: p. 71 (v. 98).
- Mensus, -us = *measure, metre*: p. 82.
- Neonymphus (Νεόνυμφος) = *newly wedded*: p. 356.
- Novator = *Protestant*: p. 388.
- Nundinae autumnales = *autumn book fair*: p. 39, n.14.
- Octennalis: *eight years long*: p. 481.
- *Papatus, -us = *papacy*: p. 94.
- Pergratulare = *to congratulate*: p. 11.
- Perleniter = *very mildly*: p. 472.
- Praeceptiuncula = *rule, instruction*: p. 158 (31).
- Praeconceptus = *preconceived*: p. 390 (8).
- Praedestinataria res = *predestination*: p. 384.
- Procancellarius = *vice-chancellor*: p. 276.
- *Purgatorius ignis = *Purgatory*: p. 70 (v. 72).
- Recommissus = *recommended*: p. 38.
- *Reconsignare = *to restore, to return*: p. 16.
- *Reginalis auctoritas = *the queen's authority*: p. 15.
- Reiuvenescere = *to become young again*: p. 327 (v. 9).
- *Residentia = *residence, abode*: p. 15.
- *Sacrastia = *sacristia: vestry*: p. 15; 16.
- Sacrilocus = *speaking holy words*: p. 326 (v. 42).
- Sacrisonus = *speaking holy words*: p. 348 (v. 38).
- Sanicida = *killer of healthy men*: p. 485.
- Solfatium = *provided with music notes*: p. 17.
- Stamp<at>ae litterae = *printed letters*: p. 15.
- *Strada publica = *public road*: p. 15.
- Sulmontinus = *inhabitant of Sulmona*: p. 5 (n.17).
- *Superintendens ecclesiae = *superintendent*: p. 93 (n.31).
- Tritestis = (Τριτόχης): p. 25 (v. 91; 107); 26 (v. 125; 145); 28 (v. 205; 212).
- *Universitas = *University*: p. 12; 138 (12).
- Verisonus = *speaking the truth*: p. 354 (v. 265).
- *Vicecancellarius = *vice-chancellor*: p. 124; 164.

7. NUNTII

1. I.A.N.-L.S. / Societas Internationalis Studies Neolatinis Provehendis

Societatis Conventus habitus est Hauniae Danorum diebus 11-16 mensis Augusti 1991, praeside Gualthero Ludwig, professore Hammaburgensi.

In annos 1991-1993 praeses electus est Franciscus Tateo, professor Bariensis; altera a praeside erit Brenda Hosington, profestrix Montisregalensis Canadensis, pecuniarum custos Christianus Heesakkers, professor Lugduno-Batavus. A secretis erit, ut antea, Rogerius P.H. Green Sanctandreas (U of St. Andrews, Dept. of Humanity, St. Andrews, Fife KY16 9AJ, Scotland, U.K.).

Nonus Conventus anno 1994 (exeunte?) mense Augusto Bari in Apulia celebrabitur, decimus autem Matrili apud Hispanos anno 1997.

2. Academia Latinitati Fovendae

omnes Latinitatis — sive Romanae sive Mediae sive Recentioris — studiosos et amantes invitat ut Lovanium et Antverpiam una conveniant diebus 2-6 mensis Augusti 1993 ad concorditer deliberandum de fortuna Latinitatis ac de mediis, quibus studia latina tutari possimus et fovere. Plura qui scire velit, litteras mittat ad:

Prof. Jozef IJsewijn & Prof. Dirk Sacré,
Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae K.U.L.
Faculteit der Letteren
Blijde Inkomststraat 21
B-3000 LEUVEN, Belgium. (Fax: —.32.16.285025)

INDICES

1. INDEX CODICUM MANU SCRIPTORUM

- Brasov: vide Kronstadt.
- Cambridge, *University Library*, *Add.* 6676: p. 31; 8446: p. 33; 7958: p. 276.
- Edinburgh, *University Library* 195 : p. 32.
- Escorial, *S.III.4* : p. 32.
- Ferrara, *Biblioteca civ. Ariostea*, *cod. I 145*: p. 208.
- Firenze, *Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenz.*, *Med. Pal. 109* : p. 32.
- Kronstadt, *Archiv der Schwarzen Kirche*, *P 5*: p. 325; 329; *Q 3*: p. 324; *Q 7*: p. 328; *Y 3*: p. 324
- Leiden, *Universiteitsbibliotheek*, *Vulcanius* 66: p. 52; 98*B*: p. 48; 99*B*: p. 48; 50; 68.
- Milano, *Biblioteca Ambrosiana*, *E 153 sup.*: p. 7.
- Milano, *Biblioteca Trivulziana*, 664: p. 240.
- Oxford, *Merton College*, *A.3.1*: p. 32.
- Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale*, *ms. lat.* 8372: p. 11; 17.
- Paris, *Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal*, 1183: p. 33.
- Praha, *Univ. knihovna*, III.E.27: p. 32.
- Reykjavik, *Landsbókasafu Islands*, 1298: p. 336.
- Roma, *Biblioteca Nazionale Vitt.-Eman.*, *V.E..428*: p. 32.
- Siena, *Biblioteca comunale degli Intornati*, *H-IX-42*: p. 215.
- Stuttgart, *Württembergische Landesbibliothek*, *cod. poet. et philol.* 4° 47: p. 32.
- Toulouse, *Bibliothèque municipale*, 214: p. 32.
- Udine, *Biblioteca comunale, fondo principale*, *ms. 10*: p. 40.
- Vaticano, *Borg. P.F.* 362: p. 13.
- Vaticano, *Palat. lat.* 1760: p. 6.
- Vaticano, *Vatic. lat.* 1670: p. 13; 1995: p. 21; 6054 + 6055: p. 33.

2. INDEX NOMINUM

- Abad, Didacus Josephus: 357-451
 Accoltus, Benedictus et Franciscus: 41
 Adelphus, Johannes: 74
Ad Herennium: 32, 140
 Adolf, Christian: 96
 Aegidius, Petrus: 169
 Aellius, Johannes Jac.: 240
 Aemilius, Georgius: 104
 Aeneas Silvius (Pius II): 4, 8, 9-11, 13, 17, 20, 21, 117, 126
 Agapitus Cincius de Rusticis: 21
 Agricola, Rudolphus: 117, 118, 126, 127
 Alciatus, Andreas: 218, 230
 Alciatus, Franciscus: 241
 Alegre, Franciscus Xaverius: 359
 Alembert, Jean le Rond d': 365, 367, 372
 Alfonsus V (Aragon): 5, 7
 Alvarez, Emmanuel: 368, 380
 Amaseus, Romulus: 210
 Ambrosius: 97, 108
 Amerbachius, Basilius: 214, 237
 Amicinus, Titus: 327
 Andrés, Juan: 365
 Anthoniszn.: vide Jacobus de Middelburg.
 Antimachus, Marcus Ant.: 207
 Apollonius Alabandensis: 130
 Aquaviva (Cardinalis): 385
 Ariosto, Lud.: 210
 Aristophanes: 284, 294, 295
 Ascham, Roger: 122
 Athanasius (Sanctus): 136
 Auratus (Dorat) Joannes: 252
Aurea Expositio: 73, 76
 Aurelius, Cornelius: 43-72
 Aymerich, Matthaeus: 365
 Balbus, Hieronymus: 30
 Bandellus, Matthaeus: 39
 Baptista Mantuanus: 75, 76, 79, 81
 Barletius, Martinus: 224
 Bartholomaeus Sulmonensis: 1-29
 Bartolomeo da Verino: 3
 Basilius Magnus: 136
 Beatus Rhenanus: 81, 446, 447
 Becanus, Gulielmus: 384
 Beda: 108
 Bellaius (Du Bellay) Johannes: 244, 245, 256
 Bellaius (Du Bellay) Joachim: 217, 244-261
 Belleforest, François de: 39, 40-42
 Bembus, Petrus: 209, 233
 Beni, P.: 207
 Beristain, Josephus Marianus: 363, 364
 Bernardus (Sanctus): 107
 Bernegger, Matthias: 273
 Bettinelli, Saverio: 365
 Bettini, Antonio: 21
 Biel, Stanislaus: 124
 Bigus, Ludovicus Pictorius: 75, 76, 79, 80, 81
 Biraghi, Lampugnino: 8
 Blanchard, Théophile: 366
 Boccaccio, Giovanni: 41
 Boccadiferro, Luigi: 208
 Boethius: 14
 Bolzanus: vide Urbanus.
 Bonamicus Lazarus: 210, 230
 Bonnus, Hermannus: 93, 98, 99
 Bordinus, Joannes Franciscus: 449
 Borromeus, Carolus: 230
 Brancati, Giovanni: 13
 Brocensis, Franciscus Sanctius: 369, 389
 Broukhusius, Janus: 225
 Brunus, Leonardus: 41, 47
 Bucer, Martinus: 88

- Buchananus, Georgius: 105, 309
 Buchius: 227
 Bugenhagius, Johannes: 95, 100
 Burmannus, Petrus: 398, 399
 Burmannus, Petrus, Jr.: 399
 Busleiden, Hieronymus: 162
 Bussi res, Jean de: 224
 Byczy ny, Konrad z: 117

 Caesar, Julius: 369
 Caius, John: 275
 Calcagninus, Alfonsus: 211
 Calcagninus, Caelius: 208, 210, 211
 Callimachus, Philippus: 114
 Callixtus III: 6
 Calvinus Johannes: 88, 89, 230
 Camerarius, Joachim: 100
 Camillus Julius: 235
 Campanus, Joannes Antonius: 10, 21, 22
 Campoy, Josephus Raphael: 360, 390, 391
 Canisius, Petrus: 168
 Cano, Melchior: 369, 385, 388
 Cantalycius, Joannes Baptista: 14
 Cantelmo: 13
 Capella, Martianus: 384
 Capilupus, Hippolytus: 215
 Capito, Wolfgang: 76
 Capograssi, Niccol : 14
 Capranica, Angelo: 20
 Carnesecchi: 231
 Caro, Annibale: 246
 Carolus Magnus: 49, 52
 Carolus V (Caesar): 43, 46, 48-54, 56
 Carolus, dux Gelriae: 177
 Cartaro, Mario: 448
 Cartesius (Descartes) Renatus: 264, 265, 272, 381
 Casa (Della Casa), Joannes: 246
 Casimirus IV Jagiello: 117
 Cassander, Georgius: 84, 108-110
 Cassiodorus: 257
 Castellesi: vide Hadrianus Cardinalis.
 Castello (Ch teillon) Sebastianus: 87, 105
 Cato: 118

 Catullus: 82, 141, 369
 Caxton, William: 154
 (pseudo-)Cebes: 135
 Celsi, Mino: 216
 Celtis, Conradus: 114
 Cenci dei Rustici: vide Agapitus.
 Charles I (France): 48
 Cicero, M. Tullius: 54, 108, 118, 238, 240, 247, 266, 280, 369, 371, 372, 392
 Cillenius, Dominicus: 207
 Clemens VII: 82
 Clemens XIV: 366, 374
 Clessius, J.: 39
 Clichtoveus, Jodocus: 74, 75, 79, 103, 107, 109, 110
 Coelius Rhodiginus: 77
 Coletus, Johannes: 148
 Collinus Matthaeus: 96
 Colocci, Angelo: 237
 Columella: 367
 Comino, Giuseppe: 227, 390
 Commirius, Johannes: 385, 386
 Conradus Astensis: 21
 Contarenus, Joannes: 105
 Cornerus Christophorus: 102, 103
 Coxius, Leonardus: 112-167
 Cricius, Andreas: 115
 Crivellius, Antonius: 33
 Cuiacius, Jacobus: 385
 Curio, Coelius Secundus: 214
 Cyrillus (Sanctus): 136

 Dante Alighieri: 50, 51
 Decembrius, Petrus Candidus: 4, 7-9, 11, 17, 29
 Decius, Justus Ludovicus: 114
 Delanghe: vide Langius.
 Demetrius Phalereus: 54
 Descartes: vide Cartesius.
 D sir , Artus: 89
 Desportes, Philippe: 89
 D  az de Gamarra, Johannes Benedictus: 361
 Diogenes Laertius: 148
 Diomedes: 160, 285
 Dionysius Areopagita: 136

- Dionysius Carthusianus: 75, 107
 Dioscorides: 152
Disticha Catonis: 44
 Dlugossius, Johannes: 115
 Dobergast, Marcin: 125
 Donatus: 116, 118, 138, 154
 Dorat: vide Auratus.
 Drusius (Van den Driessche), Johannes: 281
 Du Bellay: vide Bellaius.
 Duchesne, Jean-Baptiste: vide Blanchard
 Dyer, Edward: 281

 Eberus, Paulus: 100-102, 108
 Eckius, Valentinus: 116, 160, 231
 E(g)inhardus: 44
 Elyot, Thomas: 127
 Ennius: 280
 Eobanus Hessus, Helius: 76, 88, 90, 91, 105
 Epictetus: 135
 Erasmus: 43-72, 75-79, 80, 86, 103, 112, 113, 115-120, 122, 127, 138, 141, 154, 156, 158, 168, 194, 195, 226, 228, 231, 235, 272, 380, 384, 446-447
 Ercieszowa, Jacobus z: 124, 125
 Estienne: vide Stephanus
 Euripides: 238, 290
 Eusebius Caesarensis: 136

 Fabri, Manuel: 359, 360, 362-364
 Fabricius, Georgius: 97-99, 106, 109, 110, 111
 Fabricius, Gualtherus: 289, 290
 Facciolatus, Jacobus: 412
 Faernus, Gabriel: 224
 Faletti, Hieronymus: 215
 Ferdinandus I, Caesar: 56, 114
 Ferreri, Filiberto: 245
 Ferrerius, Zacharias: 82-85, 107
 Ferrinius, Bartholomaeus: 215
 Ferrius, Hieronymus: 365-370, 372-374
 Fichetus, Gulielmus: 30
 Ficinus, Marsilius: 240

 Fini, Daniele: 208
 Flacius Illyricus, Matthias: 104
 Flaminius, Marcus Ant.: 87, 105-107, 110, 111, 230, 234, 404
 Flavius Josephus: 276
 Florius, Franciscus: 30-42
 Forcellinius, Aegidius: 413
 Forteguerra, Niccolò: 20
 Fouquet, J.: 34
 Franchini, Francesco: 237
 François I (France): 50, 51
 Frangipani, Cinzio: 235
 Fridericus III, Caesar: 49
 Fronius, Marcus: 312-335
 Fuller, Thomas: 276-280

 Gallio, Lucius Junius: 140
 Gambara, Laurentius: 246
 García, Miguel: 373, 417
 Gasparinus Veronensis: 7
 Gillis, P.: vide Aegidius.
 Geldenhouwer, Gerardus: 43-72, 168-205
 Gellius, Aulus: 127
 Gesnerus, Conradus: 75, 76
 Giovio: vide Jovius.
 Giraldus, Lilius Gregorius: 80, 215
 Gonzaga, Franciscus: 20
 Gordianus (Caesar): 54
 Graevius, Joh. Georgius: 225
 Graphaeus, Cornelius: 169, 235
 Gravina, Joannes Vincentius: 368, 369, 381, 389
 Green(e), Robert: 276
 Gregorius XIII: 385
 Gregorius Nazianzenus: 136
 Gregorius Nyssenens: 136
 Gronovius, Jacobus: 384
 Gronovius, Johannes Fridericus: 384
 Grotius, Hugo: 384
 Gruterus, Janus: 226, 384
 Gryphius, Sebast.: 227, 234
 Guarinus, Baptista: 117, 126
 Guarinus Veronensis: 126, 127, 227

 Hadrianus Cardinalis (Castellesi): 365
 Harder, Johannes: 247

- Harnung, Martinus: 325, 327
 Harteneck, Sachs von: 317-319
 Hazardière, P. de la: 30
 Heinrichman, Jacobus: 116
 Heinsius, Daniel: 239, 240, 273, 398
 Heinsius, Nicolaus: 398
 Helmboldus, Ludovicus: 96
 Henckel, Johannes: 114-116
 Henricus de Bergis, episc. Camerac.: 47
 Herennium (*Ad*): 32, 140
 Heresbachius, Conradus: 193
 Hierocles Alexandrinus: 149
 Hieronymus (Sanctus): 127
 Homerus: 196, 197, 238, 259, 294
 Honterus, Johannes: 312, 313, 325
 Horatius: 86, 239, 249-251, 253, 257, 259, 368, 374
 Horne, Moses: 279
 Hosius Stanislaus: 115, 165
 Hosschius, Sidronius: 384

 Innocentius VII: 3
 Innocentius XII: 389
 Isocrates: 118, 134
 Jacobus Anthoni f. de Middelburgis: 47
 Johannes Chrysostomus: 136
 Johannes Damascenus: 136
 Johannes Dantiscus: 85, 86
 Johannes Sarisberiensis: 169
 Jonaeus, Eiulfus: 337, 338, 344-346
 Jónsdóttir, Ragnheidur: 336-356
 Jonson, Ben: 275
 Jónsson, Eyjólfur: vide Jonaeus.
 Jónsson, Sveinn: 337
 Jovius, Paulus: 231, 233
 Julius III: 245
 Juvenalis: 32, 368, 374
 Juvencius, Josephus: 368, 380

 Klee: vide Thymus.
 Konarski, Johannes: 114
 Kyd, Thomas: 275

 Lactantius: 238, 240
 Lambinus, Dionysius: 288-290, 385
 Lampridius: 234
 Landus, Constantinus: 215
 Landivar, Raphael: 359
 Langius, Carolus: 265, 271, 272
 Lanspergius, Johannes: 107
 Lascaris, Joannes: 13
 Lasco, Johannes a: 115
 Latinius, Latinus: 229
 Legge, Thomas, 275-281
 Leibniz, G.W.,: 393
 Leo X: 49, 82, 232
 Libanius, Georgius: 127
 Lily, William: 116, 118, 141
 Lipsius, Justus: 262-274, 275-281, 302, 305
 Livius, Titus: 54, 367, 371
 Llampillas, Javier: 365
 Lodge, Thomas: 276
 Lollius, Albertus: 206-214, 226
 Lorichius, Reinhardus: 94
 Lossius, Lucas: 98-100, 108
 Lottini, Giovan Francesco: 219-221
 Louis XII (France): 48, 50, 51
 Lovato: vide Lupatus.
 Lubranski, Janus: 115
 Lucanus: 18, 357, 365
 Lucilius: 142
 Lucretius: 82
 Luengo, Manuel: 364
 Lupatus de Lupatis: 309
 Lutherus, Martinus: 76, 82, 88, 90-96, 98

 Macrinus, Salmonius: 75, 76, 86, 91, 105
 Maior, Georgius: 95, 100, 102
 Maioragius: 218, 230
 Maldonatus, J.: 385
 Mancinellus, Antonius: 116, 154
 Manutius, Paulus: 369, 388
 Manzoni, Alessandro: 1
 Marcellus II: 246
 Marguerite de France: 256
 Marianus, Antonius: 14
 Marianus, Marcus Probus: 14
 Marinus Turanensis: 12, 13
 Marinus, Andreas: 233

- Marlianus, Paulus Camillus: 243
 Marlianus, Petrus Antonius: 243
 Marlowe, Christopher: 275, 276
 Marot, Clément: 88, 89, 105
 Marquets, Anne de: 105
 Martinus, Emmanuel (Decanus Alonnensis): 369, 389
 Matthaëis, Emilio de: 1, 2, 6
 Martialis: 76, 357, 365, 368
 Marsuppinus, Carolus: 41
 Marullus, Michael: 76, 77, 82
 Maria, regina Hungariae: 114
 Massorillus, Laurentius: 84, 85
 Matthaëus Aquilanus: 14
 Maurus: 230
 Maximilianus (Caesar): 48, 50, 51, 55
 Maximilianus II: 101
 Melanchthon, Philippus: 76, 88, 90, 91, 95, 98-100, 103, 112, 116, 230, 304
 Menander: 286, 294, 305
 Mere, Francis: 275
 Meyerus, Jacobus: 84, 85, 109, 110
 Michelangelo: 246
 Mikosz, Nicolaus: 124
 Modius, Franciscus: 47
 Molza, Franciscus: 237
 Montesquieu: 370
 Moore, William: 276-280
 Morus, Thomas: 78
 Morel, François: 251
 Mosellanus, Petrus: 76
 Müling, Johannes: vide Adelphus
 Münzer, Hieronymus: 31
 Muretus, Marcus Antonius: 211, 229, 255, 309, 385, 388, 389
 Murmellius, Johannes: 93
 Mussatus, Albertinus: 309
 Mylius, Abraham: 281
 Naogeorgus, Thomas: 226
 Nardini, Stefano: 21
 Nash, Thomas: 276
 Naugerius, Andreas: 209, 230, 235
 Nebrissensis, Antonius: 74, 79
 Nicolaus V: 6, 7
 Nizolius, Marius: 392
 Nizolius, Michael: 392, 412
 Nunius Delgadus, Petrus: 74
 Ochino: 223, 233
 Odus Petrus: 6, 12, 13
Officium B.M.V.: 73
 Olesnicki: 115
 Oliva, Alessandro: 20
 Oporinus: 87, 90, 97, 105, 227
 Origenes: 136
 Orsini, Cosma Meliorati: 3
 Ovidius: 5, 6, 14, 18, 81, 161, 246-251, 253, 255-257, 259, 368
 Palearius, Aonius: 206-243
 Palearius, Lampridius: 223, 241
 Palestrina: 246
 Palingenius, Marcellus: 238
 Panciaticus: 235
 Panormita, Antonius: 4-7, 9
 Paoli, Ugo Enrico: 449
 Pareus (Waengler), Daniel: 392
 Parisetti: 240
 Patricius, Augustinus: 21
 Patricius, Franciscus: 21
 Paulus II: 8
 Paulus IV: 244, 246
 Peele, George: 275, 276
 Perizonius, J.: 389
 Perottus, Nicolaus: 21
 Perpinianus, Petrus Joannes: 369, 388
 Persius: 32, 368
 Petavius, Dionysius: 385
 Petrarca, Franciscus: 41
 Petrinis, Bartolomeo de: 3
 Phaedrus: 367
 Philelphus, Franciscus: 4, 9, 11, 17
 (Pseudo-)Philelphus: 117, 126
 Philippus Leidensis: 44, 47
 Philippus a S. Geminiano: 217
 (Pseudo-)Phocylides: 149
 Phoebeus: 227
 Piccolomineus, Jacobus Ammanatus: 20
 Piccolomini: vide Aeneas Silvius.
 Picus Mirandulanus, Joannes Franciscus: 75, 76, 80, 81

- Pietro Aretino: 41
 Pietro da Celano: 11, 13
 Pigna, Joannes Baptista: 210, 215, 229
 Pius II: vide Aeneas Silvius.
 Plato: 11, 238
 Plautus: 282-311, 369
 Plinius maior: 141
 Plutarchus: 127, 130, 267
 Pole, Reginald: 105, 230
 Polignac, Melchior de: 240
 Pomponatius, Petrus: 238
 Pomponius Laetus: 11
 Poncherius, Stephanus: 162
 Ponsevius, Dominicus: 228
 Pontanus, Joannes Jovianus: 6, 14, 90, 209, 223, 238
 Popma, Ausonius: 392
 Porcelius, Pandionius: 13
 Portico: 226
 Praschius, Johannes Ludovicus: 258
 Propertius: 82
 Prudentius: 75-81, 85, 86, 97
 Psalmeus (Psaume), Nicolaus: 449, 450
 Pterix Gallus: 231
 Publius Syrus: 149
 Pyleus, O.: 226
 (Pseudo-)Pythagoras: 135
 Quatrarius, Johannes: 14
 Querculus (Chesneau), Nicolaus: 449-451
 Quintilianus: 7, 127, 132, 367
 Rabelais, François: 244
 Rainaldi, Niccolò: 12-14, 22
 Rapius, Renatus: 385
 Renerius, Antonius Franciscus: 215-223, 241
 Rhau, Georg: 95
 Ricci, Bartolomeo: 207-211, 214, 215, 232
 Ripamonti, Giuseppe: 1
 Robortellus, Fr.: 234
 Robertus, Joannes Baptista: 357, 362, 363, 365-374
 Rollinus, Carolus: 400, 401
 Ronsard, Pierre de: 217, 252
 Roper, Margaret: 78
 Roulerius, Adrianus: 309
 Roverella, Bartolomeo: 8, 10, 20
 Ruhnkenius, David: 388, 389
 Sabolinus, Nicolaus: 216
 Sacratius, Paulus: 211
 Sadoletus, Jacobus: 105, 231, 233, 234
 Salazar, Tristan de: 33
 Sallustius: 54
 Salmasius, Claudius: 273
 Sanctius: vide Brocensis
 Sannazarius Jacobus: 87, 223, 225, 238, 257, 258
 Santolius, Johannes Baptista: 385
 Scafitus, Vincentius: 228
 Scaliger, Julius Caesar, 229, 273
 Scalis, Bartholomaeus de: 1-29
 Scalis, Cola di Marino de: 3
 Scalis, Francesco de: 3-4
 Scalis, Petruccio de: 3
 Scalis, Pietro: 12, 13
 Scalis, Silvestro de: 3, 4
 Scalis, Tancredo: 3, 11, 13
 Scevola, Nicolaus: 13
 Schifaldus, Thomas: 4, 11
 Schioppius, Gaspar: 389
 Scribonius: vide Graphaeus.
 Secundus, Janus: 257
 Segni, Bernardo: 216
 Seneca: 32, 45, 257, 270-271, 282-311, 357, 365
 Serra, Johannes: 30
 Serranus, Thomas: 365, 372, 373, 417
 Sforza, Bona: 114
 Sforza, Francesco: 4, 6, 7, 9, 10
 Sforza, Pallavicino: 369
 Sforza, Pietro: 388
 Shakespeare, William: 275, 276
 Shelley, P. B.: 246
 Siberus, Adam: 226
 Sidney, Philip: 280
 Sigismund I: 114
 Sigismundus Austriacus: 117
 Simonides, Simon: 282-311

- Sirmondus, A.: 385
 Sirmondus, J.: 385
 Sophocles: 290
 Spangenberg, Johannes: 93, 94, 100, 103
 Spartanus: 226
 Sphinter, Orgetorix: 226, 231, 232
 Spiegel, Jacobus: 76-82
 Spinula, Franciscus: 231, 237
 Stephanus (Estienne), Henricus: 105, 112, 393, 398
 Stephanus (Estienne), Robertus: 393, 398
 Stigelius, Johannes: 96, 100
 Suetonius: 44, 270
 Sweertius, Franciscus: 226

 Tacitus: 268, 272
 Tardif, Gulielmus: 30, 31, 33, 38, 39, 41
 Tasso, Torquato: 370
 Terentius: 118, 247, 282-311, 367, 371
 Theophylactus: 136, 137
 Thomas Aquinas: 32, 45, 240
 Thorláksson, Gisli: 337
 Thorstenius, Einarus: 336-356
 Thymus, Georgius: 95
 Tiberti, Polidoro: 14
 Tibullus: 82, 257, 258
 Tiraboschi, Girolamo: 357, 365
 Tollius, Alexander: 384
 Tollius, Cornelius: 384
 Tollius, Jacobus: 384
 Tomicius, Petrus: 115, 117, 124
 Torrentinus, Hermannus: 74, 75, 79, 91
 Toscanus, Matthaeus: 226, 238
 Trithemius, Johannes: 55
 Turnebus, Andreas: 385

 Ubaldini, Jo. P.: 226, 233
 Urbanus Bolzanus (Dalle Fosse): 118, 138-139
 Uriarte, José Eugenio: 363, 364

 Valerius Maximus: 32, 44
 Valla, Laurentius: 4-7, 9

 Vanierius, Jacobus: 386, 387
 Vannettus, Clementinus: 357, 365, 404, 405
 Vegius, Maphaeus: 126
 Vergerius, Petrus Paulus: 117, 126, 223
 Vergilius: 18, 32, 50, 51, 118, 238, 255, 258, 259, 316, 317, 340, 359, 361, 386
 Vettori: vide Victorius
 Vich (Cardinalis): 224, 231, 233
 Victorinus, Marius: 284, 285
 Victorius (Vettori), Petrus: 216, 217, 234
 Vida, Marcus Hieronymus: 75, 76, 80, 87, 90, 223, 238
 Vignola: 246
 Villerianus: 227
 Vintha, Francesco: 237
 Virgilius, Marcellus: 152
 Visconti, Carlo: 231
 Vitalis, Janus: 232
 Vittorio da Firenze: 232, 233
 Vives, Johannes Ludovicus: 368, 380, 381
 Vondel, Joost van den: 240
 Vossius, Gerardus Johannes: 239, 384
 Vulcanius, Bonaventura: 48, 56
 Vulpes, Gaetanus: 390
 Vulpes, Johannes Antonius: 390
 Vulpes, Nicolaus: 21

 Waengler: vide Pareus
 Wallius, Jacobus: 384, 385
 Walsingham, Francis: 281
 Warham, William: 162
 Wedelicjusz, Piotr: 124
 Whitaker, William: 281
 Wicelius, Georgius: 85, 86, 103
 Willem V (Dux Gelriae): 43, 57, 169, 170, 177
 Wimpelingus, Jacobus: 55, 74-76, 81, 82, 91
 Wood, Anthony: 276

 Zabanius, Isaac: 313, 318
 Zaborowski, Stanislaus: 116

- Zanchius, Basilius: 225, 240, 246, 250, 257
Zanotti, Francesco Maria: 363
Zebrydowski, Andreas: 113, 115
Zwinger, Theodorus: 234

HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA
(JOURNAL OF NEO-LATIN STUDIES)

Volume XVII,	1968, 162 p. — 1200 fr.
Volume XVIII,	1969, 164 p. — 1200 fr.
Volume XIX,	1970, 514 p. — 1200 fr.
Volume XX,	1971, 297 p. — 1200 fr.
Volume XXI,	1972, 412 p. — 1200 fr.
Volume XXII,	1973, 341 p. — 1200 fr.
Volume XXIII,	1974, 441 p. — 1200 fr.
Volume XXIV,	1975, 376 p. — 1200 fr.
Volume XXV,	1976, 306 p. — 1200 fr.
Volume XXVI,	1977, 280 p. — 1200 fr.
Volume XXVII,	1978, 366 p. — 1200 fr.
Volume XXVIII,	1979, 386 p. — 1200 fr.
Volume XXIX,	1980, 353 p. — 1200 fr.
Volume XXX,	1981, 278 p. — 1200 fr.
Volume XXXI,	1982, 256 p. — 1200 fr.
Volume XXXII,	1983, 471 p. — 2300 fr.
Volume XXXII,	1984, 366 p. — 2300 fr.
Volume XXXIV,	1985, 513 p. — 2300 fr.
Volume XXXV,	1986, 336 p. — 2300 fr.
Volume XXXVI,	1987, 358 p. — 2300 fr.
Volume XXXVII,	1988, 334 p. — 2300 fr.
Volume XXXVIII,	1989, 378 p. — 2300 fr.
Volume XXXIX,	1990, 427 p. — 2300 fr.

SUPPLEMENTA HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA

1. *Iohannis Harmonii Marsi De rebus italicis deque triumpho Ludovici XII regis Francorum Tragoedia*, ed. G. TOURNOY, 1978. 320 fr.
2. *Charisterium H. De Vocht 1878-1978*, ed. J. IJSEWIJN & J. ROEGIER, 1979. 350 fr.
3. *Judocus J.C.A. Crabeels. Odae Iscanae. Schuttersfeest te Overijse (1781)*, ed. J. IJSEWIJN, G. VANDE PUTTE & R. DENAYER, 1981. 320 fr.
4. *Erasmiana Lovaniensia. Cataloog van de Tentoonstelling, Universiteitsbibliotheek Leuven, november 1986*, 1986. 1200 fr.
5. Jozef IJsewijn, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies. Part I: History and Diffusion of Neo-Latin Literature*, 1990. 1596 fr.
6. Petrus Bloccius, *Praecepta formandis puerorum moribus perutilia*. Inleiding, Tekst en Vertaling van A.M. Coebergh-Van den Braak, 1991. 750 fr.